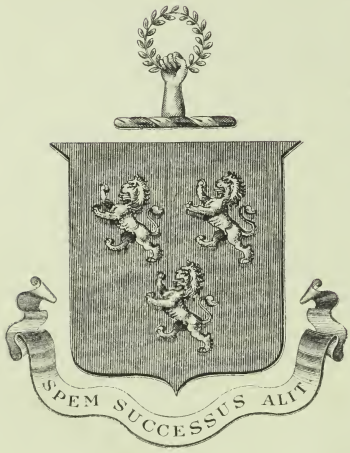
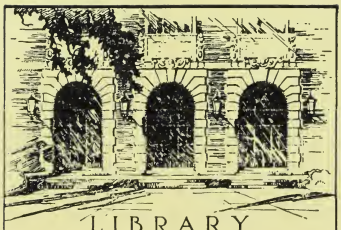
DIGITIZED BY SIZER



G. H. W. Lockhart-Ross.


LIBRARY
OF THE
UNIVERSITY
OF ILLINOIS

282
R661

Baker 4-15
86947 8-4-55

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2017 with funding from
University of Illinois Urbana-Champaign Alternates

https://archive.org/details/workingsofholysp00mann

A LETTER

TO

THE REV. E. B. PUSEY, D.D.

ON

HIS RECENT

EIRENICON.

BY

JOHN HENRY NEWMAN, D.D.
OF THE ORATORY.

Veni, Domine, et noli tardare, relaxa facinora plebi tuæ; et revoca dispersos in terram suam.

SECOND EDITION.

LONDON:
LONGMANS, GREEN, READER, AND DYER,
PATERNOSTER ROW.
1866.

LONDON :
GILBERT AND RIVINGTON, PRINTERS,
ST. JOHN'S SQUARE.

282
R661

A LETTER,

&c.

No one who desires the union of Christendom after its many and long-standing divisions, can have any other feeling than joy, my dear Pusey, at finding from your recent Volume, that you see your way to make definite proposals to us for effecting that great object, and are able to lay down the basis and conditions on which you could co-operate in advancing it. It is not necessary that we should concur in the details of your scheme, or in the principles which it involves, in order to welcome the important fact, that, with your personal knowledge of the Anglican body, and your experience of its composition and tendencies, you consider the time to be come when you and your friends may, without imprudence, turn your minds to the contemplation of such an enterprise. Even were you an individual member of that Church, a watchman upon a high tower in a metropolis of religious

opinion, we should naturally listen with interest to what you had to report of the state of the sky and the progress of the night, what stars were mounting up or what clouds gathering,—what were the prospects of the three great parties which Anglicanism contains within it, and what was just now the action upon them respectively of the politics and science of the time. You do not go into these matters; but the step you have taken is evidently the measure and the issue of the view which you have formed of them all.

However, you are not a mere individual; from early youth you have devoted yourself to the Established Church, and, after between forty and fifty years of unremitting labour in its service, your roots and your branches stretch out through every portion of its large territory. You, more than any one else alive, have been the present and untiring agent by whom a great work has been effected in it; and, far more than is usual, you have received in your life-time, as well as merited, the confidence of your brethren. You cannot speak merely for yourself; your antecedents, your existing influence, are a pledge to us, that what you may determine will be the determination of a multitude. Numbers, too, for whom you cannot properly be said to speak, will be moved by your authority or your arguments; and numbers, again, who are of a school more recent than your own, and who are only not your followers because they have out-

stripped you in their free speeches and demonstrative acts in our behalf, will, for the occasion, accept you as their spokesman. There is no one any where,—among ourselves, in your own body, or, I suppose, in the Greek Church,—who can affect so large a circle of men, so virtuous, so able, so learned, so zealous, as come, more or less, under your influence; and I cannot pay them a greater compliment, than to tell them they ought all to be Catholics, nor do them a more affectionate service than to pray that they may one day become such. Nor can I address myself to an act more pleasing, as I trust, to the Divine Lord of the Church, or more loyal and dutiful to His Vicar on earth, than to attempt, however feebly, to promote so great a consummation.

I know the joy it would give those conscientious men, of whom I am speaking, to be one with ourselves. I know how their hearts spring up with a spontaneous transport at the very thought of union; and what yearning is theirs after that great privilege, which they have not, communion with the see of Peter, and its present, past, and future. I conjecture it by what I used to feel myself, while yet in the Anglican Church. I recollect well what an outcast I seemed to myself, when I took down from the shelves of my library the volumes of St. Athanasius or St. Basil, and set myself to study them; and how, on the contrary, when at length I was brought into Catholic Communion, I kissed them

with delight, with a feeling that in them I had more than all that I had lost, and, as though I were directly addressing the glorious saints, who bequeathed them to the Church, I said to the inanimate pages, "You are now mine, and I am now yours, beyond any mistake." Such, I conceive, would be the joy of the persons I speak of, if they could wake up one morning, and find themselves rightfully possessed of Catholic traditions and hopes, without violence to their own sense of duty;—and, certainly, I am the last man to say that such violence is in any case lawful, that the claims of conscience are not paramount, or that any one may overleap what he deliberately holds to be God's command, in order to make his path easier for him or his heart lighter.

I am the last man to quarrel with this jealous deference to the voice of our conscience, whatever judgment others may form of us in consequence, for this reason,—because their case, as it at present stands, has, as you know, been my own. You recollect well what hard things were said against us twenty-five years ago, which we knew in our hearts we did not deserve. Hence, I am now in the position of the fugitive Queen in the well-known passage; who, "haud ignara mali" herself, had learned to sympathize with those who were the inheritors of her past wanderings. There were Priests, good men, whose zeal outstripped their knowledge, and who in consequence spoke confidently, when they would

have been wiser, had they suspended their adverse judgment of those whom they had soon to welcome as brethren in communion. We at that time were in worse plight than your friends are now, for our opponents put their very hardest thoughts of us into print. One of them wrote thus in a Letter addressed to one of the Catholic Bishops:—

"That this Oxford crisis is a real progress to Catholicism, I have all along considered a perfect delusion. . . . I look upon Mr. Newman, Dr. Pusey, and their associates, as wily and crafty, though unskilful guides. . . . The embrace of Mr. Newman is the kiss that would betray us. . . . But,—what is the most striking feature in the rancorous malignity of these men,—their calumnies are often lavished upon us, when we should be led to think that the subject-matter of their treatises closed every avenue against their vituperation. The three last volumes [of the Tracts] have opened my eyes to the craftiness and the cunning, as well as the malice, of the members of the Oxford Convention. . . . If the Puseyites are to be the new Apostles of Great Britain, my hopes for my country are lowering and gloomy. . . . I would never have consented to enter the lists against this strange confraternity. . . . if I did not feel that my own Prelate was opposed to the guile and treachery of these men. . . . I impeach Dr. Pusey and his friends of a deadly hatred of our religion. . . . What, my Lord, would the Holy See think of the works of these Puseyites? . . ."

Another priest, himself a convert, wrote:—

"As we approach towards Catholicity, our love and respect increases, and our violence dies away; but the bulk of these men become more rabid as they become like Rome, a plain proof of their designs. . . . I do not believe that they are any nearer the portals of the Catholic Church than the most prejudiced Methodist and Evangelical preacher. . . . Such, Rev. Sir, is an outline of my views on the Oxford movement."

I do not say that such a view of us was unnatural; and, for myself, I readily confess, that I had used about the Church such language, that I had no claim on Catholics for any mercy. But, after all, and in fact, they were wrong in their anticipations,—nor did their brethren agree with them at the time. Especially Dr. Wiseman (as he was then) took a larger and more generous view of us; nor did the Holy See interfere, though the writer of one of these passages invoked its judgment. The event showed that the more cautious line of conduct was the more prudent; and one of the Bishops, who had taken part against us, with a supererogation of charity, sent me on his deathbed an expression of his sorrow for having in past years mistrusted me. A faulty conscience, faithfully obeyed, through God's mercy, had in the long run brought me right.

Fully, then, do I recognize the rights of conscience in this matter. I find no fault with your stating, as clearly and completely as you can, the difficulties which stand in the way of your joining us. I cannot wonder that you begin with stipulating conditions of union, though I do not concur in them myself, and think that in the event you yourself would be content to let them drop. Such representations as yours are necessary to open the subject in debate; they ascertain how the land lies, and serve to clear the ground. Thus I begin:—but after allowing as much as this, I am obliged

in honesty to say what I fear, my dear Pusey, will pain you. Yet I am confident, my very dear Friend, that at least you will not be angry with me if I say, what I must say, or say nothing at all, that there is much both in the matter and in the manner of your Volume, calculated to wound those who love you well, but love truth more. So it is; with the best motives and kindest intentions,— "Cædimur, et totidem plagis consumimus hostem." We give you a sharp cut, and you return it. You complain of our being "dry, hard, and unsympathizing;" and we answer that you are unfair and irritating. But we at least have not professed to be composing an Irenicon, when we treated you as foes. There was one of old time who wreathed his sword in myrtle; excuse me— you discharge your olive-branch as if from a catapult.

Do not think I am not serious; if I spoke seriously, I should seem to speak harshly. Who will venture to assert, that the hundred pages which you have devoted to the Blessed Virgin give other than a one-sided view of our teaching about her, little suited to win us? It may be a salutary castigation, if any of us have fairly provoked it, but it is not making the best of matters; it is not smoothing the way for an understanding or a compromise. It leads a writer in the most moderate and liberal Anglican newspaper of the day, the "Guardian," to turn away from your repre-

sentation of us with horror. "It is language," says your Reviewer, "which, after having often heard it, we still can only hear with horror. We had rather not quote any of it, or of the comments upon it." What could an Exeter Hall orator, what could a Scotch commentator on the Apocalypse, do more for his own side of the controversy in the picture he drew of us? You may be sure that what creates horror on one side, will be answered by indignation on the other, and these are not the most favourable dispositions for a peace conference. I had been accustomed to think, that you, who in times past were ever less declamatory in controversy than myself, now that years had gone on, and circumstances changed, had come to look on our old warfare against Rome as cruel and inexpedient. Indeed, I know that it was a chief objection urged against me only last year by persons who agreed with you in deprecating an Oratory at Oxford, which at that time was in prospect, that such an undertaking would be the signal for the rekindling of that fierce style of polemics which is now out of date. I had fancied you shared in that opinion; but now, as if to show how imperative you deem its renewal, you actually bring to life one of my own strong sayings in 1841, which had long been in the grave,—that "the Roman Church comes as near to idolatry as can be supposed in a Church, of which it is said, 'The idols He shall utterly abolish.'"—p. 111.

I know, indeed, and feel deeply, that your frequent references, in your Volume, to what I have lately or formerly written, are caused by your strong desire to be still one with me as far as you can, and by that true affection, which takes pleasure in dwelling on such sayings of mine as you can still accept with the full approbation of your judgment. I trust I am not ungrateful or irresponsive to you in this respect; but other considerations have an imperative claim to be taken into account. Pleasant as it is to agree with you, I am bound to explain myself in cases in which I have changed my mind, or have given a wrong impression of my meaning, or have been wrongly reported; and, while I trust that I have higher than such personal motives for addressing you in print, yet it will serve to introduce my main subject, and give me an opportunity for remarks which bear upon it indirectly, if I dwell for a page or two on such matters contained in your Volume as concern myself.

1. The mistake which I have principally in view is the belief which is widely spread, that I have publicly spoken of the Anglican Church as "the great bulwark against infidelity in this land." In a pamphlet of yours a year old, you spoke of "a very earnest body of Roman Catholics," who "rejoice in all the workings of God the Holy Ghost in the Church of England (whatever they think of her), and are saddened by what weakens her who

is, in God's hands, the great bulwark against infidelity in this land." The concluding words you were thought to quote from my *Apologia*. In consequence, Dr. Manning, now our Archbishop, replied to you, asserting, as you say, "the contradictory of that statement." In that counter-assertion, he was at the time generally considered (rightly or wrongly as it may be), though writing to you, to be really correcting statements in my *Apologia*, without introducing my name. Further, in the Volume, which you have now published, you recur to the saying; and you speak of its author in terms, which, did I not know your partial kindness for me, would hinder me from identifying him with myself. You say, "The saying was not mine, but that of one of the deepest thinkers and observers in the Roman Communion," p. 7. A friend has suggested to me that perhaps you mean De Maistre; and, from an anonymous letter which I have received from Dublin, I find it is certain that the very words in question were once used by Archbishop Murray; but you speak of the author of them as if now alive. At length, a reviewer of your Volume in the "Weekly Register," distinctly attributes them to me by name, and gives me the first opportunity I have had of disowning them; and this I now do. What, at some time or other, I may have said in conversation or private letter, of course, I cannot tell; but I have never, I am sure, used the word "bulwark" of the Anglican Church deliberately. What I said in my *Apologia*

was this:—That that Church was "a serviceable breakwater against errors more fundamental than its own." A bulwark is an integral part of the thing it defends; whereas the words "serviceable" and "breakwater" imply a kind of protection, which is accidental and *de facto*. Again, in saying that the Anglican Church is a defence against "errors more fundamental than its own," I imply that it has errors, and those fundamental.

2. There is another passage in your Volume, at p. 337, which it may be right to observe upon. You have made a collection of passages from the Fathers, as witnesses in behalf of your doctrine that the whole Christian faith is contained in Scripture, as if, in your sense of the words, Catholics contradicted you here. And you refer to my Notes on St. Athanasius as contributing passages to your list; but, after all, neither do you, nor do I in my Notes, affirm any doctrine which Rome denies. Those Notes also make frequent reference to a traditional teaching, which (be the faith ever so certainly contained in Scripture), still is necessary as a Regula Fidei, for showing us that it is contained there; vid. pp. 283, 344; and this tradition, I know, you uphold as fully as I do in the Notes in question. In consequence, you allow that there is a twofold rule, Scripture and Tradition; and this is all that Catholics say. How, then, do Anglicans differ from Rome here? I believe the difference is merely one of words; and I shall be doing, so far, the work

of an Irenicon, if I make clear what this verbal difference is. Catholics and Anglicans (I do not say Protestants), attach different meanings to the word "proof," in the controversy whether the whole faith is, or is not, contained in Scripture. We mean that not every article of faith is so contained there, that it may thence be logically proved, *independently* of the teaching and authority of the Tradition; but Anglicans mean that every article of faith is so contained there, that it may thence be proved, *provided* there be added the illustrations and compensations supplied by the Tradition. And it is in this latter sense that the Fathers also speak in the passages which you quote from them. I am sure at least that St. Athanasius frequently adduces passages in proof of points in controversy, which no one would see to be proofs, unless Apostolical Tradition were taken into account, first as suggesting, then as authoritatively ruling their meaning. Thus, *you* do not deny, that the whole is not in Scripture in such sense that pure unaided logic can draw it from the sacred text; nor do *we* deny, that the faith is in Scripture, in an improper sense, in the sense that *Tradition* is able to recognize and determine it there. You do not profess to dispense with Tradition; nor do we forbid the idea of probable, secondary, symbolical, connotative, senses of Scripture, over and above those which properly belong to the wording and context. I hope you will agree with me in this.

3. Nor is it only in isolated passages that you give me a place in your Volume. A considerable portion of it is written with a reference to two publications of mine, one of which you name and defend, the other you implicitly protest against; Tract 90, and the Essay on Doctrinal Development. As to Tract 90, you have from the first, as all the world knows, boldly stood up for it, in spite of the obloquy which it brought upon you, and have done me a great service. You are now republishing it with my cordial concurrence; but I take this opportunity of noticing, lest there should be any mistake on the part of the public, that you do so with a different object from that which I had when I wrote it. Its original purpose was simply that of justifying myself and others in subscribing to the 39 Articles, while professing many tenets which had popularly been considered distinctive of the Roman faith. I considered that my interpretation of the Articles, as I gave it in that Tract, would stand, provided the parties imposing them allowed it; otherwise, I thought it could not stand: and, when in the event the Bishops and public opinion did not allow it, I gave up my Living, as having no right to retain it. My feeling about the interpretation is expressed in a passage in Loss and Gain, which runs thus:—

"'Is it,' asked Reding, 'a received view?' 'No view is received,' said the other; 'the Articles themselves are received, but there is no authoritative interpretation of them at all.' 'Well,' said Reding, 'is it a tolerated view?' 'It

certainly has been strongly opposed,' answered Bateman; 'but it has never been condemned.' 'That is no answer,' said Charles. 'Does any one Bishop hold it? Did any one Bishop ever hold it? Has it ever been formally admitted as tenable by any one Bishop? Is it a view got up to meet existing difficulties, or has it an historical existence?' Bateman could give only one answer to these questions, as they were successively put to him. 'I thought so,' said Charles; 'the view is specious certainly. I don't see why it might not have done, had it been tolerably sanctioned; but you have no sanction to show me. As it stands, it is a mere theory struck out by individuals. Our Church *might* have adopted this mode of interpreting the Articles; but, from what you tell me, it certainly has not done so.' "—Ch. 15.

However, the Tract did not carry its object and conditions on its face, and necessarily lay open to interpretations very far from the true one. Dr. Wiseman (as he then was), in particular, with the keen apprehension which was his characteristic, at once saw in it a basis of accommodation between Anglicanism and Rome. He suggested broadly that the decrees of the Council of Trent should be made the rule of interpretation for the 39 Articles, a proceeding, of which Sancta Clara, I think, had set the example; and, as you have observed, published a letter to Lord Shrewsbury on the subject, of which the following are extracts:—

"We Catholics must necessarily deplore [England's] separation as a deep moral evil,—as a state of schism, of which nothing can justify the continuance. Many members of the Anglican Church view it in the same light as to the first point —its sad evil; though they excuse their individual position in it as an unavoidable misfortune. . . . We may depend upon a willing, an able, and a most zealous co-operation with any

effort which we may make, towards bringing her into her rightful position, in Catholic unity with the Holy See and the Churches of its obedience,—in other words, with the Church Catholic. Is this a visionary idea? Is it merely the expression of a strong desire? I know that many will so judge it; and, perhaps, were I to consult my own quiet, I would not venture to express it. But I will, in simplicity of heart, cling to hopefulness, cheered, as I feel it, by so many promising appearances. . . .

"A natural question here presents itself;—what facilities appear in the present state of things for bringing about so happy a consummation, as the reunion of England to the Catholic Church, beyond what have before existed, and particularly under Archbishops Laud or Wake. It strikes me, many. First, &c. . . . A still more promising circumstance I think your Lordship will with me consider the *plan* which the eventful Tract No. 90 has pursued, and in which Mr. Ward, Mr. Oakeley, and even Dr. Pusey have agreed. I allude to the method of *bringing their doctrines into accordance with ours by explanation.* A foreign priest has pointed out to us a valuable document for our consideration,—'Bossuet's Reply to the Pope,'—when consulted on the best method of reconciling the followers of the Augsburg Confession with the Holy See. The learned Bishop observes, that Providence had allowed so much Catholic truth to be preserved in that Confession, that full advantage should be taken of the circumstance; that no retractations should be demanded, but an explanation of the Confession in accordance with Catholic doctrines. Now, for such a method as this, the way is in part prepared by the demonstration that such interpretation may be given of the most difficult Articles, as will strip them of all contradiction to the decrees of the Tridentine Synod. The same method may be pursued on other points; and much pain may thus be spared to individuals, and much difficulty to the Church."—Pp. 11. 35. 38.

This use of my Tract, so different from my own, but sanctioned by the great name of our Cardinal, you are now reviving; and I gather from your doing so, that your Bishops and the opinion of the public

are likely now, or in prospect, to admit what twenty-five years ago they refused. On this point, much as it rejoices me to know your anticipation, of course, I cannot have an opinion.

4. So much for Tract 90. On the other hand, as to my hypothesis of Doctrinal Development, I am sorry to find you do not look upon it with friendly eyes; though how, without its aid, you can maintain the doctrines of the Holy Trinity and Incarnation, and others which you hold, I cannot understand. You consider my principle may be the means, in time to come, of introducing into our Creed, as portions of the necessary Catholic faith, the Infallibility of the Pope, and various opinions, pious or profane, as it may be, about our Blessed Lady. I hope to remove your anxiety as to these consequences, before I bring my observations to an end; at present I notice it as my apology for interfering in a controversy which at first sight is no business of mine.

5. I have another reason for writing; and that is, unless it is rude in me to say so, because you seem to think writing does not become me, as being a convert. I do not like silently to acquiesce in such a judgment. You say at p. 98:—

"Nothing can be more unpractical than for an individual to throw himself into the Roman Church, because he could accept the *letter* of the Council of Trent. Those who were born Roman Catholics, have a liberty, which, in the nature of things, a person could not have, who left another system, to embrace that of Rome. I cannot imagine how any faith could

stand the shock of leaving one system, criticizing *it*, and cast himself into another system, criticizing *it*. For myself, I have always felt that had (which God of His mercy avert hereafter also) the English Church, by accepting heresy, driven me out of it, I could have gone in no other way than that of closing my eyes, and accepting whatever was put before me. But a liberty which individuals could not use, and explanations, which, so long as they remain individual, must be unauthoritative, might be formally made by the Church of Rome to the Church of England as the basis of re-union."

And again, p. 210:—

"It seems to me to be a psychological impossibility for one who has already exchanged one system for another to make those distinctions. One who, by his own act, places himself under authority, cannot make conditions about his submission. But definite explanations of our Articles have, before now, been at least tentatively offered to us, on the Roman and Greek side, as sufficient to restore communion; and the Roman explanations too were, in most cases, mere supplements to our Articles, on points upon which our Church had not spoken."

Now passages such as these seem almost a challenge to me to speak; and to keep silence would be to assent to the justice of them. At the cost, then, of speaking about myself, of which I feel there has been too much of late, I observe upon them as follows:—Of course, as you say, a convert comes to learn, and not to pick and choose. He comes in simplicity and confidence, and it does not occur to him to weigh and measure every proceeding, every practice which he meets with among those whom he has joined. He comes to Catholicism as to a living system, with a living teaching,

and not to a mere collection of decrees and canons, which by themselves are of course but the framework, not the body and substance of the Church. And this is a truth which concerns, which binds, those also who never knew any other religion, not only the convert. By the Catholic system, I mean that rule of life, and those practices of devotion, for which we shall look in vain in the Creed of Pope Pius. The convert comes, not only to believe the Church, but also to trust and obey her priests, and to conform himself in charity to her people. It would never do for him to resolve that he never would say a Hail Mary, never avail himself of an indulgence, never kiss a crucifix, never accept the Lent dispensations, never mention a venial sin in confession. All this would not only be unreal, but dangerous too, as arguing a wrong state of mind, which could not look to receive the divine blessing. Moreover, he comes to the ceremonial, and the moral theology, and the ecclesiastical regulations, which he finds on the spot where his lot is cast. And again, as regards matters of politics, of education, of general expedience, of taste, he does not criticize or controvert. And thus surrendering himself to the influences of his new religion, and not risking the loss of revealed truth altogether by attempting by a private rule to discriminate every moment its substance from its accidents, he is gradually so indoctrinated in Catholicism, as at length to have a right to speak as well as to

hear. Also in course of time a new generation rises round him; and there is no reason why he should not know as much, and decide questions with as true an instinct, as those who perhaps number fewer years than he does Easter communions. He has mastered the fact and the nature of the differences of theologian from theologian, school from school, nation from nation, era from era. He knows that there is much of what may be called fashion in opinions and practices, according to the circumstances of time and place, according to current politics, the character of the Pope of the day, or the chief Prelates of a particular country;—and that fashions change. His experience tells him, that sometimes what is denounced in one place as a great offence, or preached up as a first principle, has in another nation been immemorially regarded in just a contrary sense, or has made no sensation at all, one way or the other, when brought before public opinion; and that loud talkers, in the Church as elsewhere, are apt to carry all before them, while quiet and conscientious persons commonly have to give way. He perceives that, in matters which happen to be in debate, ecclesiastical authority watches the state of opinion and the direction and course of controversy, and decides accordingly; so that in certain cases to keep back his own judgment on a point, is to be disloyal to his superiors.

So far generally; now in particular as to myself. After twenty years of Catholic life, I feel no deli-

cacy in giving my opinion on any point when there is a call for me,—and the only reason why I have not done so sooner or more often than I have, is that there has been no call. I have now reluctantly come to the conclusion that your Volume *is* a call. Certainly, in many instances in which theologian differs from theologian, and country from country, I have a definite judgment of my own; I can say so without offence to any one, for the very reason that from the nature of the case it is impossible to agree with all of them. I prefer English habits of belief and devotion to foreign, from the same causes, and by the same right, which justifies foreigners in preferring their own. In following those of my people, I show less singularity, and create less disturbance than if I made a flourish with what is novel and exotic. And in this line of conduct I am but availing myself of the teaching which I fell in with on becoming a Catholic; and it is a pleasure to me to think that what I hold now, and would transmit after me if I could, is only what I received then. The utmost delicacy was observed on all hands in giving me advice: only one warning remains on my mind, and it came from Dr. Griffiths, the late Vicar-Apostolic of the London district. He warned me against books of devotion of the Italian school, which were just at that time coming into England; and when I asked him what books he recommended as safe guides, he bade me get the works of Bishop Hay. By this I did not understand that he was

jealous of all Italian books, or made himself responsible for all that Dr. Hay happens to have said; but I took him to caution me against a character and tone of religion, excellent in its place, not suited for England. When I went to Rome, though it may seem strange to you to say it, even there I learned nothing inconsistent with this judgment. Local influences do not form the atmosphere of its institutions and colleges, which are Catholic in teaching as well as in name. I recollect one saying among others of my confessor, a Jesuit father, one of the holiest, most prudent men I ever knew. He said that we could not love the Blessed Virgin too much, if we loved our Lord a great deal more. When I returned to England, the first expression of theological opinion which came in my way, was *apropos* of the series of translated Saints' Lives which the late Dr. Faber originated. That expression proceeded from a wise prelate, who was properly anxious as to the line which might be taken by the Oxford converts, then for the first time coming into work. According as I recollect his opinion, he was apprehensive of the effect of Italian compositions, as unsuited to this country, and suggested that the Lives should be original works, drawn up by ourselves and our friends from Italian sources. If at that time I was betrayed into any acts which were of a more extreme character than I should approve now, the responsibility of course is mine; but the impulse came, not from

old Catholics or superiors, but from men whom I loved and trusted, who were younger than myself. But to whatever extent I might be carried away, and I cannot recollect any tangible instances, my mind in no long time fell back to what seems to me a safer and more practical course.

Though I am a convert, then, I think I have a right to speak out; and that the more because other converts have spoken for a long time, while I have not spoken; and with still more reason may I speak without offence in the case of your present criticisms of us, considering that, in the charges you bring, the only two English writers you quote in evidence, are both of them converts, younger in age than myself. I put aside the Archbishop of course, because of his office. These two authors are worthy of all consideration, at once from their character and from their ability. In their respective lines they are perhaps without equals at this particular time; and they deserve the influence they possess. One is still in the vigour of his powers; the other has departed amid the tears of hundreds. It is pleasant to praise them for their real excellencies; but why do you rest on them as authorities? You say of the one that he was "a popular writer;" but is there not sufficient reason for this in the fact of his remarkable gifts, of his poetical fancy, his engaging frankness, his playful wit, his affectionateness, his sensitive piety, without supposing that the wide diffusion of his works

arises out of his particular sentiments about the Blessed Virgin? And as to our other friend, do not his energy, acuteness, and theological reading, displayed on the vantage ground of the historic "Dublin Review," fully account for the sensation he has produced, without supposing that any great number of our body go his lengths in their view of the Pope's infallibility? Our silence as regards their writings is very intelligible: it is not agreeable to protest, in the sight of the world, against the writings of men in our own communion whom we love and respect. But the plain fact is this,—they came to the Church, and have thereby saved their souls; but they are in no sense spokesmen for English Catholics, and they must not stand in the place of those who have a real title to such an office. The chief authors of the passing generation, some of them still alive, others gone to their reward, are Cardinal Wiseman, Dr. Ullathorne, Dr. Lingard, Mr. Tierney, Dr. Oliver, Dr. Rock, Dr. Waterworth, Dr. Husenbeth, and Mr. Flanagan; which of these ecclesiastics has said any thing extreme about the prerogatives of the Blessed Virgin or the infallibility of the Pope?

I cannot, then, without remonstrance, allow you to identify the doctrine of our Oxford friends in question, on the two subjects I have mentioned, with the present spirit or the prospective creed of Catholics; or to assume, as you do, that, because they are thorough-going and relentless in their

statements, therefore they are the harbingers of a new age, when to show a deference for Antiquity will be thought little else than a mistake. For myself, hopeless as you consider it, I am not ashamed still to take my stand upon the Fathers, and do not mean to budge. The history of their times is not yet an old almanac to me. Of course I maintain the value and authority of the "Schola," as one of the *loci theologici;* still I sympathize with Petavius in preferring to its "contentious and subtle theology," that "more elegant and fruitful teaching which is moulded after the image of erudite antiquity." The Fathers made me a Catholic, and I am not going to kick down the ladder by which I ascended into the Church. It is a ladder quite as serviceable for that purpose now as it was twenty years ago. Though I hold, as you know, a process of development in Apostolic truth as time goes on, such development does not supersede the Fathers, but explains and completes them. And, in particular, as regards our teaching concerning the Blessed Virgin, with the Fathers I am content;—and to the subject of that teaching I mean to address myself at once. I do so, because you say, as I myself have said in former years, that "That vast system as to the Blessed Virgin . . . . to all of us has been the special *crux* of the Roman system."—P. 101. Here, I say, as on other points, the Fathers are enough for me. I do not wish to say more than they, and will not say less. You, I

know, will profess the same; and thus we can join issue on a clear and broad principle, and may hope to come to some intelligible result. We are to have a Treatise on the subject of our Lady soon from the pen of the Most Reverend Prelate; but that cannot interfere with such a mere argument from the Fathers as that to which I shall confine myself here. Nor indeed, as regards that argument itself, do I profess to be offering you any new matter, any facts which have not been used by others,—by great divines, as Petavius, by living writers, nay, by myself on other occasions; I write afresh nevertheless, and that for three reasons; first, because I wish to contribute to the accurate statement and the full exposition of the argument in question; next, because I may gain a more patient hearing than has sometimes been granted to better men than myself; lastly, because there just now seems a call on me, under my circumstances, to avow plainly what I do and what I do not hold about the Blessed Virgin, that others may know, did they come to stand where I stand, what they would and what they would not be bound to hold concerning her.

I BEGIN by making a distinction which will go far to remove good part of the difficulty of my undertaking, as it presents itself to ordinary inquirers,—the distinction between faith and devotion. I fully grant that *devotion* towards the Blessed Virgin has increased among Catholics with the progress of centuries; I do not allow that the *doctrine* concerning her has undergone a growth, for I believe that it has been in substance one and the same from the beginning.

By "faith" I mean the Creed and the acceptance of the Creed; by "devotion" I mean such religious honours as belong to the objects of our faith, and the payment of those honours. Faith and devotion are as distinct in fact as they are in idea. We cannot, indeed, be devout without faith, but we may believe without feeling devotion. Of this phenomenon every one has experience both in himself and in others; and we express it as often as we speak of realizing a truth or not realizing it. It may be illustrated, with more or less exactness, by matters which come before us in the world. For instance, a great author, or public man, may be acknowledged as such for a course of years; yet

there may be an increase, an ebb and flow, and a fashion, in his popularity. And if he takes a lasting place in the minds of his countrymen, he may gradually grow into it, or suddenly be raised to it. The idea of Shakespeare as a great poet, has existed from a very early date in public opinion; and there were at least individuals then who understood him as well, and honoured him as much, as the English people can honour him now; yet, I think, there is a national devotion to him in this day such as never has been before. This has happened, because, as education spreads in the country, there are more men able to enter into his poetical genius, and, among these, more capacity again for deeply and critically understanding him; and yet, from the first, he has exerted a great insensible influence over the nation, as is seen in the circumstance that his phrases and sentences, more than can be numbered, have become almost proverbs among us. And so again in philosophy, and in the arts and sciences, great truths and principles have sometimes been known and acknowledged for a course of years; but, whether from feebleness of intellectual power in the recipients, or external circumstances of an accidental kind, they have not been turned to account. Thus the Chinese are said to have known of the properties of the magnet from time immemorial, and to have used it for land expeditions, yet not on the sea. Again, the ancients knew of the principle that water finds its own

level, but seem to have made little application of their knowledge. And Aristotle was familiar with the principle of induction; yet it was left for Bacon to develope it into an experimental philosophy. Illustrations such as these, though not altogether apposite, serve to convey that distinction between faith and devotion on which I am insisting. It is like the distinction between objective and subjective truth. The sun in the spring-time will have to shine many days before he is able to melt the frost, open the soil, and bring out the leaves; yet he shines out from the first, notwithstanding, though he makes his power felt but gradually. It is one and the same sun, though his influence day by day becomes greater; and so in the Catholic Church it is the one Virgin Mother, one and the same from first to last, and Catholics may acknowledge her; and yet, in spite of that acknowledgment, their devotion to her may be scanty in one time and place, and overflowing in another.

This distinction is forcibly brought home to a convert, as a peculiarity of the Catholic religion, on his first introduction to its worship. The faith is every where one and the same; but a large liberty is accorded to private judgment and inclination in matters of devotion. Any large church, with its collections and groups of people, will illustrate this. The fabric itself is dedicated to Almighty God, and that, under the invocation of the Blessed Virgin, or some particular Saint; or again, of some mystery be-

longing to the Divine Name or to the Incarnation, or of some mystery associated with the Blessed Virgin. Perhaps there are seven altars or more in it, and these again have their several Saints. Then there is the Feast proper to the particular day; and, during the celebration of Mass, of all the worshippers who crowd around the Priest, each has his own particular devotions, with which he follows the rite. No one interferes with his neighbour; agreeing, as it were, to differ, they pursue independently a common end, and by paths, distinct but converging, present themselves before God. Then there are Confraternities attached to the church,—of the Sacred Heart, or the Precious Blood; associations of prayer for a good death, or the repose of departed souls, or the conversion of the heathen; devotions connected with the brown, blue, or red scapular;—not to speak of the great ordinary Ritual through the four seasons, the constant Presence of the Blessed Sacrament, its ever-recurring rite of Benediction, and its extraordinary forty hours' Exposition. Or, again, look through some such manual of prayers as the *Raccolta*, and you at once will see both the number and the variety of devotions, which are open to individual Catholics to choose from, according to their religious taste and prospect of personal edification.

Now these diversified modes of honouring God did not come to us in a day, or only from the Apostles; they are the accumulations of centuries;

and, as in the course of years some of them spring up, so others decline and die. Some are local, in memory of some particular saint, who happens to be the Evangelist, or Patron, or pride of the nation, or who is entombed in the church, or in the city where it stands; and these, necessarily, cannot have an earlier date than the Saint's day of death or interment there. The first of such sacred observances, long before these national memories, were the devotions paid to the Apostles, then those which were paid to the Martyrs; yet there were Saints nearer to our Lord than either Martyrs or Apostles; but, as if these had been lost in the effulgence of His glory, and because they were not manifested in external works separate from Him, it happened that for a long while they were less dwelt upon. However, in process of time, the Apostles, and then the Martyrs, exerted less influence than before over the popular mind, and the local Saints, new creations of God's power, took their place, or again, the Saints of some religious order here or there established. Then, as comparatively quiet times succeeded, the religious meditations of holy men and their secret intercourse with heaven gradually exerted an influence out of doors, and permeated the Christian populace, by the instrumentality of preaching and by the ceremonial of the Church. Then those luminous stars rose in the ecclesiastical heavens, which were of more august dignity than any which had preceded them, and were late in rising, for the

very reason that they were so specially glorious. Those names, I say, which at first sight might have been expected to enter soon into the devotions of the faithful, with better reason might have been looked for at a later date, and actually were late in their coming. St. Joseph furnishes the most striking instance of this remark; here is the clearest of instances of the distinction between doctrine and devotion. Who, from his prerogatives and the testimony on which they come to us, had a greater claim to receive an early recognition among the faithful? A saint of Scripture, the foster-father of our Lord, he was an object of the universal and absolute faith of the Christian world from the first, yet the devotion to him is comparatively of late date. When once it began, men seemed surprised that it had not been thought of before; and now, they hold him next to the Blessed Virgin in their religious affection and veneration.

As regards the Blessed Virgin, I shall postpone the question of devotion for a while, and inquire first into the doctrine of the undivided Church (to use your controversial phrase), on the subject of her prerogatives.

What is the great rudimental teaching of Antiquity from its earliest date concerning her? By "rudimental teaching" I mean the *primâ facie* view of her person and office, the broad outline laid down of her, the aspect under which she comes

to us, in the writings of the Fathers. She is the Second Eve[1]. Now let us consider what this implies. Eve had a definite, essential position in the First Covenant. The fate of the human race lay with Adam; he it was who represented us. It was in Adam that we fell; though Eve had fallen, still, if Adam had stood, we should not have lost those supernatural privileges which were bestowed upon him as our first father. Yet though Eve was not the head of the race, still, even as regards the race, she had a place of her own; for Adam, to whom was divinely committed the naming of all things, entitled her "the Mother of all the living," a name surely expressive, not of a fact only, but of a dignity; but further, as she thus had her own general relation to the human race, so again had she her own special place, as regards its trial and its fall in Adam. In those primeval events, Eve had an integral share. "The woman, being seduced, was in the transgression." She listened to the Evil Angel; she offered the fruit to her husband, and he ate of it. She co-operated, not as an irresponsible instrument, but intimately and personally in the sin: she brought it about. As the history stands, she was a *sine-qua-non*, a positive, active, cause of it. And she had her share in its punishment; in the sentence pronounced on her, she was recognized as a real agent in the temptation and its issue,

[1] Vid. Essay on Development of Doctrine, 1845, p. 384, &c.

and she suffered accordingly. In that awful transaction there were three parties concerned,—the serpent, the woman, and the man; and at the time of their sentence, an event was announced for the future, in which the three same parties were to meet again, the serpent, the woman, and the man; but it was to be a second Adam and a second Eve, and the new Eve was to be the mother of the new Adam. "I will put enmity between thee and the woman, and between thy seed and her seed." The Seed of the woman is the Word Incarnate, and the Woman, whose seed or son He is, is His mother Mary. This interpretation, and the parallelism it involves, seem to me undeniable; but at all events (and this is my point) the parallelism is the doctrine of the Fathers, from the earliest times; and, this being established, we are able, by the position and office of Eve in our fall, to determine the position and office of Mary in our restoration.

I shall adduce passages from their writings, with their respective countries and dates; and the dates shall extend from their births or conversions to their deaths, since what they propound is at once the doctrine which they had received from the generation before them, and the doctrine which was accepted and recognized as true by the generation to whom they transmitted it.

First then St. Justin Martyr (A.D. 120—165), St. Irenæus (120—200) and Tertullian (160—240). Of these Tertullian represents Africa and Rome;

St. Justin represents Palestine; and St. Irenæus Asia Minor and Gaul;—or rather he represents St. John the Evangelist, for he had been taught by the Martyr St. Polycarp, who was the intimate associate, as of St. John, so of the other Apostles.

1. St. Justin[2]:—

"We know that He, before all creatures, proceeded from the Father by His power and will, . . . and by means of the Virgin became man, that by what way the disobedience arising from the serpent had its beginning, by that way also it might have an undoing. For Eve, being a virgin and undefiled, conceiving the word that was from the serpent, brought forth disobedience and death; but the Virgin Mary, taking faith and joy, when the Angel told her the good tidings, that the Spirit of the Lord should come upon her and the power of the Highest, overshadow her, and therefore the Holy One that was born of her was Son of God, answered, Be it to me according to thy word."—*Tryph.* 100.

2. Tertullian:—

"God recovered His image and likeness, which the devil had seized, by a rival operation. For into Eve, as yet a virgin, had crept the word which was the framer of death. Equally into a virgin was to be introduced the Word of God which was the builder-up of life; that, what by that sex had gone into perdition, by the same sex might be brought back to salvation. Eve had believed the serpent; Mary believed Gabriel; the fault which the one committed by believing, the other by believing has blotted out."—*De Carn. Christ.* 17.

3. St. Irenæus:—

"With a fitness, Mary the Virgin is found obedient, saying,

---

[2] I have attempted to translate literally without caring to write English. The original passages are at the end of the Letter.

'Behold Thy handmaid, O Lord; be it to me according to thy word.' But Eve was disobedient; for she obeyed not, while she was yet a virgin. As she, having indeed Adam for a husband, but as yet being a virgin . . . . becoming disobedient, became the cause of death both to herself and to the whole human race, so also Mary, having the predestined man, and being yet a virgin, being obedient, became both to herself and to the whole human race the cause of salvation . . . . And on account of this the Lord said, that the first would be last and the last first. And the Prophet signifies the same, saying, 'Instead of fathers you have children.' For, whereas the Lord, when born, was the first begotten of the dead, and received into His bosom the primitive fathers, He regenerated them into the life of God, He Himself becoming the beginning of the living, since Adam became the beginning of the dying. Therefore also Luke, commencing the lines of generations from the Lord referred it back to Adam, signifying that He regenerated the old fathers, not they Him, into the Gospel of life. And so the knot of Eve's disobedience received its unloosing through the obedience of Mary; for what Eve, a virgin, bound by incredulity, that Mary, a virgin, unloosed by faith."—*Adv. Hær.* iii. 22. 34.

And again,—

"As Eve by the speech of an Angel was seduced, so as to flee God, transgressing His word, so also Mary received the good tidings by means of the Angel's speech, so as to bear God within her, being obedient to His word. And, though the one had disobeyed God, yet the other was drawn to obey God; that of the virgin Eve the virgin Mary might become the advocate. And, as by a virgin the human race had been bound to death, by a virgin it is saved, the balance being preserved, a virgin's disobedience by a virgin's obedience."—*Ibid.* v. 19.

Now, what is especially noticeable in these three writers, is, that they do not speak of the Blessed Virgin merely as the physical instrument of our

Lord's taking flesh, but as an intelligent, responsible cause of it; her faith and obedience being accessories to the Incarnation, and gaining it as her reward. As Eve failed in these virtues, and thereby brought on the fall of the race in Adam, so Mary by means of them had a part in its restoration. You surely imply, pp. 255, 256, that the Blessed Virgin was only a physical instrument in our redemption; "what has been said of her by the Fathers as the chosen *vessel* of the Incarnation, was applied *personally* to her," (that is, by Catholics,) p. 151, and again "the Fathers speak of the Blessed Virgin as the *instrument* of our salvation, *in that* she gave birth to the Redeemer," pp. 155, 156; whereas St. Augustine, in well-known passages, speaks of her as more exalted by her sanctity than by her relationship to our Lord[3]. However, not to go beyond the doctrine of the Three Fathers, they unanimously declare that she was *not* a mere instrument in the Incarnation, such as David, or Judah, may be considered; they declare she co-operated in our salvation, not merely by the descent of the Holy Ghost upon her body, but by specific holy acts, the effect of the Holy Ghost within her soul; that, as Eve forfeited privileges by sin, so Mary earned privileges by the fruits of grace; that, as Eve was disobedient and unbelieving, so Mary was obedient and believing; that, as Eve was a cause of ruin to all, Mary was a

[3] Opp. t. 3, p. 2, col. 369, t. 6, col. 342.

cause of salvation to all; that as Eve made room for Adam's fall, so Mary made room for our Lord's reparation of it; and thus, whereas the free gift was not as the offence, but much greater, it follows that, as Eve co-operated in effecting a great evil, Mary co-operated in effecting a much greater good.

And, besides the run of the argument, which reminds the reader of St. Paul's antithetical sentences in tracing the analogy between Adam's work and our Lord's work, it is well to observe the particular words under which the Blessed Virgin's office is described. Tertullian says that Mary "blotted out" Eve's fault, and "brought back the female sex," or "the human race, to salvation;" and St. Irenæus says that "by obedience she was the cause or occasion" (whatever was the original Greek word) "of salvation to herself and the whole human race;" that by her the human race is saved; that by her Eve's complication is disentangled; and that she is Eve's Advocate, or friend in need. It is supposed by critics, Protestant as well as Catholic, that the Greek word for Advocate in the original was Paraclete; it should be borne in mind, then, when we are accused of giving our Lady the titles and offices of her Son, that St. Irenæus bestows on her the special Name and office proper to the Holy Ghost.

So much as to the nature of this triple testimony; now as to the worth of it. For a moment put aside St. Irenæus, and put together St. Justin

in the East with Tertullian in the West. I think I may assume that the doctrine of these two Fathers about the Blessed Virgin, was the received doctrine of their own respective times and places; for writers after all are but witnesses of facts and beliefs, and as such they are treated by all parties in controversial discussion. Moreover, the coincidence of doctrine which they exhibit, and again, the antithetical completeness of it, show that they themselves did not originate it. The next question is, Who did? for from one definite organ or source, place or person, it must have come. Then we must inquire, what length of time would it take for such a doctrine to have extended, and to be received, in the second century over so wide an area; that is, to be received before the year 200 in Palestine, Africa, and Rome. Can we refer the common source of these local traditions to a date later than that of the Apostles, St. John dying within thirty or forty years of St. Justin's conversion and Tertullian's birth? Make what allowance you will for whatever possible exceptions can be taken to this representation; and then, after doing so, add to the concordant testimony of these two Fathers the evidence of St. Irenæus, which is so close upon the School of St. John himself in Asia Minor. "A three-fold cord," as the wise man says, "is not quickly broken." Only suppose there were so early and so broad a testimony, to the effect that our Lord was a mere man, the son of Joseph;

should we be able to insist upon the faith of the Holy Trinity as necessary to salvation? Or supposing three such witnesses could be brought to the fact that a consistory of elders governed the local churches, or that each local congregation was an independent Church, or that the Christian community was without priests, could Anglicans maintain their doctrine that the rule of Episcopal succession is necessary to constitute a Church? And then recollect that the Anglican Church especially appeals to the ante-Nicene centuries, and taunts us with having superseded their testimony.

Having then adduced these Three Fathers of the second century, I have at least got so far as this: viz.—no one, who acknowledges the force of early testimony in determining Christian truth, can wonder, no one can complain, can object, that we Catholics should hold a very high doctrine concerning the Blessed Virgin, unless indeed stronger statements can be brought for a contrary conception of her, either of as early, or at least of a later date. But, as far as I know, no statements can be brought from the ante-Nicene literature, to invalidate the testimony of the three Fathers concerning her; and little can be brought against it from the fourth century, while in that fourth century the current of testimony in her behalf is as strong as in the second; and, as to the fifth, it is far stronger than in any former time, both in its fulness

and its authority. This will to some extent be seen as I proceed.

4. St. Cyril of Jerusalem (315—386) speaks for Palestine:—

"Since through Eve, a Virgin, came death, it behoved, that through a Virgin, or rather from a Virgin, should life appear; that, as the Serpent had deceived the one, so to the other Gabriel might bring good tidings."—*Cat.* xii. 15.

5. St. Ephrem Syrus (he died 378) is a witness for the Syrians proper and the neighbouring Orientals, in contrast to the Græco-Syrians. A native of Nisibis on the further side of the Euphrates, he knew no language but Syriac.

"Through Eve, the beautiful and desirable glory of men was extinguished: but it has revived through Mary."—*Opp. Syr.* ii. p. 318.

Again:—

"In the beginning, by the sin of our first parents, death passed upon all men; to-day, through Mary we are translated from death unto life. In the beginning, the serpent filled the ears of Eve, and the poison spread thence over the whole body; to-day, Mary from her ears received the champion of eternal happiness: what, therefore, was an instrument of death, was an instrument of life also."—iii. p. 607.

I have already referred to St. Paul's contrast between Adam and our Lord in his Epistle to the Romans, as also in his first Epistle to the Corinthians. Some writers venture to say that there is no doctrinal truth, but a mere rhetorical display, in those passages. It is quite as easy to say so, as to attempt so to dispose of this received comparison,

in the writings of the Fathers, between Eve and Mary.

6. St. Epiphanius (320—400) speaks for Egypt, Palestine, and Cyprus:—

"She it is, who is signified by Eve, enigmatically receiving the appellation of the Mother of the living. . . . . It was a wonder that after the fall she had this great epithet. And, according to what is material, from that Eve all the race of men on earth is generated. But thus in truth from Mary the Life itself was born in the world, that Mary might bear living things, and become the Mother of living things. Therefore, enigmatically, Mary is called the Mother of living things . . . Also, there is another thing to consider as to these women, and wonderful, — as to Eve and Mary. Eve became a cause of death to man . . . . and Mary a cause of life; . . . that life might be instead of death, life excluding death which came from the woman, viz. He who through the woman has become our life."—*Hær.* 78. 18.

7. By the time of St. Jerome (331—420), the contrast between Eve and Mary had almost passed into a proverb. He says (*Ep.* xxii. 21, *ad Eustoch.*), "Death by Eve, life by Mary." Nor let it be supposed that he, any more than the preceding Fathers, considered the Blessed Virgin a mere physical instrument of giving birth to our Lord, who is the Life. So far from it, in the Epistle from which I have quoted, he is only adding another virtue to that crown which gained for Mary her divine Maternity. They have spoken of faith, joy, and obedience; St. Jerome adds, what they had only suggested, virginity. After the manner of the Fathers in his own day, he is setting forth the

Blessed Mary to the high-born Roman Lady, whom he is addressing, as the model of the virginal life; and his argument in its behalf is, that it is higher than the marriage-state, not in itself, viewed in any mere natural respect, but as being the free act of self-consecration to God, and from the personal religious purpose, which it involves.

"Higher wage," he says, "is due to that which is not a compulsion, but an offering; for, were virginity commanded, marriage would seem to be put out of the question; and it would be most cruel to force men against nature, and to extort from them an angel's life."—20.

I do not know whose testimony is more important than St. Jerome's, the friend of Pope Damasus at Rome, the pupil of St. Gregory Nazianzen at Constantinople, and of Didymus in Alexandria, a native of Dalmatia, yet an inhabitant, at different times of his life, of Gaul, Syria, and Palestine.

8. St. Jerome speaks for the whole world, except Africa; and for Africa in the fourth century, if we must limit so world-wide an authority to place, witnesses St. Augustine (354—430). He repeats the words as if a proverb, "By a woman death, by a woman life" (*Opp. t.* v. *Serm.* 232); elsewhere he enlarges on the idea conveyed in it. In one place he quotes St. Irenæus's words, as cited above (*adv. Julian* i. 4). In another he speaks as follows:—

"It is a great sacrament that, whereas through woman death became our portion, so life was born to us by woman; that, in the case of both sexes, male and female, the baffled devil should

be tormented, when on the overthrow of both sexes he was rejoicing; whose punishment had been small, if both sexes had been liberated in us, without our being liberated through both."—*Opp. t.* vi. *De Agon. Christ.* c. 24.

9. St. Peter Chrysologus (400—450), Bishop of Ravenna, and one of the chief authorities in the 4th General Council:—

"Blessed art thou among women; for among women, on whose womb Eve, who was cursed, brought punishment, Mary, being blest, rejoices, is honoured, and is looked up to. And woman now is truly made through grace the Mother of the living, who had been by nature the mother of the dying. . . . . Heaven feels awe of God, Angels tremble at Him, the creature sustains Him not, nature sufficeth not; and yet one maiden so takes, receives, entertains Him, as a guest within her breast, that, for the very hire of her home, and as the price of her womb, she asks, she obtains peace for the earth, glory for the heavens, salvation for the lost, life for the dead, a heavenly parentage for the earthly, the union of God Himself with human flesh."—*Serm.* 140.

It is difficult to express more explicitly, though in oratorical language, that the Blessed Virgin had a real meritorious co-operation, a share which had a "hire" and a "price," in the reversal of the fall.

10. St. Fulgentius, Bishop of Ruspe in Africa (468—533). The Homily which contains the following passage, is placed by Ceillier (t. xvi. p. 127), among his genuine works:—

"In the wife of the first man, the wickedness of the devil depraved her seduced mind; in the mother of the Second Man, the grace of God preserved both her mind inviolate and her flesh. On her mind it conferred the most firm faith; from her flesh it took away lust altogether. Since then man was in a

miserable way condemned for sin, therefore without sin was in a marvellous way born the God man."—*Serm.* 2, p. 124. *De Dupl. Nativ.*

Accordingly, in the Sermon which follows (if it is his), he continues, illustrating her office of universal Mother, as ascribed to her by St. Epiphanius:—

"Come ye virgins to a Virgin, come ye who conceive to her who conceived, ye who bear to one who bore, mothers to a mother, ye that suckle to one who suckled, young girls to the young girl. It is for this reason that the Virgin Mary has taken on her in our Lord Jesus Christ all these divisions of nature, that to all women who have recourse to her, she may be a succour, and so restore the whole race of women who come to her, being the new Eve, by keeping virginity, as the new Adam, the Lord Jesus Christ, recovers the whole race of men."

Such is the rudimental view, as I have called it, which the Fathers have given us of Mary, as the Second Eve, the Mother of the living: I have cited ten authors. I could cite more, were it necessary: except the two last, they write gravely and without any rhetoric. I allow that the two last write in a different style, since the extracts I have made are from their sermons; but I do not see that the colouring conceals the outline. And after all, men use oratory on great subjects, not on small;—nor would they, and other Fathers whom I might quote, have lavished their high language upon the Blessed Virgin, such as they gave to no one else, unless they knew well that no one else had such claims, as she had, on their love and veneration.

And now, I proceed to dwell for a while upon two inferences, which it is obvious to draw from the rudimental doctrine itself; the first relates to the sanctity of the Blessed Virgin, the second to her greatness.

1. Her sanctity. She holds, as the Fathers teach us, that office in our restoration which Eve held in our fall:—now in the first place what were Eve's endowments to enable her to enter upon her trial? She could not have stood against the wiles of the devil, though she was innocent and sinless, without the grant of a large grace. And this she had;—a heavenly gift, which was over and above and additional to that nature of hers, which she received from Adam, as Adam before her had also received the same gift, at the very time (as it is commonly held) of his original creation. This is Anglican doctrine as well as Catholic; it is the doctrine of Bishop Bull. He has written a dissertation on the point. He speaks of the doctrine which "many of the Schoolmen affirm, that Adam was created in grace, that is, received a principle of grace and divine life from his very creation, or in the moment of the infusion of his soul; of which," he says, "for my own part I have little doubt." Again, he says, "It is abundantly manifest from the many testimonies alleged, that the ancient doctors of the Church did, with a general consent, acknowledge, that our first parents in the state of integrity, had in them something more

than nature, that is, were endowed with the divine principle of the Spirit, in order to a supernatural felicity."

Now, taking this for granted, because I know that you and those who agree with you maintain it as well as we do, I ask, was not Mary as fully endowed as Eve? is it any violent inference, that she, who was to co-operate in the redemption of the world, at least was not less endowed with power from on high, than she who, given as a helpmate to her husband, did in the event but co-operate with him for its ruin. If Eve was raised above human nature by that indwelling moral gift which we call grace, is it rash to say that Mary had a greater grace? And this consideration gives significance to the Angel's salutation of her as "full of grace,"—an interpretation of the original word which is undoubtedly the right one, as soon as we resist the common Protestant assumption that grace is a mere external approbation or acceptance, answering to the word "favour," whereas it is, as the Fathers teach, a real inward condition or superadded quality of soul. And if Eve had this supernatural inward gift given her from the first moment of her personal existence, is it possible to deny that Mary too had this gift from the very first moment of her personal existence? I do not know how to resist this inference:—well, this is simply and literally the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception. I say the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception is

in its substance this, and nothing more or less than this (putting aside the question of degrees of grace); and it really does seem to me bound up in that doctrine of the Fathers, that Mary is the second Eve.

It is to me a most strange phenomenon that so many learned and devout men stumble at this doctrine, and I can only account for it by supposing that in matter of fact they do not know what we mean by the Immaculate Conception; and your Volume (may I say it?) bears out my suspicion. It is a great consolation to have reason for thinking so,—for believing that in some sort the persons in question are in the position of those great Saints in former times, who are said to have hesitated about it, when they would not have hesitated at all, if the word "Conception" had been clearly explained in that sense in which now it is universally received. I do not see how any one who holds with Bull the Catholic doctrine of the supernatural endowments of our first parents, has fair reason for doubting our doctrine about the Blessed Virgin. It has no reference whatever to her parents, but simply to her own person; it does but affirm that, together with the nature which she inherited from her parents, that is, her own nature, she had a superadded fulness of grace, and that from the first moment of her existence. Suppose Eve had stood the trial, and not lost her first grace; and suppose she had eventually had children, those children

from the first moment of their existence would, through divine bounty, have received the same privilege that she had ever had; that is, as she was taken from Adam's side, in a garment, so to say, of grace, so they in turn would have received what may be called an immaculate conception. They would have been conceived in grace, as in fact they are conceived in sin. What is there difficult in this doctrine? What is there unnatural? Mary may be called a daughter of Eve unfallen. You believe with us that St. John Baptist had grace given to him three months before his birth, at the time that the Blessed Virgin visited his mother. He accordingly was *not* immaculately conceived, because he was alive before grace came to him; but our Lady's case only differs from his in this respect, that to her grace came, not three months merely before her birth, but from the first moment of her being, as it had been given to Eve.

But it may be said, How does this enable us to say that she was conceived without *original sin?* If Anglicans knew what we mean by original sin, they would not ask the question. Our doctrine of original sin is not the same as the Protestant doctrine. "Original sin," with us, cannot be called sin, in the ordinary sense of the word "sin;" it is a term denoting Adam's sin as transferred to us, or the state to which Adam's sin reduces his children; but by Protestants it is understood to be sin, in the same sense as actual sin. We, with the

Fathers, think of it as something negative, Protestants as something positive. Protestants hold that it is a disease, a radical change of nature, an active poison internally corrupting the soul, infecting its primary elements, and disorganizing it; and they fancy that we ascribe a different nature from ours to the Blessed Virgin, different from that of her parents, and from that of fallen Adam. We hold nothing of the kind; we consider that in Adam she died, as others; that she was included, together with the whole race, in Adam's sentence; that she incurred his debt, as we do; but that, for the sake of Him who was to redeem her and us upon the Cross, to her the debt was remitted by anticipation, on her the sentence was not carried out, except indeed as regards her natural death, for she died when her time came, as others. All this we teach, but we deny that she had original sin; for by original sin we mean, as I have already said, something negative, viz., this only, the *deprivation* of that supernatural unmerited grace which Adam and Eve had on their creation,—deprivation and the consequences of deprivation. Mary could not merit, any more than they, the restoration of that grace; but it was restored to her by God's free bounty, from the very first moment of her existence, and thereby, in fact, she never came under the original curse, which consisted in the loss of it. And she had this special privilege, in order to fit her to become

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS
LIBRARY

the Mother of her and our Redeemer, to fit her mentally, spiritually for it; so that, by the aid of the first grace, she might so grow in grace, that when the Angel came, and her Lord was at hand, she might be "full of grace," prepared, as far as a creature could be prepared, to receive Him into her bosom.

I have drawn the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception, as an immediate inference, from the primitive doctrine that Mary is the second Eve. The argument seems to me conclusive; and, if it has not been universally taken as such, this has come to pass, because there has not been a clear understanding among Catholics, what exactly was meant by the Immaculate Conception. To many it seemed to imply that the Blessed Virgin did not die in Adam, that she did not come under the penalty of the fall, that she was not redeemed, that she was conceived in some way inconsistent with the verse in the *Miserere* Psalm. If controversy had in earlier days so cleared the subject as to make it plain to all, that the doctrine meant nothing else than that in fact in her case the general sentence on mankind was not carried out, and that, by means of the indwelling in her of divine grace from the first moment of her being (and this is all the decree of 1854 has declared), I cannot believe that the doctrine would have ever been opposed; for an instinctive sentiment has led Christians jealously to put the Blessed Mary aside when sin comes into discussion.

This is expressed in the well-known words of St. Augustine, All have sinned "except the Holy Virgin Mary, concerning whom, for the honour of the Lord, I wish no question to be raised at all, when we are treating of sins" (*de Nat. et Grat.* 42); words which, whatever St. Augustine's actual occasion of using them, (to which you refer, p. 176,) certainly in the spirit which they breathe, are well adapted to convey the notion, that, apart from her relation to her parents, she had not personally any part in sin whatever. It is true that several great Fathers of the fourth century do imply or assert that on one or two occasions she did sin venially or showed infirmity. This is the only real objection which I know of; and as I do not wish to pass it over lightly, I propose to consider it at the end of this Letter. (P. 131)

2. Now secondly, her *greatness*. Here let us suppose that our first parents had overcome in their trial; and had gained for their descendants for ever the full possession, as if by right, of the privileges which were promised to their obedience,—grace here and glory hereafter. Is it possible that those descendants, pious and happy from age to age in their temporal homes, would have forgotten their benefactors? Would they not have followed them in thought into the heavens, and gratefully commemorated them on earth? The history of the temptation, the craft of the serpent, their sted-

fastness in obedience,—the loyal vigilance, the sensitive purity of Eve,—the great issue, salvation wrought out for all generations,—would have been never from their minds, ever welcome to their ears. This would have taken place from the necessity of our nature. Every nation has its mythical hymns and epics about its first fathers and its heroes. The great deeds of Charlemagne, Alfred, Cœur de Lion, Wallace, Louis the ninth, do not die; and though their persons are gone from us, we make much of their names. Milton's Adam, after his fall, understands the force of this law, and shrinks from the prospect of its operation.

> "Who of all ages to succeed, but, feeling
> The evil on him brought by me, will curse
> My head? Ill fare our ancestor impure,
> For this we may thank Adam."

If this anticipation has not been fulfilled in the event, it is owing to the needs of our penal life, our state of perpetual change, and the ignorance and unbelief incurred by the fall; also because, fallen as we are, from the hopefulness of our nature, we feel more pride in our national great men, than dejection at our national misfortunes. Much more then in the great kingdom and people of God;—the Saints are ever in our sight, and not as mere ineffectual ghosts, but as if present bodily in their past selves. It is said of them, "Their works do follow them;" what they were here, such are they in heaven and in the Church. As we call them

by their earthly names, so we contemplate them in their earthly characters and histories. Their acts, callings, and relations below, are types and anticipations of their mission above. Even in the case of our Lord Himself, whose native home is the eternal heavens, it is said of Him in His state of glory, that He is "a Priest for ever;" and when He comes again, He will be recognized by those who pierced Him, as being the very same that He was on earth. The only question is, whether the Blessed Virgin had a part, a real part, in the economy of grace, whether, when she was on earth, she secured by her deeds any claim on our memories; for, if she did, it is impossible we should put her away from us, merely because she is gone hence, and not look at her still, according to the measure of her earthly history, with gratitude and expectation. If, as St. Irenæus says, she did the part of an Advocate, a friend in need, even in her mortal life, if, as St. Jerome and St. Ambrose say, she was on earth the great pattern of Virgins, if she had a meritorious share in bringing about our redemption, if her maternity was earned by her faith and obedience, if her Divine Son was subject to her, and if she stood by the Cross with a mother's heart and drank in to the full those sufferings which it was her portion to gaze upon, it is impossible that we should not associate these characteristics of her life on earth with her present state of blessedness; and this surely she antici-

pated, when she said in her hymn that "all generations should call her blessed."

I am aware that, in thus speaking, I am following a line of thought which is rather a meditation than an argument in controversy, and I shall not carry it further; but still, in turning to other topics, it is to the point to inquire, whether the popular astonishment, excited by our belief in the Blessed Virgin's present dignity, does not arise from the circumstance that the bulk of men, engaged in matters of the world, have never calmly considered her historical position in the gospels, so as rightly to realize (if I may use the word a second time) what that position imports. I do not claim for the generality of Catholics any greater powers of reflection upon the objects of their faith, than Protestants commonly have, but there is a sufficient number of religious men among Catholics who, instead of expending their devotional energies (as so many serious Protestants do) on abstract doctrines, such as justification by faith only, or the sufficiency of Holy Scripture, employ themselves in the contemplation of Scripture facts, and bring out in a tangible form the doctrines involved in them, and give such a substance and colour to the sacred history, as to influence their brethren; who, though superficial themselves, are drawn by their Catholic instinct to accept conclusions which they could not indeed themselves have elicited, but which, when elicited, they feel to be true. However, it would

be out of place to pursue this course of reasoning here; and instead of doing so, I shall take what perhaps you may think a very bold step,—I shall find the doctrine of our Lady's present exaltation in Scripture.

I mean to find it in the vision of the Woman and Child in the twelfth chapter of the Apocalypse[4]:—now here two objections will be made to me at once; first that such an interpretation is but poorly supported by the Fathers, and secondly that in ascribing such a picture of the Madonna (as it may be called) to the Apostolic age, I am committing an anachronism.

As to the former of these objections, I answer as follows:—Christians have never gone to Scripture for proofs of their doctrines, till there was actual need, from the pressure of controversy;—if in those times the Blessed Virgin's dignity were unchallenged on all hands, as a matter of doctrine, Scripture, as far as its argumentative matter was concerned, was likely to remain a sealed book to them. Thus, to take an instance in point; the Catholic party in the English Church, (say, the Nonjurors,) unable by their theory of religion simply to take their stand on Tradition, and distressed for proof of their doctrines, had their eyes sharpened to scrutinize and to understand the letter of Holy

[4] Vid. Essay on Doctr. Development, p. 384, and Bishop Ullathorne's work on the Immaculate Conception, p. 77.

Scripture, which to others brought no instruction. And the peculiarity of their interpretations is this, —that they have in themselves great logical cogency, yet are but faintly supported by patristical commentators. Such is the use of the word ποιεῖν or *facere* in our Lord's institution of the Holy Eucharist, which, by a reference to the old Testament, is found to be a word of sacrifice. Such again is λειτουργούντων in the passage in the Acts, "As they *ministered* to the Lord and fasted," which again is a sacerdotal term. And such the passage in Rom. xv. 16, in which several terms are used which have an allusion to the sacrificial Eucharistic rite. Such too is St. Paul's repeated message to the *household* of Onesiphorus, with no mention of Onesiphorus himself, but in one place with the addition of a prayer that "he might find mercy of the Lord" in the day of judgment, which, taking into account its wording and the known usage of the first centuries, we can hardly deny is a prayer for his soul. Other texts there are, which ought to find a place in ancient controversies, and the omission of which by the Fathers affords matter for more surprise; those, for instance, which, according to Middleton's rule, are real proofs of our Lord's divinity, and yet are passed over by Catholic disputants; for these bear upon a then existing controversy of the first moment, and of the most urgent exigency.

As to the second objection which I have sup-

posed, so far from allowing it, I consider that it is built upon a mere imaginary fact, and that the truth of the matter lies in the very contrary direction. The Virgin and Child is *not* a mere modern idea; on the contrary, it is represented again and again, as every visitor to Rome is aware, in the paintings of the Catacombs. Mary is there drawn with the Divine Infant in her lap, she with hands extended in prayer, He with His hand in the attitude of blessing. No representation can more forcibly convey the doctrine of the high dignity of the Mother, and, I will add, of her power over her Son. Why should the memory of His time of subjection be so dear to Christians, and so carefully preserved? The only question to be determined, is the precise date of these remarkable monuments of the first age of Christianity. That they belong to the centuries of what Anglicans call the "undivided Church" is certain; but lately investigations have been pursued, which place some of them at an earlier date than any one anticipated as possible. I am not in a position to quote largely from the works of the Cavaliere de Rossi, who has thrown so much light upon the subject; but I have his "Imagini Scelte," published in 1863, and they are sufficient for my purpose. In this work he has given us from the Catacombs various representations of the Virgin and Child; the latest of these belong to the early part of the fourth century, but the earliest he believes to be referable to the very

age of the Apostles. He comes to this conclusion from the style and the skill of the composition, and from the history, locality, and existing inscriptions of the subterranean in which it is found. However he does not go so far as to insist upon so early a date; yet the utmost liberty he grants is to refer the painting to the era of the first Antonines, that is, to a date within half a century of the death of St. John. I consider then, that, as you fairly use, in controversy with Protestants, the traditional doctrine of the Church in early times, as an explanation of the Scripture text, or at least as a suggestion, or as a defence, of the sense which you may wish to put on it, quite apart from the question whether your interpretation itself is traditional, so it is lawful for me, though I have not the positive words of the Fathers on my side, to shelter my own interpretation of the Apostle's vision under the fact of the extant pictures of Mother and Child in the Roman Catacombs. There is another principle of Scripture interpretation which we should hold with you,—when we speak of a doctrine being contained in Scripture, we do not necessarily mean, that it is contained there in direct categorical terms, but that there is no other satisfactory way of accounting for the language and expressions of the sacred writers, concerning the subject-matter in question, than to suppose that they held upon it the opinions which we hold,—that they would not have spoken as they have spoken, *unless* they held it. For myself I

have ever felt the truth of this principle, as regards the Scripture proof of the Holy Trinity; I should not have found out that doctrine in the sacred text without previous traditional teaching; but when once it is suggested from without, it commends itself as the one true interpretation, from its appositeness,—because no other view of doctrine, which can be ascribed to the inspired writers, so happily solves the obscurities and seeming inconsistencies of their teaching. And now to apply what I have said to the passage in the Apocalypse.

If there is an Apostle on whom, *à priori*, our eyes would be fixed, as likely to teach us about the Blessed Virgin, it is St. John, to whom she was committed by our Lord on the Cross,—with whom, as tradition goes, she lived at Ephesus till she was taken away. This anticipation is confirmed *à posteriori;* for, as I have said above, one of the earliest and fullest of our informants concerning her dignity, as being the second Eve, is Irenæus, who came to Lyons from Asia Minor, and had been taught by the immediate disciples of St. John. The Apostle's vision is as follows:—

"A great sign appeared in heaven: A woman clothed with the Sun, and the Moon under her feet; and on her head a crown of twelve stars. And being with child, she cried travailing in birth, and was in pain to be delivered. And there was seen another sign in heaven; and behold a great red dragon . . . And the dragon stood before the

woman who was ready to be delivered, that, when she should be delivered, he might devour her son. And she brought forth a man child, who was to rule all nations with an iron rod; and her son was taken up to God and to His throne. And the woman fled into the wilderness." Now I do not deny of course, that, under the image of the Woman, the Church is signified; but what I would maintain is this, that the Holy Apostle would not have spoken of the Church under this particular image, *unless* there had existed a Blessed Virgin Mary, who was exalted on high, and the object of veneration to all the faithful.

No one doubts that the "man-child" spoken of is an allusion to our Lord: why then is not "the Woman" an allusion to His Mother? This surely is the obvious sense of the words; of course it has a further sense also, which is the scope of the image; doubtless the Child represents the children of the Church, and doubtless the Woman represents the Church; this, I grant, is the real or direct sense, but what is the sense of the symbol? *who* are the Woman and the Child? I answer, They are not personifications but Persons. This is true of the Child, therefore it is true of the Woman.

But again: not only Mother and Child, but a serpent is introduced into the vision. Such a meeting of man, woman, and serpent has not been found in Scripture, since the beginning of Scripture, and now it is found in its end. Moreover, in

the passage in the Apocalypse, as if to supply, before Scripture came to an end, what was wanting in its beginning, we are told, and for the first time, that the serpent in Paradise was the evil spirit. If the dragon of St. John is the same as the serpent of Moses, and the man-child is "the seed of the woman," why is not the woman herself she, whose seed the man-child is? And, if the first woman is not an allegory, why is the second? if the first woman is Eve, why is not the second Mary?

But this is not all. The image of the woman, according to Scripture usage, is too bold and prominent for a mere personification. Scripture is not fond of allegories. We have indeed frequent figures there, as when the sacred writers speak of the arm or sword of the Lord; and so too when they speak of Jerusalem or Samaria in the feminine; or of the mountains leaping for joy, or of the Church as a bride or as a vine; but they are not much given to dressing up abstract ideas or generalizations in personal attributes. This is the classical rather than the Scripture style. Xenophon places Hercules between Virtue and Vice, represented as women; Æschylus introduces into his drama Force and Violence; Virgil gives personality to public rumour or Fame, and Plautus to Poverty. So on monuments done in the classical style, we see virtues, vices, rivers, renown, death and the like, turned into human figures of men and women. I do not say there are no instances at all of this

method in Scripture, but I say that such poetical compositions are strikingly unlike its usual method. Thus we at once feel the difference from Scripture, when we betake ourselves to the Pastor of Hermes, and find the Church a woman, to St. Methodius, and find Virtue a woman, and to St. Gregory's poem, and find Virginity again a woman. Scripture deals with types rather than personifications. Israel stands for the chosen people, David for Christ, Jerusalem for heaven. Consider the remarkable representations, dramatic I may call them, in Jeremiah, Ezechiel, and Hosea: predictions, threatenings, and promises, are acted out by those Prophets. Ezechiel is commanded to shave his head, and to divide and scatter his hair; and Ahias tears his garment, and gives ten out of twelve parts of it to Jeroboam. So too the structure of the imagery in the Apocalypse is not a mere allegorical creation, but is founded on the Jewish ritual. In like manner our Lord's bodily cures are visible types of the power of His grace upon the soul; and His prophecy of the last day is conveyed under that of the fall of Jerusalem. Even His parables are not simply ideal, but relations of occurrences, which did or might take place, under which was conveyed a spiritual meaning. The description of Wisdom in the Proverbs, and other sacred books, has brought out the instinct of commentators in this respect. They felt that Wisdom could not be a mere personification, and they

determined that it was our Lord; and the later of these books, by their own more definite language, warranted that interpretation. Then, when it was found that the Arians used it in derogation of our Lord's divinity, still, unable to tolerate the notion of a mere allegory, commentators applied the description to the Blessed Virgin. Coming back then to the Apocalyptic vision, I ask, If the Woman must be some real person, who can it be whom the Apostle saw, and intends, and delineates, but that same Great Mother to whom the chapters in the Proverbs are accommodated? And let it be observed, moreover, that in this passage, from the allusion in it to the history of the fall, she may be said still to be represented under the character of the Second Eve. I make a further remark: it is sometimes asked, Why do not the sacred writers mention our Lady's greatness? I answer, she was, or may have been alive, when the Apostles and Evangelists wrote;—there was just one book of Scripture certainly written after her death, and that book does (so to say) canonize and crown her.

But if all this be so, if it is really the Blessed Virgin whom Scripture represents as clothed with the sun, crowned with the stars of heaven, and with the moon as her footstool, what height of glory may we not attribute to her? and what are we to say of those who, through ignorance, run counter to the voice of Scripture, to the testimony of the Fathers, to the traditions of East and West,

and speak and act contemptuously towards her whom her Lord delighteth to honour?

Now I have said all I mean to say on what I have called the rudimental teaching of Antiquity about the Blessed Virgin; but after all I have not insisted on the highest view of her prerogatives, which the Fathers have taught us. You, my dear Friend, who know so well the ancient controversies and Councils, may have been surprised why I should not have yet spoken of her as the Theotocos;—but I wished to show on how broad a basis her greatness rests, independent of that wonderful title; and again I have been loth to enlarge upon the force of a word, which is rather matter for devotional thought than for polemical dispute. However, I might as well not write on my subject at all, as altogether be silent upon it.

It is then an integral portion of the Faith fixed by Ecumenical Council, a portion of it which you hold as well as I, that the Blessed Virgin is Theotocos, Deipara, or Mother of God; and this word, when thus used, carries with it no admixture of rhetoric, no taint of extravagant affection,—it has nothing else but a well-weighed, grave, dogmatic sense, which corresponds and is adequate to its sound. It intends to express that God is her Son, as truly as any one of us is the son of his own mother. If this be so, what can be said of any creature whatever, which may not be said of her?

what can be said too much, so that it does not compromise the attributes of the Creator? He indeed might have created a being more perfect, more admirable, than she is; He might have endued that being, so created, with a richer grant of grace, of power, of blessedness: but in one respect she surpasses all even possible creations, viz. that she is Mother of her Creator. It is this awful title, which both illustrates and connects together the two prerogatives of Mary, on which I have been lately enlarging, her sanctity and her greatness. It is the issue of her sanctity; it is the source of her greatness. What dignity can be too great to attribute to her who is as closely bound up, as intimately one, with the Eternal Word, as a mother is with a son? What outfit of sanctity, what fulness and redundance of grace, what exuberance of merits must have been hers, on the supposition, which the Fathers justify, that her Maker regarded them at all, and took them into account, when he condescended "not to abhor the Virgin's womb?" Is it surprising then that on the one hand she should be immaculate in her conception? or on the other that she should be exalted as a queen with a crown of twelve stars? Men sometimes wonder that we call her Mother of life, of mercy, of salvation; what are all these titles compared to that one name, Mother of God?

I shall say no more about this title here. It is scarcely possible to write of it without diverging

into a style of composition unsuited to a Letter; so I proceed to the history of its use.

The title of *Theotocos*[5] begins with ecclesiastical writers of a date hardly later than that at which we read of her as the second Eve. It first occurs in the works of Origen (185—254); but he, witnessing for Egypt and Palestine, witnesses also that it was in use before his time; for, as Socrates informs us, he "interpreted how it was to be used, and discussed the question at length" (*Hist.* vii. 32). Within two centuries (431) in the General Council held against Nestorius, it was made part of the formal dogmatic teaching of the Church. At that time, Theodoret, who from his party connexions might have been supposed disinclined to its solemn recognition, owned that "the ancient and more than ancient heralds of the orthodox faith taught the use of the term according to the Apostolic tradition." At the same date John of Antioch, who for a while sheltered Nestorius, whose heresy lay in the rejection of the term, said, "This title no ecclesiastical teacher has put aside. Those who have used it are many and eminent; and those who have not used it, have not attacked those who did." Alexander again, one of the fiercest partisans of Nestorius, witnesses to the use of the word, though he considers it dangerous; "That in festive solemnities," he says, "or in preaching or teaching, *theo-*

[5] Vid. Translation of St. Athanasius, pp. 420, 440, 447

tocos should be unguardedly said by the orthodox without explanation is no blame, because such statements were not dogmatic, nor said with evil meaning." If we look for those, in the interval, between Origen and the Council, to whom Alexander refers, we find it used again and again by the Fathers in such of their works as are extant; by Archelaus of Mesopotamia, Eusebius of Palestine, Alexander of Egypt, in the third century; in the fourth by Athanasius many times with emphasis, by Cyril of Palestine, Gregory Nyssen of Cappadocia, Gregory Nazianzen of Cappadocia, Antiochus of Syria, and Ammonius of Thrace:—not to speak of the Emperor Julian, who, having no local or ecclesiastical domicile, speaks for the whole of Christendom. Another and earlier Emperor, Constantine, in his speech before the assembled Bishops at Nicæa, uses the still more explicit title of "the Virgin Mother of God;" which is also used by Ambrose of Milan, and by Vincent and Cassian in the south of France, and then by St. Leo.

So much for the term; it would be tedious to produce the passages of authors who, using or not using the term, convey the idea. "Our God was carried in the womb of Mary," says Ignatius, who was martyred A.D. 106. "The word of God," says Hippolytus, "was carried in that Virgin frame." "The Maker of all," says Amphilochius, "is born of a Virgin." "She did compass without circumscribing the Sun of justice,—the Everlasting is born," says

Chrysostom. "God dwelt in the womb," says Proclus. "When thou hearest that God speaks from the bush," asks Theodotus, "in the bush seest thou not the Virgin?" Cassian says, "Mary bore her Author." "The one God only-begotten," says Hilary, "is introduced into the womb of a Virgin." "The Everlasting," says Ambrose, "came into the Virgin." "The closed gate," says Jerome, "by which alone the Lord God of Israel enters, is the Virgin Mary." "That man from heaven," says Capriolus, "is God conceived in the womb." "He is made in thee," says Augustine, "who made thee."

This being the faith of the Fathers about the Blessed Virgin, we need not wonder that it should in no long time be transmuted into devotion. No wonder if their language should become unmeasured, when so great a term as "Mother of God" had been formally set down as the safe limit of it. No wonder if it should be stronger and stronger as time went on, since only in a long period could the fulness of its import be exhausted. And in matter of fact, and as might be anticipated, (with the few exceptions which I have noted above, and which I am to treat of below,) the current of thought in those early ages did uniformly tend to make much of the Blessed Virgin and to increase her honours, not to circumscribe them. Little jealousy was shown of her in those times; but, when any such niggardness

of devotion occurred, then one Father or other fell upon the offender, with zeal, not to say with fierceness. Thus St. Jerome inveighs against Helvidius; thus St. Epiphanius denounces Apollinaris, St. Cyril Nestorius, and St. Ambrose Bonosus; on the other hand, each successive insult offered to her by individual adversaries did but bring out more fully the intimate sacred affection with which Christendom regarded her. "She was alone, and wrought the world's salvation and conceived the redemption of all," says Ambrose[6]; "she had so great grace, as not only to preserve virginity herself, but to confer it upon those whom she visited." The rod out of the stem of Jesse," says Jerome, "and the Eastern gate through which the High Priest alone goes in and out, yet is ever shut." "The wise woman," says Nilus, who "hath clad believers, from the fleece of the Lamb born of her, with the clothing of incorruption, and delivered them from their spiritual nakedness." "The mother of life, of beauty, of majesty, the morning star," according to Antiochus. "The mystical new heavens," "the heavens carrying the Divinity," "the fruitful vine," "by whom we are translated from death to life," according to St. Ephrem. "The manna, which is delicate, bright, sweet, and virgin, which, as though coming from heaven, has poured down on all the people of the Churches a food pleasanter than honey," according to St. Maximus.

[6] Essay on Doctr. Dev. p. 408.

Basil of Seleucia says, that "she shines out above all the martyrs as the sun above the stars, and that she mediates between God and men." "Run through all creation in your thought," says Proclus, "and see if there be one equal or superior to the Holy Virgin, Mother of God." "Hail, Mother, clad in light, of the light which sets not;" says Theodotus, or some one else at Ephesus, "hail, all-undefiled mother of holiness; hail, most pellucid fountain of the life-giving stream." And St. Cyril too at Ephesus, "Hail, Mary Mother of God, majestic common-treasure of the whole world, the lamp unquenchable, the crown of virginity, the sceptre of orthodoxy, the indissoluble temple, the dwelling of the Illimitable, Mother and Virgin, through whom He in the holy gospels is called blessed who cometh in the name of the Lord, ... through whom the Holy Trinity is sanctified, ... through whom Angels and Archangels rejoice, devils are put to flight, ... and the fallen creature is received up into the heavens, &c., &c.[7]." Such is but a portion of the panegyrical language which St. Cyril used in the third Ecumenical Council.

I must not close my review of the Catholic doctrine concerning the Blessed Virgin, without directly speaking of her intercessory power, though I have incidentally made mention of it already. It

[7] Opp. t. 6, p. 355.

is the immediate result of two truths, neither of which you dispute;—first, that "it is good and useful," as the Council of Trent says, "suppliantly to invoke the saints and to have recourse to their prayers;" and secondly, that the Blessed Mary is singularly dear to her Son and singularly exalted in sanctity and glory. However, at the risk of becoming didactic, I will state somewhat more fully the grounds on which it rests.

To a candid pagan, it must have been one of the most remarkable points of Christianity, on its first appearance, that the observance of prayer formed so vital a part of its organization; and that, though its members were scattered all over the world, and its rulers and subjects had so little opportunity of correlative action, yet they, one and all, found the solace of a spiritual intercourse and a real bond of union, in the practice of mutual intercession. Prayer indeed is the very essence of religion; but in the heathen religions it was either public or personal; it was a state ordinance, or a selfish expedient, for the attainment of certain tangible, temporal goods. Very different from this was its exercise among Christians, who were thereby knit together in one body, different, as they were, in races, ranks, and habits, distant from each other in country, and helpless amid hostile populations. Yet it proved sufficient for its purpose. Christians could not correspond; they could not combine; but they could pray one for another. Even their public

prayers partook of this character of intercession; for to pray for the welfare of the whole Church was in fact a prayer for all the classes of men, and all the individuals of which it was composed. It was in prayer that the Church was founded. For ten days all the Apostles "persevered with one mind in prayer and supplication, with the women, and Mary the Mother of Jesus, and with His brethren." Then again at Pentecost "they were all with one mind in one place;" and the converts then made are said to have "persevered in prayer." And when, after a while, St. Peter was seized and put in prison with a view to his being put to death, "prayer was made without ceasing" by the Church of God for him; and, when the angel released him, he took refuge in a house "where many were gathered together in prayer."

We are so accustomed to these passages, as hardly to be able to do justice to their singular significance; and they are followed up by various passages of the Apostolic Epistles. St. Paul enjoins his brethren to "pray with all prayer and supplication at all times in the Spirit, with all instance and supplication for all saints," to "pray in every place," "to make supplication, prayers, intercessions, giving of thanks, for all men." And in his own person he "ceases not to give thanks for them, commemorating them in his prayers," and "always in all his prayers making supplication for them all with joy."

Now, was this spiritual bond to cease with life?

or had Christians similar duties to their brethren departed? From the witness of the early ages of the Church, it appears that they had; and you, and those who agree with you, would be the last to deny that they were then in the practice of praying, as for the living, so for those also who had passed into the intermediate state between earth and heaven. Did the sacred communion extend further still, on to the inhabitants of heaven itself? Here too you agree with us, for you have adopted in your Volume the words of the Council of Trent, which I have quoted above. But now we are brought to a higher order of thought.

It would be preposterous to pray for those who are already in glory; but at least they can pray for us, and we can ask their prayers, and in the Apocalypse at least Angels are introduced both sending us their blessing and presenting our prayers before the Divine Presence. We read there of an Angel who "came and stood before the altar, having a golden censer;" and "there was given to him much incense, that he should offer of the prayers of all saints upon the golden altar which is before the Throne of God." On this occasion, surely the Angel (Michael, as the prayer in Mass considers him), performed the part of a great Intercessor or Mediator above for the children of the Church Militant below. Again, in the beginning of the same book, the sacred writer goes so far as to

speak of "grace and peace" coming to us, not only from the Almighty, but "from the seven Spirits that are before His throne," thus associating the Eternal with the ministers of His mercies; and this carries us on to the remarkable passage of St. Justin, one of the earliest Fathers, who, in his Apology, says, "To Him (God), and His Son who came from Him and taught us these things, and the host of the other good Angels who follow and resemble Him, and the Prophetic Spirit, we pay veneration and homage." Further, in the Epistle to the Hebrews, St. Paul introduces, not only Angels, but "the spirits of the just" into the sacred communion: "Ye have come to Mount Sion, to the heavenly Jerusalem, to myriads of angels, to God the Judge of all, to the spirits of the just made perfect, and to Jesus the Mediator of the New Testament." What can be meant by having "come to the spirits of the just," unless in some way or other they do us good, whether by blessing or by aiding us? that is, in a word, to speak correctly, by praying for us, for it is by prayer alone that the creature above can bless or aid the creature below.

Intercession thus being a first principle of the Church's life, next it is certain again, that the vital principle of that intercession, as an availing power, is, according to the will of God, sanctity. This seems to be suggested by a passage of St. Paul, in which the Supreme Intercessor is said to be "the Spirit:"—"the Spirit Himself maketh

intercession for us; He maketh intercession for the saints according to God." However, the truth thus implied, is expressly brought out in other parts of Scripture, in the form both of doctrine and of example. The words of the man born blind speak the common-sense of nature:—"if any man be a worshipper of God, him He heareth." And Apostles confirm them:—"the prayer of a just man availeth much," and "whatever we ask, we receive, because we keep his commandments." Then, as for examples, we read of Abraham and Moses, as having the divine purpose of judgment revealed to them beforehand, in order that they might deprecate its execution. To the friends of Job it was said, "My servant Job shall pray for you; his face I will accept." Elias by his prayer shut and opened the heavens. Elsewhere we read of "Jeremias, Moses, and Samuel;" and of "Noe, Daniel, and Job," as being great mediators between God and His people. One instance is given us, which testifies the continuance of so high an office beyond this life. Lazarus, in the parable, is seen in Abraham's bosom. It is usual to pass over this striking passage with the remark that it is a Jewish expression; whereas, Jewish belief or not, it is recognized and sanctioned by our Lord Himself. What do we teach about the Blessed Virgin more wonderful than this? Let us suppose, that, at the hour of death, the faithful are committed to her arms; but if Abraham, not yet ascended on

high, had charge of Lazarus, what offence is it to affirm the like of her, who was not merely "the friend," but the very "Mother of God?"

It may be added, that, though it availed nothing for influence with our Lord, to be one of His company, if sanctity was wanting, still, as the Gospel shows, He on various occasions allowed those who were near Him, to be the means by which supplicants were brought to Him or miracles gained from Him, as in the instance of the miracle of the loaves; and if on one occasion, He seems to repel His Mother, when she told Him that wine was wanting for the guests at the marriage feast, it is obvious to remark on it, that, by saying that she was then separated from Him, *because* His hour was not yet come, He implied, that when that hour was come, such separation would be at an end. Moreover, in fact He did, at her intercession, work the miracle which she desired.

I consider it impossible then, for those who believe the Church to be one vast body in heaven and on earth, in which every holy creature of God has his place, and of which prayer is the life, when once they recognize the sanctity and greatness of the Blessed Virgin, not to perceive immediately, that her office above is one of perpetual intercession for the faithful militant, and that our very relation to her must be that of clients to a patron, and that, in the eternal enmity which exists between the woman and the serpent, while the

serpent's strength is that of being the Tempter, the weapon of the Second Eve and Mother of God is prayer.

As then these ideas of her sanctity and greatness gradually penetrated the mind of Christendom, so did that of her intercessory power follow close upon them and with them. From the earliest times that mediation is symbolized in those representations of her with up-lifted hands, which, whether in plaster or in glass, are still extant in Rome,—that Church, as St. Irenæus says, with which "every Church, that is, the faithful from every side, must agree, because of its more powerful principality;" "into which," as Tertullian adds, "the Apostles poured out, together with their blood, their whole doctrines." As far indeed as existing documents are concerned, I know of no instance to my purpose earlier than A.D. 234, but it is a very remarkable one; and, though it has been often quoted in the controversy, an argument is not the weaker for frequent use.

St. Gregory Nyssen[8], then, a native of Cappadocia in the fourth century, relates that his name-sake, Bishop of Neo-Cæsarea, surnamed Thaumaturgus, in the century preceding, shortly before he was called to the priesthood, received in a vision a Creed, which is still extant, from the Blessed Mary at the hands of St. John. The account runs thus:—He was deeply pondering theological doctrine, which

[8] Vid. Essay on Doctr. Dev. p. 386.

the heretics of the day depraved. "In such thoughts," says his name-sake of Nyssa, "he was passing the night, when one appeared, as if in human form, aged in appearance, saintly in the fashion of his garments, and very venerable both in grace of countenance and general mien. Amazed at the sight, he started from his bed, and asked who it was, and why he came; but, on the other calming the perturbation of his mind with his gentle voice, and saying he had appeared to him by divine command on account of his doubts, in order that the truth of the orthodox faith might be revealed to him, he took courage at the word, and regarded him with a mixture of joy and fright. Then, on his stretching his hand straight forward and pointing with his fingers at something on one side, he followed with his eyes the extended hand, and saw another appearance opposite to the former, in shape of a woman, but more than human. . . . When his eyes could not bear the apparition, he heard them conversing together on the subject of his doubts; and thereby not only gained a true knowledge of the faith, but learned their names, as they addressed each other by their respective appellations. And thus he is said to have heard the person in woman's shape bid 'John the Evangelist' disclose to the young man the mystery of godliness; and he answered that he was ready to comply in this matter with the wish of 'the Mother of the Lord,' and enunciated a formulary, well-

turned and complete, and so vanished. He, on the other hand, immediately committed to writing that divine teaching of his mystagogue, and henceforth preached in the Church according to that form, and bequeathed to posterity, as an inheritance, that heavenly teaching, by means of which his people are instructed down to this day, being preserved from all heretical evil." He proceeds to rehearse the Creed thus given, "There is One God, Father of a Living Word," &c. Bull, after quoting it in his work upon the Nicene Faith, alludes to this history of its origin, and adds, "No one should think it incredible that such a providence should befall a man whose whole life was conspicuous for revelations and miracles, as all ecclesiastical writers who have mentioned him (and who has not?) witness with one voice."

Here she is represented as rescuing a holy soul from intellectual error. This leads me to a further reflection. You seem, in one place in your Volume, to object to the Antiphon, in which it is said of her, "All heresies thou hast destroyed alone." Surely the truth of it is verified in this age, as in former times, and especially by the doctrine concerning her, on which I have been dwelling. She is the great exemplar of prayer in a generation, which emphatically denies the power of prayer *in toto*, which determines that fatal laws govern the universe, that there cannot be any direct communication between earth and heaven, that God

cannot visit His earth, and that man cannot influence His providence.

I cannot help hoping that your own reading of the Fathers will on the whole bear me out in the above account of their teaching concerning the Blessed Virgin. Anglicans seem to me to overlook the strength of the argument adducible from their works in our favour, and they open the attack upon our mediæval and modern writers, careless of leaving a host of primitive opponents in their rear. I do not include you among such Anglicans, as you know what the Fathers assert; but, if so, have you not, my dear Friend, been unjust to yourself in your recent Volume, and made far too much of the differences which exist between Anglicans and us on this particular point? It is the office of an Irenicon to smoothe difficulties; I shall be pleased if I succeed in removing some of yours. Let the public judge between us here. Had you happened in your Volume to introduce your notice of our teaching about the Blessed Virgin, with a notice of the teaching of the Fathers concerning her, ordinary men would have considered that there was not much to choose between you and us. Though you appealed ever so much, in your defence, to the authority of the "undivided Church," they would have said that you, who had such high notions of the Blessed Mary, were one of the last men who had a right to accuse us of quasi-idolatry. When they found

you calling her by the titles of Mother of God, Second Eve, and Mother of all Living, the Mother of Life, the Morning Star, the mystical new heaven, the sceptre of Orthodoxy, the All-undefiled Mother of Holiness, and the like, they would have deemed it a poor compensation for such language, that you protested against her being called a Co-redemptress or a Priestess. And, if they were violent Protestants, they would not have read you with that relish and gratitude with which, as it is, they have perhaps accepted your testimony against us. Not that they would have been altogether right in their view of you;—on the contrary I think there is a real difference between what you protest against, and what with the Fathers you hold; but unread men and men of the world form a broad practical judgment of the things which come before them, and they would have felt in this case that they had the same right to be shocked at you, as you have to be shocked at us;—and further, which is the point to which I am coming, they would have said, that, granting some of our modern writers go beyond the Fathers in this matter, still the line cannot be logically drawn between the teaching of the Fathers concerning the Blessed Virgin and our own. This view of the matter seems to me true and important; I do not think the line *can* be satisfactorily drawn, and to this point I shall now direct my attention.

It is impossible, I say, in a doctrine like this, to draw the line cleanly between truth and error, right

and wrong. This is ever the case in concrete matters, which have life. Life in this world is motion, and involves a continual process of change. Living things grow into their perfection, into their decline, into their death. No rule of art will suffice to stop the operation of this natural law, whether in the material world or in the human mind. We can indeed encounter disorders, when they occur, by external antagonisms and remedies; but we cannot eradicate the process itself, out of which they arise. Life has the same right to decay, as it has to wax strong. This is specially the case with great ideas. You may stifle them; or you may refuse them elbow-room; or you may torment them with your continual meddling; or you may let them have free course and range, and be content, instead of anticipating their excesses, to expose and restrain those excesses after they have occurred. But you have only this alternative; and for myself, I prefer much, wherever it is possible, to be first generous and then just; to grant full liberty of thought, and to call it to account when abused.

If what I have been saying be true of energetic ideas generally, much more is it the case in matters of religion. Religion acts on the affections; who is to hinder these, when once roused, from gathering in their strength and running wild? They are not gifted with any connatural principle within them, which renders them self-governing and self-

adjusting. They hurry right on to their object, and often in their case it is, The more haste, the worse speed. Their object engrosses them, and they see nothing else. And of all passions love is the most unmanageable; nay more, I would not give much for that love which is never extravagant, which always observes the proprieties, and can move about in perfect good taste, under all emergencies. What mother, what husband or wife, what youth or maiden in love, but says a thousand foolish things, in the way of endearment, which the speaker would be sorry for strangers to hear; yet they are not on that account unwelcome to the parties to whom they are addressed. Sometimes by bad luck they are written down, sometimes they get into the newspapers; and what might be even graceful, when it was fresh from the heart, and interpreted by the voice and the countenance, presents but a melancholy exhibition when served up cold for the public eye. So it is with devotional feelings. Burning thoughts and words are as open to criticism as they are beyond it. What is abstractedly extravagant, may in religious persons be becoming and beautiful, and only fall under blame when it is found in others who imitate them. When it is formalized into meditations or exercises, it is as repulsive as love-letters in a police report. Moreover, even holy minds readily adopt and become familiar with language which they would never have originated themselves, when it proceeds

from a writer who has the same objects of devotion as they have; and, if they find a stranger ridicule or reprobate supplication or praise which has come to them so recommended, they feel it as keenly as if a direct insult were offered to those to whom that homage is addressed. In the next place, what has power to stir holy and refined souls is potent also with the multitude; and the religion of the multitude is ever vulgar and abnormal; it ever will be tinctured with fanaticism and superstition, while men are what they are. A people's religion is ever a corrupt religion, in spite of the provisions of Holy Church. If she is to be Catholic, you must put up with fish of every kind, guests good and bad, vessels of gold, vessels of earth. You may beat religion out of men, if you will, and then their excesses will take a different direction; but if you make use of religion to improve them, they will make use of religion to corrupt it. And then you will have effected that compromise of which our countrymen report so unfavourably from abroad:—a high grand faith and worship which compels their admiration, and puerile absurdities among the people which excite their contempt.

Nor is it any safeguard against these excesses in a religious system, that the religion is based upon reason, and developes into a theology. Theology both uses logic and baffles it; and thus logic acts both as a protection and as the perversion of religion. Theology is occupied with supernatural

matters, and is ever running into mysteries, which reason can neither explain nor adjust. Its lines of thought come to an abrupt termination, and to pursue them or to complete them is to plunge down the abyss. But logic blunders on, forcing its way, as it can, through thick darkness and ethereal mediums. The Arians went ahead with logic for their directing principle, and so lost the truth; on the other hand, St. Augustine, in his Treatise on the Holy Trinity, seems to show that, if we attempt to find and tie together the ends of lines which run into infinity, we shall only succeed in contradicting ourselves; that for instance it is difficult to find the logical reason for not speaking of three Gods as well as of One, and of One Person in the Godhead as well as of Three. I do not mean to say that logic cannot be used to set right its own error, or that in the hands of an able disputant the balance of truth may not be restored. This was done at the Councils of Antioch and Nicæa, in the instances of Paulus and Arius. But such a process is circuitous and elaborate; and is conducted by means of minute subtleties which will give it the appearance of a game of skill in the case of matters too grave and practical to deserve a mere scholastic treatment. Accordingly St. Augustine simply lays it down that the statements in question are heretical, for the former is Tritheism and the latter Sabellianism. That is, good sense and a large view of truth, are the cor-

rectives of his logic. And thus we have arrived at the final resolution of the whole matter; for good sense and a large view of truth are rare gifts; whereas all men are bound to be devout, and most men think they can argue and conclude.

Now let me apply what I have been saying to the teaching of the Church on the subject of the Blessed Virgin. I have to recur to a subject of so sacred a nature, that, writing as I am for publication, I need the apology of my object for venturing to pursue it. I say then, when once we have mastered the idea, that Mary bore, suckled, and handled the Eternal in the form of a child, what limit is conceivable to the rush and flood of thoughts which such a doctrine involves? What awe and surprise must attend upon the knowledge, that a creature has been brought so close to the Divine Essence? It was the creation of a new idea and of a new sympathy, of a new faith and worship, when the holy Apostles announced that God had become incarnate; and a supreme love and devotion to Him became possible, which seemed hopeless before that revelation. But besides this, a second range of thoughts was opened on mankind, unknown before, and unlike any other, as soon as it was understood that that Incarnate God had a mother. The second idea is perfectly distinct from the former, the one does not interfere with the other. He is God made low, she is a woman made high. I scarcely like to use a familiar illustration

on such a subject, but it will serve to explain what I mean, when I ask you to consider the difference of feeling, with which we read the respective histories of Maria Theresa and the Maid of Orleans; or with which the middle and lower classes of a nation regard a first minister of the day who has come of an aristocratic house, and one who has risen from the ranks. May God's mercy keep me from the shadow of a thought dimming the purity or blunting the keenness of that love of Him, which is our sole happiness and our sole salvation! But surely when He became man, He brought home to us His incommunicable attributes with a distinctiveness, which precludes the possibility of our lowering Him merely by exalting a creature. He alone has an entrance into our soul, reads our secret thoughts, speaks to our heart, applies to us spiritual pardon and strength. On Him we solely depend. He alone is our inward life; He not only regenerates us, but (to allude to a higher mystery) *semper gignit;* He is ever renewing our new birth and our heavenly sonship. In this sense He may be called, as in nature, so in grace, our real Father. Mary is only our mother by adoption, given us from the Cross; her presence is above, not on earth; her office is external, not within us. Her name is not heard in the administration of the Sacraments. Her work is not one of ministration towards us; her power is indirect. It is her prayers that avail, and they are effectual by the *fiat* of Him who is

our all in all. Nor need she hear us by any innate power, or any personal gift; but by His manifestation to her of the prayers which we make her. When Moses was on the Mount, the Almighty told him of the idolatry of his people at the foot of it, in order that he might intercede for them; and thus it is the Divine Presence which is the intermediating Power by which we reach her and she reaches us.

Woe is me, if even by a breath I sully these ineffable truths! but still, without prejudice to them, there is, I say, another range of thought quite distinct from them, incommensurate with them, of which the Blessed Virgin is the centre. If we placed our Lord in that centre, we should only be degrading Him from His throne, and making Him an Arian kind of a God; that is, no God at all. He who charges us with making Mary a divinity, is thereby denying the divinity of Jesus. Such a man does not know what divinity is. Our Lord cannot pray for us, as a creature, as Mary prays; He cannot inspire those feelings which a creature inspires. To her belongs, as being a creature, a natural claim on our sympathy and familiarity, in that she is nothing else than our fellow. She is our pride,—in the poet's words, "Our tainted nature's solitary boast." We look to her without any fear, any remorse, any consciousness that she is able to read us, judge us, punish us. Our heart yearns towards that pure Virgin, that gentle Mother, and our congratulations follow

her, as she rises from Nazareth and Ephesus, through the choirs of angels, to her throne on high. So weak yet so strong; so delicate, yet so glory-laden; so modest, yet so mighty. She has sketched for us her own portrait in the Magnificat. "He hath regarded the low estate of His hand-maid; for behold, from henceforth all generations shall call me blessed. He hath put down the mighty from their seat; and hath exalted the humble. He hath filled the hungry with good things, and the rich He hath sent empty away." I recollect the strange emotion which took by surprise men and women, young and old, when, at the Coronation of our present Queen, they gazed on the figure of one so like a child, so small, so tender, so shrinking, who had been exalted to so great an inheritance and so vast a rule, who was such a contrast in her own person to the solemn pageant which centred in her. Could it be otherwise with the spectators, if they had human affection? And did not the All-wise know the human heart when He took to Himself a Mother? did He not anticipate our emotion at the sight of such an exaltation? If He had not meant her to exert that wonderful influence in His Church, which she has in the event exerted, I will use a bold word, He it is who has perverted us. If she is not to attract our homage, why did He make her solitary in her greatness amid His vast creation? If it be idolatry in us to let our affections respond to our faith, He would not have made her what she

is, or He would not have told us that He had so made her; but, far from this, He has sent His Prophet to announce to us, "A Virgin shall conceive and bear a Son, and they shall call His name Emmanuel," and we have the same warrant for hailing her as God's Mother, as we have for adoring Him as God.

Christianity is eminently an objective religion. For the most part it tells us of persons and facts in simple words, and leaves the announcement to produce its effect on such hearts as are prepared to receive it. This at least is its general character; and Butler recognizes it as such in his Analogy, when speaking of the Second and Third Persons of the Holy Trinity:—"The internal worship," he says, "to the Son and Holy Ghost is no farther matter of pure revealed command than as the relations they stand in to us are matters of pure revelation; for the relations being known, the obligations to such internal worship are *obligations of reason arising out of those relations themselves*[9]." It is in this way that the revealed doctrine of the Incarnation exerted a stronger and a broader influence on Christians, as they more and more apprehended and mastered its meaning and its bearings. It is contained in the brief and simple declaration of St. John, "The Word was made flesh;" but it required century after century to spread it out in its fulness, and to im-

[9] Vid. Essay on Doctr. Dev., p. 50.

print it energetically on the worship and practice of the Catholic people as well as on their faith. Athanasius was the first and the great teacher of it. He collected together the inspired notices scattered through David, Isaias, St. Paul, and St. John, and he engraved indelibly upon the imaginations of the faithful, as had never been before, that man is God, and God is man, that in Mary they meet, and that in this sense Mary is the centre of all things. He added nothing to what was known before, nothing to the popular and zealous faith that her Son was God; he has left behind him in his works no such definite passages about her as those of St. Irenæus or St. Epiphanius; but he brought the circumstances of the Incarnation home to men's minds, by the manifold evolutions of his analysis, and secured it for ever from perversion. Still, however, there was much to be done; we have no proof that Athanasius himself had any special devotion to the Blessed Virgin; but he laid the foundations on which that devotion was to rest, and thus noiselessly and without strife, as the first Temple in the Holy City, she grew up into her inheritance, and was "established in Sion and her power was in Jerusalem." Such was the origin of that august *cultus* which has been paid to the Blessed Mary for so many centuries in the East and in the West. That in times and places it has fallen into abuse, that it has even become a superstition, I do not care to deny; for, as I have said above, the

same process which brings to maturity carries on to decay, and things that do not admit of abuse have very little life in them. This of course does not excuse such excesses, or justify us in making light of them, when they occur. I have no intention of doing so as regards the particular instances which you bring against us, though but a few words will suffice for what I need say about them:—before doing so, however, I am obliged to make three or four introductory remarks.

1. I have almost anticipated my first remark already. It is this: that the height of our offending in our devotion to the Blessed Virgin would not look so great in your Volume as it does, had you not placed yourself on lower ground than your own feelings towards her would have spontaneously prompted you to take. I have no doubt you had some good reason for adopting this course, but I do not know it; what I do know is, that, for the Fathers' sake who so exalt her, you really do love and venerate her, though you do not evidence it in your book. I am glad then in this place to insist on a fact which will lead those among us, who know you not, to love you from their love of her, in spite of what you refuse to give her; and Anglicans, on the other hand, who do know you, to think better of us, who refuse her nothing, when they reflect that you do not actually go against us, but merely come short of us, in your devotion to her.

2. As you revere the Fathers, so you revere the Greek Church; and here again we have a witness on our behalf, of which you must be aware as fully as we are, and of which you must really mean to give us the benefit. In proportion as this remarkable fact is understood, it will take off the edge of the surprise of Anglicans at the sight of our devotions to our Lady. It must weigh with them, when they discover that we can enlist on our side in this controversy those "seventy millions" (I think they so consider them) of Orientals, who are separated from our communion. Is it not a very pregnant fact, that the Eastern Churches, so independent of us, so long separated from the West, so jealous of Antiquity, should even surpass us in their exaltation of the Blessed Virgin? That they go further than we do is sometimes denied, on the ground that the Western devotion towards her is brought out into system, and the Eastern is not; yet this only means really, that the Latins have more mental activity, more strength of intellect, less of routine, less of mechanical worship among them, than the Greeks. We are able, better than they, to give an account of what we do; and we seem to be more extreme, merely because we are more definite. But, after all, what have the Latins done so bold, as that substitution of the name of Mary for the Name of Jesus at the end of the collects and petitions in the Breviary, nay in the Ritual and Liturgy? Not merely in local or popu-

lar, and in semi-authorized devotions, which are the kind of sources that supplies you with your matter of accusation against us, but in the formal prayers of the Greek Eucharistic Service, petitions are offered, not "in the name of Jesus Christ," but "of the Theotocos." Such a phenomenon, in such a quarter, I think ought to make Anglicans merciful towards those writers among ourselves, who have been excessive in singing the praises of the Deipara. To make a rule of substituting Mary with all Saints for Jesus in the public service, has more "Mariolatry" in it, than to alter the Te Deum to her honour in private devotion.

3. And thus I am brought to a third remark, supplemental to your accusation of us. Two large views, as I have said above, are opened upon our devotional thoughts in Christianity; the one centering in the Son of Mary, the other in the Mother of Jesus. Neither need obscure the other; and in the Catholic Church, as a matter of fact, neither does. I wish you had either frankly allowed this in your Volume, or proved the contrary. I wish, when you report that "a certain proportion, it has been ascertained by those who have inquired, do stop short in her," p. 107, that you had added your belief, that the case was far otherwise with the great bulk of Catholics. Might I not have expected it? May I not, without sensitiveness, be somewhat pained at the omission? From mere Protestants indeed I expect nothing better. They con-

tent themselves with saying that our devotions to our Lady *must necessarily* throw our Lord into the shade; and thereby they relieve themselves of a great deal of trouble. Then they catch at any stray fact which countenances or seems to countenance their prejudice. Now I say plainly I never will defend or screen any one from your just rebuke, who, through false devotion to Mary, forgets Jesus. But I should like the fact to be proved first; I cannot hastily admit it. There is this broad fact the other way;—that, if we look through Europe, we shall find, on the whole, that just those nations and countries have lost their faith in the divinity of Christ, who have given up devotion to His Mother, and that those on the other hand, who have been foremost in her honour, have retained their orthodoxy. Contrast, for instance, the Calvinists with the Greeks, or France with the North of Germany, or the Protestant and Catholic communions in Ireland. As to England, it is scarcely doubtful what would be the state of its Established Church, if the Liturgy and Articles were not an integral part of its Establishment; and, when men bring so grave a charge against us as is implied in your Volume, they cannot be surprised if we in turn say hard things of Anglicanism[1]. In the Catholic Church Mary has

[1] I have spoken more on this subject in my Essay on Development, p. 438, "Nor does it avail to object, that, in this contrast of devotional exercises, the human is sure to supplant the

shown herself, not the rival, but the minister of her Son; she has protected Him, as in His infancy, so in the whole history of the Religion. There is then a plain historical truth in Dr. Faber's words which you quote to condemn, "Jesus is obscured, because Mary is kept in the back-ground."

This truth, exemplified in history, might also be abundantly illustrated, did my space admit, from the lives and writings of holy men in modern times. Two of them, St. Alfonso Liguori and the Blessed Paul of the Cross, for all their notorious devotion to the Mother, have shown their supreme love of her Divine Son, in the names which they have given to their respective congregations, viz. "of the Redeemer," and "of the Cross and Passion." However, I will do no more than refer to an apposite passage in the Italian translation of the work of a French Jesuit, Fr. Nepveu, "Christian Thoughts

Divine, from the infirmity of our nature; for, I repeat, the question is one of fact, whether it has done so. And next, it must be asked, *whether the character of Protestant devotion towards our Lord, has been that of worship at all;* and not rather such as we pay to an excellent human being. . . . Carnal minds will ever create a carnal worship for themselves; and to forbid them the service of the saints will have no tendency to teach them the worship of God. Moreover, . . . great and constant as is the devotion which the Catholic pays to St. Mary, it has a special province, and *has far more connexion with the public services and the festive aspect of Christianity,* and with certain extraordinary offices which she holds, *than with what is strictly personal and primary* in religion." Our late Cardinal, on my reception, singled out to me this last sentence, for the expression of his especial approbation.

for every Day in the Year," which was recommended to the friend who went with me to Rome, by the same Jesuit Father there, with whom, as I have already said, I stood myself in such intimate relations; I believe it is a fair specimen of the teaching of our spiritual books.

"The love of Jesus Christ is the most sure pledge of our future happiness, and the most infallible token of our predestination. Mercy towards the poor, devotion to the Holy Virgin, are very sensible tokens of predestination; nevertheless they are not absolutely infallible; but one cannot have a sincere and constant love of Jesus Christ, without being predestinated. . . . The destroying angel, which bereaved the houses of the Egyptians of their first-born, had respect to all the houses which were marked with the blood of the Lamb."

And it is also exemplified, as I verily believe, not only in formal and distinctive Confessions, not only in books intended for the educated class, but also in the personal religion of the Catholic populations. When strangers are so unfavourably impressed with us, because they see Images of our Lady in our Churches, and crowds flocking about her, they forget that there is a Presence within the sacred walls, infinitely more awful, which claims and obtains from us a worship transcendently different from any devotion we pay to her. That devotion might indeed tend to idolatry, if it were encouraged in Protestant Churches, where there is nothing higher than it to attract the worshipper; but all the images that a Catholic Church ever contained, all the Crucifixes at its Altars brought

together, do not so affect its frequenters, as the lamp which betokens the presence or absence there of the Blessed Sacrament. Is not this so certain, so notorious, that on some occasions it has been even brought as a charge against us, that we are irreverent in Church, when what seemed to the objector to be irreverence was but the necessary change of feeling, which came over those who were there, on their knowing that their Lord was away?

The Mass again conveys to us the same lesson of the sovereignty of the Incarnate Son; it is a return to Calvary, and Mary is scarcely named in it. Hostile visitors enter our Churches on Sunday at midday, the time of the Anglican Service. They are surprised to see the High Mass perhaps poorly attended, and a body of worshippers leaving the music and the mixed multitude who may be lazily fulfilling their obligation, for the silent or the informal devotions which are offered at an Image of the Blessed Virgin. They may be tempted, with one of your informants, to call such a temple, not a "Jesus Church," but a "Mary Church." But, if they understood our ways, they would know that we begin the day with our Lord and then go on to His Mother. It is early in the morning that religious persons go to Mass and Communion. The High Mass, on the other hand, is the festive celebration of the day, not the special devotional service; nor is there any reason why those who have been at a Low Mass already, should not at that

hour proceed to ask the intercession of the Blessed Virgin for themselves and all that is dear to them.

Communion, again, which is given in the morning, is a solemn unequivocal act of faith in the Incarnate God, if any can be such; and the most gracious of admonitions, did we need one, of His sovereign and sole right to possess us. I knew a lady, who on her death-bed was visited by an excellent Protestant friend. She, with great tenderness for her soul's welfare, asked her whether her prayers to the Blessed Virgin did not, at that awful hour, lead to forgetfulness of her Saviour. "Forget Him?" she replied with surprise, "Why, He has just been here." She had been receiving Him in communion. When then, my dear Pusey, you read any thing extravagant in praise of our Lady, is it not charitable to ask, even while you condemn it in itself, did the author write nothing else? Did he write on the Blessed Sacrament? had he given up "all for Jesus?" I recollect some lines, the happiest, I think, which that author wrote, which bring out strikingly the reciprocity, which I am dwelling on, of the respective devotions to Mother and Son;

"But scornful men have coldly said
Thy love was leading me from God;
And yet in this I did but tread
The very path my Saviour trod.

"They know but little of thy worth
Who speak these heartless words to me;
For what did Jesus love on earth
One half so tenderly as thee?

"Get me the grace to love thee more;
Jesus will give, if thou wilt plead;
And, Mother, when life's cares are o'er,
Oh, I shall love thee then indeed.

"Jesus, when His three hours were run,
Bequeathed thee from the Cross to me;
And oh! how can I love thy Son,
Sweet Mother, if I love not thee."

4. Thus we are brought from the consideration of the sentiments themselves, of which you complain, to the persons who wrote, and the places where they wrote them. I wish you had been led, in this part of your work, to that sort of careful labour which you have employed in so masterly a way in your investigation of the circumstances of the definition of the Immaculate Conception. In the latter case you have catalogued the Bishops who wrote to the Holy See, and analyzed their answers. Had you in like manner discriminated and located the Marian writers, as you call them, and observed the times, places, and circumstances of their works, I think, they would not, when brought together, have had their present startling effect on the reader. As it is, they inflict a vague alarm upon the mind, as when one hears a noise, and does not know whence it comes and what it means. Some of your authors, I know are Saints; all, I suppose, are spiritual writers and holy men; but the majority are of no great celebrity, even if they have any kind of weight. Suarez has no business among them at all, for, when he says that no one is saved without the Blessed Virgin, he is speak-

ing not of devotion to her, but of her intercession. The greatest name is St. Alfonso Liguori; but it never surprises me to read any thing unusual in the devotions of a saint. Such men are on a level very different from our own, and we cannot understand them. I hold this to be an important canon in the Lives of the Saints, according to the words of the Apostle, "The spiritual man judges all things, and he himself is judged of no one." But we may refrain from judging, without proceeding to imitate. I hope it is not disrespectful to so great a servant of God to say, that I never have read his Glories of Mary; but here I am speaking generally of all Saints, whether I know them or not; —and I say that they are beyond us, and that we must use them as patterns, not as copies. As to his practical directions, St. Alfonso wrote them for Neapolitans, whom he knew, and we do not know. Other writers whom you quote, as de Salazar, are too ruthlessly logical to be safe or pleasant guides in the delicate matters of devotion. As to de Montford and Oswald, I never even met with their names, till I saw them in your book; the bulk of our laity, not to say of our clergy, perhaps know them little better than I do. Nor did I know till I learnt it from your Volume, that there were two Bernardines. St. Bernardine of Sienna, I knew of course, and knew too that he had a burning love for our Lord. But about the other, "Bernardine de Bustis," I was quite at fault. I find from the Pro-

testant Cave, that he, as well as his namesake, made himself conspicuous also for his zeal for the Holy Name, which is much to the point here. "With such devotion was he carried away," says Cave, "for the bare name of Jesus, (which, by a new device of Bernardine of Sienna, had lately begun to receive divine honours,) that he was urgent with Innocent VIII. to assign it a day and rite in the Calendar."

One thing, however, is clear about all these writers; that not one of them is an Englishman. I have gone through your book, and do not find one English name among the various authors to whom you refer, except of course the name of that author whose lines I have been quoting, and who, great as are his merits, cannot, for the reasons I have given in the opening of my Letter, be considered a representative of English Catholic devotion. Whatever these writers may have said or not said, whatever they may have said harshly, and whatever capable of fair explanation, still they are foreigners; we are not answerable for their particular devotions; and as to themselves, I am glad to be able to quote the beautiful words which you use about them in your letter to the Weekly Register of November 25th last. "I do not presume," you say, "to prescribe to Italians or Spaniards, what they shall hold, or how they shall express their pious opinions; and least of all did I think of imputing to any of the writers whom I quoted that they took from our Lord any of the

love which they gave to His Mother." In these last words too you have supplied one of the omissions in your Volume which I noticed above.

5. Now then we come to England itself, which after all, in the matter of devotion, alone concerns you and me; for though doctrine is one and the same every where, devotions, as I have already said, are matters of the particular time and the particular country. I suppose we owe it to the national good sense, that English Catholics have been protected from the extravagances which are elsewhere to be found. And we owe it also to the wisdom and moderation of the Holy See, which, in giving us the pattern for our devotion, as well as the rule of our faith, has never indulged in those curiosities of thought which are both so attractive to undisciplined imaginations and so dangerous to grovelling hearts. In the case of our own common people I think such a forced style of devotion would be simply unintelligible; as to the educated, I doubt whether it can have more than an occasional or temporary influence. If the Catholic faith spreads in England, these peculiarities will not spread with it. There is a healthy devotion to the Blessed Mary, and there is an artificial; it is possible to love her as a Mother, to honour her as a Virgin, to seek her as a Patron, and to exalt her as a Queen, without any injury to solid piety and Christian good sense:—I cannot help calling this the English style. I wonder whether you find any

thing to displease you in the Garden of the Soul, the Key of Heaven, the Vade Mecum, the Golden Manual, or the Crown of Jesus. These are the books to which Anglicans ought to appeal, who would be fair to us in this matter. I do not observe any thing in them which goes beyond the teaching of the Fathers, except so far as devotion goes beyond doctrine.

There is one collection of Devotions besides, of the highest authority, which has been introduced from abroad of late years. It consists of prayers of very various kinds which have been indulgenced by the Popes; and it commonly goes by the name of the *Raccolta*. As that word suggests, the language of many of the prayers is Italian, while others are in Latin. This circumstance is unfavourable to a translation, which, however skilful, must ever savour of the words and idioms of the original; but, passing over this necessary disadvantage, I consider there is hardly a clause in the good-sized volume in question which even the sensitiveness of English Catholicism would wish changed. Its anxious observance of doctrinal exactness is almost a fault. It seems afraid of using the words "give me," "make me," in its addresses to the Blessed Virgin, which are as natural to adopt, as in addressing a parent or friend. Surely we do not disparage Divine Providence when we say that we are indebted to our parents for our life, or when we ask their blessing; we do not show any atheistical lean-

ing, because we say that a man's recovery must be left to nature, or that nature supplies brute animals with instincts. In like manner it seems to me a simple purism, to insist upon minute accuracy of expression in devotional and popular writings. However, the *Raccolta*, as coming from responsible authority, for the most part observes it. It commonly uses the phrases, "gain for us by thy prayers," "obtain for us," "pray to Jesus for me," "Speak for me, Mary," "carry thou our prayers," "ask for us grace," "intercede for the people of God," and the like, marking thereby with great emphasis that she is nothing more than an Advocate, and not a source of mercy. Nor do I recollect in this book more than one or two ideas to which you would be likely to raise an objection. The strongest of these is found in the Novena before her Nativity, in which, *apropos* of her Birth, we pray that she "would come down again, and be re-born spiritually in our souls;"—but it will occur to you that St. Paul speaks of his wish to impart to his converts, "not only the gospel, but his own soul;" and writing to the Corinthians, he says he has "begotten them by the gospel," and to Philemon, that he had "begotten Onesimus, in his bonds;" whereas St. James, with greater accuracy of expression, says "of His own will hath God begotten us with the word of truth." Again we find the petitioner saying to the Blessed Mary, "In thee I place all my hope;" but this is

explained in another passage, "Thou art my best hope, after Jesus." Again, we read elsewhere, "I would I had a greater love for thee, since to love thee is a great mark of predestination;" but the prayer goes on, "Thy Son deserves of us an immeasurable love; pray that I may have this grace, a great love for Jesus," and further on, "I covet no good of the earth, but to love my God alone."

Then again, as to the lessons which our Catholics receive, whether by catechising or instruction, you would find nothing in our received manuals to which you would not assent, I am quite sure. Again, as to preaching, a standard book was drawn up three centuries ago, to supply matter for the purpose to the parochial clergy. You incidentally mention, p. 153, that the comment of Cornelius à Lapide on Scripture is "a repertorium for sermons;" but I never heard of this work being used, nor indeed can it, because of its size. The work provided for the purpose by the Church is the "Catechism of the Council of Trent," and nothing extreme about our Blessed Lady is propounded there. On the whole I am sanguine that you will come to the conclusion, that Anglicans may safely trust themselves to us English Catholics, as regards any devotions to the Blessed Virgin which might be required of them, over and above the rule of the Council of Trent.

6. And, now at length coming to the statements, not English, but foreign, which offend you in works written in her honour, I will frankly say that I read

some of those which you quote with grief and almost anger; for they seemed to me to ascribe to the Blessed Virgin a power of "searching the reins and hearts," which is the attribute of God alone; and I said to myself, how can we any more prove our Lord's divinity from Scripture, if those cardinal passages which invest Him with divine prerogatives, after all invest Him with nothing beyond what His Mother shares with Him? And how, again, is there any thing of incommunicable greatness in His death and passion, if He who was alone in the garden, alone upon the cross, alone in the resurrection, after all is not alone, but shared His solitary work with His Blessed Mother,—with her to whom, when He entered on His ministry, He said for our instruction, not as grudging her her proper glory, "Woman, what have I to do with thee?" And then again, if I hate those perverse sayings so much, how much more must she, in proportion to her love of Him? and how do we show our love for her, by wounding her in the very apple of her eye? This I said and say; but then on the other hand I have to observe that these strange words after all are but few in number, out of the many passages you cite; that most of them exemplify what I said above about the difficulty of determining the exact point where truth passes into error, and that they are allowable in one sense or connexion, and false in another. Thus to say that prayer (and the Blessed Virgin's prayer) is omnipotent, is a harsh

expression in every-day prose; but, if it is explained to mean that there is nothing which prayer may not obtain from God, it is nothing else than the very promise made us in Scripture. Again, to say that Mary is the centre of all being, sounds inflated and profane; yet after all it is only one way, and a natural way, of saying that the Creator and the creature met together, and became one in her womb; and as such, I have used the expression above. Again, it is at first sight a paradox to say that "Jesus is obscured, because Mary is kept in the back-ground;" yet there is a sense, as I have shown above, in which it is a simple truth.

And so again certain statements may be true, under circumstances and in a particular time and place, which are abstractedly false; and hence it may be very unfair in a controversialist to interpret by an English or a modern rule, whatever may have been asserted by a foreign or mediæval author. To say, for instance, dogmatically, that no one can be saved without personal devotion to the Blessed Virgin, would be an untenable proposition; yet it might be true of this man or that, or of this or that country at this or that date; and if the very statement has ever been made by any writer of consideration (and this has to be ascertained), then perhaps it was made precisely under these exceptional circumstances. If an Italian preacher made it, I should feel no disposition to doubt him, at least as regards Italian youths and Italian maidens.

Then I think you have not always made your quotations with that consideration and kindness which is your rule. At p. 106, you say, "It is commonly said, that, if any Roman Catholic acknowledges that 'it is good and useful to pray to the saints,' he is not bound himself to do so. Were the above teaching true, it would be cruelty to say so; because, according to it, he would be forfeiting what is morally necessary to his salvation." But now, as to the fact, where is it said that to pray to our Lady and the Saints is necessary to salvation? The proposition of St. Alfonso is, that "God gives no grace except through Mary;" that is through her intercession. But intercession is one thing, devotion is another. And Suarez says, "It is the universal sentiment that the intercession of Mary is not only useful, but also in a certain manner necessary;" but still it is the question of her intercession, not of our invocation of her, not of devotion to her. If it were so, no Protestant could be saved; if it were so, there would be grave reasons for doubting of the salvation of St. Chrysostom or St. Athanasius, or of the primitive Martyrs; nay, I should like to know whether St. Augustine, in all his voluminous writings, invokes her once. Our Lord died for those heathens who did not know Him; and His Mother intercedes for those Christians who do not know her; and she intercedes according to His will, and, when He wills to save a particular soul, she at

once prays for it. I say, He wills indeed according to her prayer, but then she prays according to His will. Though then it is natural and prudent for those to have recourse to her, who from the Church's teaching know her power, yet it cannot be said that devotion to her is a *sine-quâ-non* of salvation. Some indeed of the authors, whom you quote, go further; they do speak of devotion; but even then, they do not enunciate the general proposition which I have been disallowing. For instance, they say, "It is morally impossible for those to be saved who *neglect* the devotion to the Blessed Virgin;" but a simple omission is one thing, and neglect another. "It is impossible for any to be saved who *turns away* from her," yes; but to "turn away" is to offer some positive disrespect or insult towards her, and that with sufficient knowledge; and I certainly think it would be a very grave act, if in a Catholic country (and of such the writers were speaking, for they knew of no other), with Ave-Marias sounding in the air, and images of the Madonna in every street and road, a Catholic broke off or gave up a practice that was universal, and in which he was brought up, and deliberately put her name out of his thoughts.

7. Though, then, common sense may determine for us, that the line of prudence and propriety has been certainly passed in the instance of certain statements about the Blessed Virgin, it is often not easy to prove the point logically; and in such cases

authority, if it attempt to act, would be in the position which so often happens in our courts of law, when the commission of an offence is morally certain, but the government prosecutor cannot find legal evidence sufficient to ensure conviction. I am not denying the right of Sacred Congregations, at their will, to act peremptorily, and without assigning reasons for the judgment they pass upon writers; but, when they have found it inexpedient to take this severe course, perhaps it may happen from the circumstances of the case, that there is no other that they can take, even if they would. It is wiser then for the most part to leave these excesses to the gradual operation of public opinion, that is, to the opinion of educated and sober Catholics; and this seems to me the healthiest way of putting them down. Yet in matter of fact I believe the Holy See has interfered from time to time, when devotion seemed running into superstition; and not so long ago. I recollect hearing in Gregory the XVI.'s time, of books about the Blessed Virgin, which had been suppressed by authority; and in particular of a representation of the Immaculate Conception which he had forbidden, and of measures taken against the shocking notion that the Blessed Mary is present in the Holy Eucharist, in the sense in which our Lord is present; but I have no means of verifying the information I received.

Nor have I time, any more than you have had, to ascertain how far great theologians have made pro-

tests against those various extravagances of which you so rightly complain. Passages, however, from three well-known Jesuit Fathers have opportunely come in my way, and in one of them is introduced in confirmation, the name of the great Gerson. They are Canisius, Petavius, and Raynaudus; and as they speak very appositely, and you do not seem to know them, I will here make some extracts from them:—

(1.) Canisius:—

"We confess that in the *cultus* of Mary it has been, and is possible for corruptions to creep in; and we have a more than ordinary desire that the Pastors of the Church should be carefully vigilant here, and give no place to Satan, whose characteristic office it has ever been, while men sleep, to sow the cockle amid the Lord's wheat.... For this purpose it is his wont gladly to avail himself of the aid of heretics, fanatics, and false Catholics, as may be seen in the instance of this *Marianus cultus*. This *cultus*, heretics, suborned by Satan, attack with hostility. . . . Thus too, certain mad heads are so demented by Satan, as to embrace superstitions and idolatries instead of the true *cultus*, and neglect altogether the due measures whether in respect to God or to Mary. Such indeed were the Collyridians of old. . . . Such that German herdsman a hundred years ago, who gave out publicly that he was a new prophet, and had had a vision of the Deipara, and told the people in her name to pay no more tributes and taxes to princes. . . . Moreover, how many Catholics does one see who, by great and shocking negligence, have neither care nor regard for her *cultus*, but, given to profane and secular objects, scarce once a year raise their earthly minds to sing her praises or to venerate her?"—*De Mariâ Deiparâ*, p. 518.

(2.) Father Petau says, when discussing the teaching of the Fathers about the Blessed Virgin (*de Incarn.* xiv. 8.)—

"I will venture to give this advice to all who would be devout and panegyrical towards the Holy Virgin, viz. not to exceed in their piety and devotion to her, but to be content with true and solid praises, and to cast aside what is otherwise. The latter kind of idolatry, lurking, as St. Augustine says, nay implanted in human hearts, is greatly abhorrent from Theology, that is, from the gravity of heavenly wisdom, which never thinks or asserts any thing, but what is measured by certain and accurate rules. What that rule should be, and what caution is to be used in our present subject, I will not determine of myself; but according to the mind of a most weighty and most learned theologian, John Gerson, who in one of his Epistles proposes certain canons, which he calls truths, by means of which are to be measured the assertions of theologians concerning the Incarnation . . . . . By these truly golden precepts Gerson brings within bounds the immoderate licence of praising the Blessed Virgin, and restrains it within the measure of sober and healthy piety. And from these it is evident that that sort of reasoning is frivolous and nugatory, in which so many indulge, in order to assign any sort of grace they please, however unusual, to the Blessed Virgin. For they argue thus; 'Whatever the Son of God could bestow for the glory of His Mother, that it became Him in fact to furnish;' or again, 'Whatever honours or ornaments He has poured out on other saints, those all together hath He heaped upon His Mother;' whence they draw their chain of reasoning to their desired conclusion; a mode of argumentation which Gerson treats with contempt as captious and sophistical."

He adds, what of course we all should say, that, in thus speaking, he has no intention to curtail the liberty of pious persons in such meditations and conjectures, on the mysteries of faith, sacred histories and the Scripture text, as are of the nature of comments, supplements, and the like.

(3.) Raynaud is an author, full of devotion, if any one is so, to the Blessed Virgin; yet in the

work which he has composed in her honour (*Diptycha Mariana*), he says more than I can quote here, to the same purpose as Petau. I abridge some portions of his text:—

"Let this be taken for granted, that no praises of ours can come up to the praises due to the Virgin Mother. But we must not make up for our inability to reach her true praise, by a supply of lying embellishment and false honours. For there are some whose affection for religious objects is so imprudent and lawless, that they transgress the due limits even towards the saints. This Origen has excellently observed upon in the case of the Baptist, for very many, instead of observing the measure of charity, considered whether he might not be the Christ." p. 9. ". . . St. Anselm, the first, or one of the first champions of the public celebration of the Blessed Virgin's Immaculate Conception, says, *de Excell. Virg.*, that the Church considers it indecent, that any thing that admits of doubt should be said in her praise, when the things which are certainly true of her supply such large materials for laudation. It is right so to interpret St. Epiphanius also, when he says that human tongues should not pronounce any thing lightly of the Deipara; and who is more justly to be charged with speaking lightly of the most holy Mother of God, than he, who, as if what is certain and evident did not suffice for her full investiture, is wiser than the aged, and obtrudes on us the toadstools of his own mind, and devotions unheard of by those Holy Fathers who loved her best? Plainly, as St. Anselm says, that she is the Mother of God, this by itself exceeds every elevation which can be named or imagined, short of God. About so sublime a majesty we should not speak hastily from prurience of wit, or flimsy pretext of promoting piety; but with great maturity of thought; and, whenever the maxims of the Church and the oracles of faith do not suffice, then not without the suffrages of the Doctors . . . . . Those who are subject to this prurience of innovation, do not perceive how broad is the difference between subjects of human science, and heavenly things. All novelty concerning the objects of our faith is to be put far away;

except so far as by diligent investigation of God's Word, written and unwritten, and a well founded inference from what is thence to be elicited, something is brought to light which though already indeed there, had not hitherto been recognized. The innovations which we condemn are those which rest neither on the written nor unwritten Word, nor on conclusions from it, nor on the judgment of ancient sages, nor sufficient basis of reason, but on the sole colour and pretext of doing more honour to the Deipara."—p. 10.

In another portion of the same work, he speaks in particular of one of those imaginations to which you especially refer, and for which, without strict necessity (as it seems to me) you allege the authority of à Lapide.

"Nor is that honour of the Deipara to be offered, viz. that the elements of the body of Christ, which the Blessed Virgin supplied to it, remain perpetually unaltered in Christ, and thereby are found also in the Eucharist . . . . . This solicitude for the Virgin's glory, must, I consider, be discarded; since, if rightly considered, it involves an injury towards Christ, and such honours the Virgin loveth not. And first, dismissing philosophical bagatelles about the animation of blood, milk, &c., who can endure the proposition that a good portion of the substance of Christ in the Eucharist should be worshipped with a *cultus* less than *latria?* viz. by the inferior *cultus* of *hyperdulia?* The preferable class of theologians contend that not even the humanity of Christ, is to be materially abstracted from the Word of God, and worshipped by itself; how then shall we introduce a *cultus* of the Deipara in Christ, which is inferior to the *cultus* proper to Him? How is this other than a casting down of the substance of Christ from His Royal Throne, and a degradation of it to some inferior sitting place? It is nothing to the purpose to refer to such Fathers, as say that the flesh of Christ is the flesh of Mary, for they speak of its origin. What will hinder, if this doctrine be admitted, our also admitting that there is something in Christ which is de-

testable? for, as the first elements of a body which were communicated by the Virgin to Christ, have (as these authors say) remained perpetually in Christ, so the same *materia*, at least in part, which belonged originally to the ancestors of Christ, came down to the Virgin from her father, unchanged, and taken from her grandfather, and so on. And thus, since it is not unlikely that some of these ancestors were reprobate, there would now be something actually in Christ, which had belonged to a reprobate, and worthy of detestation."—p. 237.

8. After such explanations, and with such authorities, to clear my path, I put away from me, as you would wish, without any hesitation, as matters in which my heart and reason have no part, (when taken in their literal and absolute sense, as any Protestant would naturally take them, and as the writers doubtless did not use them,) such sentences, and phrases, as these:—that the mercy of Mary is infinite; that God has resigned into her hands His omnipotence; that (unconditionally) it is safer to seek her than her Son; that the Blessed Virgin is superior to God; that He is (simply) subject to her command; that our Lord is now of the same disposition as His Father towards sinners, viz. a disposition to reject them, while Mary takes His place as an Advocate with Father and Son; that the Saints are more ready to intercede with Jesus than Jesus with the Father; that Mary is the only refuge of those with whom God is angry; that Mary alone can obtain a Protestant's conversion; that it would have sufficed for the salvation of men if our Lord had died, not

to obey His Father, but to defer to the decree of His mother; that she rivals our Lord in being God's daughter, not by adoption, but by a kind of nature; that Christ fulfilled the office of Saviour by imitating her virtues; that, as the Incarnate God bore the image of His Father, so He bore the image of His Mother; that redemption derived from Christ indeed its sufficiency, but from Mary its beauty and loveliness; that as we are clothed with the merits of Christ so we are clothed with the merits of Mary; that, as He is Priest in a like sense is she Priestess; that His Body and Blood in the Eucharist are truly hers and appertain to her; that as He is present and received therein, so is she present and received therein; that Priests are ministers as of Christ, so of Mary; that elect souls are born of God and Mary; that the Holy Ghost brings into fruitfulness his action by her, producing in her and by her Jesus Christ in His members; that the kingdom of God in our souls, as our Lord speaks, is really the kingdom of Mary in the soul—and she and the Holy Ghost produce in the soul extraordinary things—and when the Holy Ghost finds Mary in a soul He flies there.

Sentiments such as these I never knew of till I read your book, nor, as I think, do the vast majority of English Catholics know them. They seem to me like a bad dream. I could not have conceived them to be said. I know not to what authority to go for them, to Scripture, or to the Fathers, or to the

decrees of Councils, or to the consent of schools, or to the tradition of the faithful, or to the Holy See, or to Reason. They defy all the *loci theologici*. There is nothing of them in the Missal, in the Roman Catechism, in the Roman *Raccolta*, in the Imitation of Christ, in Gother, Challoner, Milner, or Wiseman, as far as I am aware. They do but scare and confuse me. I should not be holier, more spiritual, more sure of perseverance, if I twisted my moral being into the reception of them; I should but be guilty of fulsome frigid flattery towards the most upright and noble of God's creatures, if I professed them,—and of stupid flattery too; for it would be like the compliment of painting up a young and beautiful princess with the brow of a Plato and the muscle of an Achilles. And I should expect her to tell one of her people in waiting to turn me off her service without warning. Whether thus to feel be the *scandalum parvulorum* in my case, or the *scandalum Pharisæorum*, I leave others to decide; but I will say plainly that I had rather believe (which is impossible) that there is no God at all, than that Mary is greater than God. I will have nothing to do with statements, which can only be explained, by being explained away. I do not, however, speak of these statements, as they are found in their authors, for I know nothing of the originals, and cannot believe that they have meant what you say; but I take them as they lie in your

pages. Were any of them the sayings of Saints in ecstasy, I should know they had a good meaning; still I should not repeat them myself; but I am looking at them, not as spoken by the tongues of Angels, but according to that literal sense which they bear in the mouths of English men and English women. And, as spoken by man to man, in England, in the nineteenth century, I consider them calculated to prejudice inquirers, to frighten the unlearned, to unsettle consciences, to provoke blasphemy, and to work the loss of souls.

9. And now, after having said so much as this, bear with me, my dear Friend, if I end with an expostulation. Have you not been touching us on a very tender point in a very rude way? is not the effect of what you have said to expose her to scorn and obloquy, who is dearer to us than any other creature? Have you even hinted that our love for her is any thing else than an abuse? Have you thrown her one kind word yourself all through your book? I trust so, but I have not lighted upon one. And yet I know you love her well. Can you wonder, then,—can I complain, much, much as I grieve,—that men should utterly misconceive of you, and are blind to the fact that you have put the whole argument between you and us on a new footing; and that, whereas it was said twenty-five years ago in the British Critic, "Till Rome ceases to be what practically she is, union is *impossible* between her and England," you declare on the contrary,

"Union *is possible*, as soon as Italy and England, having the same faith and the same centre of unity, are allowed to hold severally their own theological opinions?" They have not done you justice here; because in truth, the honour of our Lady is dearer to them than the conversion of England.

Take a parallel case, and consider how you would decide it yourself. Supposing an opponent of a doctrine for which you so earnestly contend, the eternity of punishment, instead of meeting you with direct arguments against it, heaped together a number of extravagant descriptions of the place, mode and circumstances of its infliction, quoted Tertullian as a witness for the primitive Fathers, and the Covenanters and Ranters for these last centuries; brought passages from the Inferno of Dante, and from the Sermons of Whitfield; nay, supposing he confined himself to the chapters on the subject in Jeremy Taylor's work on "The State of Man," would you think this a fair and becoming method of reasoning? and, if he avowed that he should ever consider the Anglican Church committed to all these accessories of the doctrine, till its authorities formally denounced Taylor, and Whitfield, and a hundred others, would you think this an equitable determination, or the procedure of a theologian?

So far concerning the Blessed Virgin; the chief but not the only subject of your Volume. And now, when I could wish to proceed, she seems to stop me, for the Feast of her Immaculate Conception is upon us; and close upon its Octave, which is kept with special solemnities in the Churches of this town, come the great Antiphons, the heralds of Christmas. That joyful season, joyful for all of us, while it centres in Him who then came on earth, also brings before us in peculiar prominence that Virgin Mother, who bore and nursed Him. Here she is not in the background, as at Easter-tide, but she brings Him to us in her arms. Two great Festivals, dedicated to her honour, to-morrow's and the Purification, mark out and keep the ground, and, like the towers of David, open the way to and fro, for the high holiday season of the Prince of Peace. And all along it her image is upon it, such as we see it in the typical representation of the Catacombs. May the sacred influences of this time bring us all together in unity! May it destroy all bitterness on your side and ours! May it quench all jealous, sour, proud, fierce antagonism on our side; and dissipate all captious, carping, fastidious refinements of reasoning on yours! May that bright and gentle Lady, the Blessed Virgin Mary,

overcome you with her sweetness, and revenge herself on her foes by interceding effectually for their conversion!

I am,

Yours, most affectionately,

JOHN H. NEWMAN.

The Oratory, Birmingham,
In fest. S. Ambrosii, 1865.

NOTES.

NOTE A. PAGE 36.

1. St. Justin:—Υἱὸν Θεοῦ γεγραμμένον αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς ἀπομνημονεύμασι τῶν ἀποστόλων αὐτοῦ ἔχοντες, καὶ υἱὸν αὐτὸν λέγοντες, νενοήκαμεν, καὶ πρὸ πάντων ποιημάτων ἀπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς δυνάμει αὐτοῦ καὶ βουλῇ προελθόντα . . . . καὶ διὰ τῆς παρθένου ἄνθρωπος[ον] γεγονέναι, ἵνα καὶ δι' ἧς ὁδοῦ ἡ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄφεως παρακοὴ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔλαβε, καὶ διὰ ταύτης τῆς ὁδοῦ καὶ κατάλυσιν λάβῃ· παρθένος γὰρ οὖσα Εὔα καὶ ἄφθορος τὸν λόγον τὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄφεως συλλαβοῦσα, παρακοὴν καὶ θάνατον ἔτεκε· πίστιν δὲ καὶ χαρὰν λαβοῦσα Μαρία ἡ παρθένος, εὐαγγελιζομένου αὐτῇ Γαβριὴλ ἀγγέλου, ὅτι Πνεῦμα Κυρίου ἐπ' αὐτὴν ἐπελεύσεται, &c. . . . . ἀπεκρίνατο, Γένοιτό μοι κατὰ τὸ ῥῆμά σου.—*Tryph.* 100.

2. Tertullian:—"Ne mihi vacet incursus nominis Adæ, unde Christus Adam ab Apostolo dictus est, si terreni non fuit census homo ejus? Sed et hic ratio defendit, quod Deus imaginem et similitudinem suam a diabolo captam æmula operatione recuperavit. In virginem enim adhuc Evam irrepserat verbum ædificatorium mortis. In virginem æque introducendum erat Dei verbum extructorium vitæ; ut quod per ejusmodi sexum abierat in perditionem, per eundem sexum redigeretur in salutem. Crediderat Eva serpenti; credidit Maria Gabrieli; quod illa credendo deliquit, hæc credendo delevit."—*De Carn. Chr.* 17.

3. St. Irenæus:—"Consequenter autem et Maria virgo obediens invenitur, dicens, ecce ancilla tua, Domine, fiat mihi secundum verbum tuum. Eva vero inobediens: non obedivit

enim, adhuc quum esset virgo. Quemadmodum illa, virum quidem habens Adam, virgo tamen adhuc existens (erant enim utrique nudi in Paradiso, et non confundebantur, quoniam, paullo ante facti, non intellectum habebant filiorum generationis; oportebat enim illos primo adolescere, dehinc sic multiplicari), inobediens facta, et sibi et universo generi humano causa facta est mortis: sic et Maria, habens prædestinatum virum, et tamen virgo, obediens, et sibi et universo generi humano causa facta est salutis. Et propter hoc Lex eam, quæ desponsata erat viro, licet virgo sit adhuc, uxorem ejus, qui desponsaverat, vocat; eam quæ est à Maria in Evam recirculationem significans: quia non aliter quod colligatum est solveretur, nisi ipsæ compagines alligationis reflectantur retrorsus; ut primæ conjunctiones solvantur per secundas, secundæ rursus liberent primas. Et evenit primam quidem compaginem à secundâ colligatione solvere, secundam vero colligationem primæ solutionis habere locum. Et propter hoc Dominus dicebat, primos quidem novissimos futuros, et novissimos primos. Et propheta autem hoc idem significat, dicens, 'Pro patribus nati sunt tibi filii.' 'Primogenitus' enim 'mortuorum' natus Dominus, et in sinum suum recipiens pristinos patres, regeneravit eos in vitam Dei, ipse initium viventium factus, quoniam Adam initium morientium factus est. Propter hoc et Lucas initium generationis a Domino inchoans, in Adam retulit, significans, quoniam non illi hunc, sed hic illos in Evangelium vitæ regeneravit. Sic autem et Evæ inobedientiæ nodus solutionem accepit per obedientiam Mariæ. Quod enim alligavit virgo Eva per incredulitatem, hoc virgo Maria solvit per fidem."—*S. Iren. contr. Hær.* iii. 22.

"Quemadmodum enim illa per Angeli sermonem seducta est, ut effugeret Deum, prævaricata verbum ejus; ita et hæc per Angelicum sermonem evangelizata est, ut portaret Deum, obediens ejus verbo. Et si ea inobedierat Deo; sed hæc suasa est obedire Deo, uti Virginis Evæ Virgo Maria fieret advocata. Et quemadmodum adstrictum est morti genus humanum per Virginem, salvatur per Virginem, æqua lance disposita, virginalis inobedientia, per virginalem obedientiam."—*Ibid.* v. 19.

4. St. Cyril:—Διὰ παρθένου τῆς Εὔας ἦλθεν ὁ θάνατος, ἔδει διὰ παρθένου, μᾶλλον δὲ ἐκ παρθένου, φανῆναι τὴν ζωήν· ἵνα ὥσπερ

ἐκείνην ὄφις ἠπάτησεν, οὕτω καὶ ταύτην Γαβριὴλ εὐαγγελίσηται.—*Cat.* xii. 15.

5. St. Ephrem.:—"Per Evam nempe decora et amabilis hominis gloria extincta est, quæ tamen rursus per Mariam refloruit."—*Opp. Syr.* ii. p. 318.

"Initio protoparentum delicto in omnes homines mors pertransiit; hodie vero per Mariam translati sumus de morte ad vitam. Initio serpens, Evæ auribus occupatis, inde virus in totum corpus dilatavit; hodie Maria ex auribus perpetuæ felicitatis assertorem excepit. Quod ergo mortis fuit, simul et vitæ extitit instrumentum."—iii. p. 607.

6. St. Epiphanius:—Αὐτὴ ἐστὶν ἡ παρὰ μὲν τῇ Εὔᾳ σημαινομένη δι' αἰνίγματος λαβοῦσα τὸ καλεῖσθαι μήτηρ ζώντων. . . . καὶ ἦν θαῦμα ὅτι μετὰ τὴν παράβασιν ταύτην τὴν μεγάλην ἔσχεν ἐπωνυμίαν. καὶ κατὰ μὲν τὸ αἰσθητὸν, ἀπ' ἐκείνης τῆς Εὔας πᾶσα τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἡ γέννησις ἐπὶ γῆς γεγέννηται· ὧδε δὲ ἀληθῶς ἀπὸ Μαρίας αὐτὴ ἡ ζωὴ τῷ κόσμῳ γεγέννηται· ἵνα ζῶντα γεννήσῃ, καὶ γέννηται ἡ Μαρία μήτηρ ζώντων· δι' αἰνίγματος οὖν ἡ Μαρία μήτηρ ζώντων κέκληται . . . ἀλλὰ καὶ ἕτερον περὶ τούτων διανοεῖσθαί ἐστι θαυμαστὸν, περὶ δὲ τῆς Εὔας καὶ τῆς Μαρίας· ἡ μὲν γὰρ Εὔα πρόφασις γεγέννηται θανάτου τοῖς ἀνθρώποις· . . . ἡ δὲ Μαρία πρόφασις ζωῆς . . . ἵνα ζωὴ ἀντὶ θανάτου γέννηται, ἐκκλείσασα τὸν θάνατον τὸν ἐκ γυναικὸς, πάλιν ὁ διὰ γυναικὸς ἡμῖν ζωὴ γεγεννημένος.—*Hær.* 78. 18.

7. St. Jerome:—"Postquam vero Virgo concepit in utero, et peperit nobis puerum . . . soluta maledictio est. Mors per Evam, vita per Mariam."—*Ep.* 22, *ad Eustochium*, 21.

8. St. Augustine:—"Huc accedit magnum sacramentum, ut, quoniam per feminam nobis mors acciderat, vita nobis per feminam nasceretur: ut de utrâque naturâ, id est, femininâ et masculinâ, victus diabolus cruciaretur, quoniam de ambarum subversione lætabatur, cui parum fuerat ad pœnam si ambæ naturæ in nobis liberarentur, nisi etiam per ambas liberaremur."—*De Agone Christ.* 24.

9. St. Peter Chrysologus:—"Benedicta tu in mulieribus. Quia in quibus Eva maledicta puniebat viscera; tunc in illis gaudet, honoratur, suspicitur Maria benedicta. Et facta est vere nunc mater viventium per gratiam quæ mater extitit morientium per naturam. . . . Quantus sit Deus satis ignorat ille, qui hujus Virginis mentem non stupet, animum non miratur:

pavet cœlum, tremunt Angeli, creatura non sustinet, natura non sufficit, et una puella sic Deum in sui pectoris capit, recipit, oblectat hospitio, ut pacem terris, cœlis gloriam, salutem perditis, vitam mortuis, terrenis cum cœlestibus parentelam, ipsius Dei cum carne commercium, pro ipsa domus exigat pensione, pro ipsius uteri mercede conquirat, et impleat illud Prophetæ: Ecce hæreditas Domini, filii merces fructus ventris. Sed jam se concludat sermo ut de partu Virginis, donante Deo, et indulgente tempore, gratius proloquamur."—*Serm.* 140.

10. St. Fulgentius:—"In primi hominis conjuge, nequitia diaboli seductam depravavit mentem: in secundi autem hominis matre, gratia Dei, et mentem integram servavit, et carnem: menti contulit firmissimam fidem, carni abstulit omnino libidinem. Quoniam igitur miserabiliter pro peccato damnatus est homo, ideo sine peccato mirabiliter natus est Deus homo."—*Serm.* ii.

"Venite, virgines, ad virginem; venite, concipientes, ad concipientem; venite, parturientes, ad parturientem; venite, matres, ad matrem; venite, lactantes, ad lactantem; venite, juvenculæ, ad juvenculam. Ideo omnes istos cursus naturæ virgo Maria in Domino nostro Jesu Christo suscepit, ut omnibus ad se confugientibus fœminis subveniret, et sic restauraret omne genus fœminarum ad se advenientium nova Eva servando virginitatem, sicut omne genus virorum Adam novus recuperat dominus Jesus Christus."—*Ibid.* iii.

NOTE B. PAGE 49.

Abridged from Suarez. Opp. t. 17, p. 7—Ed. Venet. 1746 :—

"1. Statuendum est B. Virginem fuisse a Christo redemptam, quia Christus fuit universalis redemptor totius generis humani, et pro omnibus hominibus mortuus est."—p. 15.

"2. Præterea constat indiguisse Virginem redemptione, quia nimirum descendebat ex Adamo per seminalem generationem." —p. 7.

"3. Tanquam certum statuendum est, B. Virginem procreatam esse ex viri et fœminæ commixtione carnali, ad modum aliorum hominum. Habetur certâ traditione et communi consensu totius Ecclesiæ."—p. 7.

"4. Absolute et simpliciter fatendum B. Virginem in Adam peccasse."—p. 16.

"5. B. Virgo peccavit in Adamo, ex quo tanquam ex radice infecta per seminalem rationem est orta; hæc est tota ratio contrahendi originale peccatum, quod est ex vi conceptionis, nisi gratiâ Dei præveniat."—p. 16.

"6. Certum est B. Virginem fuisse mortuam saltem in Adamo. Sicut in Christo vitam habuit, ita et in Adam fuit mortua. Alias B. Virgo non contraxisset mortem aliasve corporis pœnalitates ex Adamo; consequens [autem] est omnino falsum. Habuit B. Virgo meritum mortis saltem in Adamo. Illa vere habuit mortem carnis ex peccato Adami contractam." —p. 16.

"7. B. Virgo, ex vi suæ conceptionis fuit obnoxia originali peccato, seu debitum habuit contrahendi illud, nisi divinâ gratiâ fuisset impeditum."—p. 16.

"8. Si B. Virgo non fuisset (ut ita dicam) vendita in Adamo, et de se servituti peccati obnoxia, non fuisset vere redempta." —p. 16.

"9. Dicendum est, potuisse B. Virginem præservari ab ori-

ginali peccato, et in primo suæ conceptionis instanti sanctificari."—p. 17.

"10. Potuit B. Virgo ex vi suæ originis esse obnoxia culpæ, et ideo indigere redemptione, et nihilominus in eodem momento, in quo erat obnoxia, præveniri, ne illam contraheret."—p. 14.

"11. Dicendum B. Virginem in ipso primo instanti conceptionis suæ fuisse sanctificatam, et ab originali peccato præservatam."—p. 19.

"12. Carnem Virginis fuisse carnem peccati . . . verum est, non quia illa caro aliquando fuit subdita peccato, aut informata anima carente gratia, sed quia fuit mortalis et passibilis ex debito peccati, cui de se erat obnoxia, si per Christi gratiam non fuisset præservata."—p. 22.

"13. Quod B. Virgo de se fuerit obnoxia peccato, (si illud revera nunquam habuit,) non derogat perfectæ ejus sanctitati et puritati."—pp. 16, 17.

Cornelius à Lapide, Comment. in Ep. ad Rom. v. 12:—

"The Blessed Virgin sinned in Adam, and incurred this necessity of contracting original sin; but original sin itself she did not contract in herself in fact, nor had it; for she was anticipated by the grace of God, which excluded all sin from her, in the first moment of her conception."

In 2 Ep. ad Corinth. v. 15:—

"All died, namely in Adam, for in him all contracted the necessity of sin and death, even the Deipara; so that both herself and man altogether needed Christ as a Redeemer and His death. Therefore the Blessed Virgin sinned and died in Adam, but in her own person she contracted not sin and the death of the soul, for she was anticipated by God and God's grace."

NOTE C. PAGE 53.

I have allowed that several great Fathers of the Church, of the fourth and fifth centuries, speak of the Blessed Virgin in terms, which we never should think of using now, and which at first sight are inconsistent with the belief and sentiment concerning her, which I have ascribed to their times. These Fathers are St. Basil, St. Chrysostom, and St. Cyril of Alexandria; and the occasion of their so speaking is furnished by certain passages of Scripture, on which they are commenting. It may in consequence be asked of me, why I do not take these three, instead of St. Justin, St. Irenæus, and Tertullian, as my authoritative basis for determining the doctrine of the primitive times concerning the Blessed Mary: why, instead of making St. Irenæus, &c. the rule, and St. Basil, &c. the exception, I do not make the earlier Fathers the exception, and the later the rule. Since I do not, it may be urged against me that I am but making a case for my own opinion, and playing the part of an advocate.

Now I do not see that it would be illogical or nugatory, though I did nothing more than make a case; indeed I have worded myself in my Letter as if I wished to do little more. For as much as this is surely to the purpose, considering the majority of Anglicans have a supreme confidence that no case whatever can be made in behalf of our doctrine concerning the Blessed Virgin from the ancient Fathers. I should have gained a real point, if I did any thing to destroy this imagination; but I intend to attempt something more than this. I shall attempt to invalidate the only grounds on which any teaching contrary to the Catholic can be founded on Antiquity.

I. First I set down the passages which create the difficulty, as they are found in the great work of Petavius, a theologian too candid and fearless, to put out of sight or explain away adverse facts, from fear of scandal, or from the expedience of controversy.

1. St. Basil then writes thus, in his 260th Epistle, addressed to Optimus:—

"[Symeon] uses the word 'sword,' meaning the word which is tentative and critical of the thoughts, and reaches unto the separation of soul and spirit, of the joints and marrow. Since then every soul, at the time of the Passion, was subjected in a way to some unsettlement (διακρίσει), according to the Lord's word, who said, 'All ye shall be scandalized in Me,' Symeon prophesies even of Mary herself, that, standing by the Cross, and seeing what was doing, and hearing the words, after the testimony of Gabriel, after the secret knowledge of the divine conception, after the great manifestation of miracles, Thou wilt experience, he says, a certain tossing (σάλος) of thy soul. For it beseemed the Lord to taste death for every one, and to become a propitiation of the world, in order to justify all in His blood. And thee thyself who hast been taught from above the things concerning the Lord, some unsettlement (διάκρισις) will reach. This is the sword; 'that out of many hearts thoughts may be revealed.' He obscurely signifies, that, after the scandalizing which took place upon the Cross of Christ, both to the disciples and to Mary herself, some quick healing should follow upon it from the Lord, confirming their heart unto faith in Him."

2. St. Chrysostom, in Matth. Hom. iv.:—

"'Wherefore,' a man may say, 'did not the angel do in the case of the Virgin, [what he did to Joseph?'" viz. appear to her after, not before, the Incarnation,] "'why did he not bring her the good tidings after her conception?' lest she should be in great disturbance and trouble. For the probability was, that, had she not known the clear fact, she would have resolved something strange (ἄτοπον) about herself, and had recourse to rope or sword, not bearing the disgrace. For the Virgin was admirable, and Luke shows her virtue, when he says that, when she heard the salutation, she did not at once

become extravagant, nor appropriated the words, but was troubled, searching what was the nature of the salutation. One then of so accurately formed a mind (*διηκριβωμένη*) would be made beside herself with despondency, considering the disgrace, and not expecting, whatever she may say, to persuade any one who hears her, that adultery had not been the fact. Lest then these things occur, the Angel came before the conception; for it beseemed that that womb should be without disorder, which the Creator of all entered, and that that soul should be rid of all perturbation, which was counted worthy to become the minister of such mysteries."

In Matth. Hom. xliv. (vid. also in Joann. Hom. xxi.):—

"To-day we learn something else even further, viz., that not even to bear Christ in the womb, and to have that wonderful childbirth, has any gain, without virtue. And this is especially true from this passage, 'As He was yet speaking to the multitude, behold His Mother and His brethren stood without, seeking to speak to Him,' &c. This he said, not as ashamed of His Mother, nor as denying her who bore Him; for, had He been ashamed, He had not passed through that womb; but as showing that there was no profit to her thence, unless she did all that was necessary. For what she attempted, came of overmuch love of honour; for she wished to show to the people that she had power and authority over her Son, in nothing ever as yet having been greatly ostentatious (*φανταζομένη*) about Him. Therefore she came thus unseasonably. Observe then her and their recklessness (*ἀπόνοιαν*). . . . Had He wished to deny His Mother, then He would have denied, when the Jews taunted Him with her. But no; He shows such care of her as to commit her as a legacy on the Cross itself to the disciple whom He loved best of all, and to take anxious oversight of her. But does He not do the same now, by caring for her and His brethren? . . . And consider, not only the words which convey the considerate rebuke, but also . . . who He is who utters it, . . . and what He aims at in uttering it, not, that is, as wishing to cast her into perplexity, but to release her from a most tyrannical affection, and to bring her gradually to the fitting thought concerning Him, and to persuade her that He is not only her Son, but also her Master."

3. St. Cyril, in Joann. lib. xii.:—

"How shall we explain this passage? He introduces both His Mother and the other women with her standing at the Cross, and, as is plain, weeping. For somehow the race of women is ever fond of tears; and especially given to laments, when it has rich occasions for weeping. How then did they persuade the blessed Evangelist to be so minute in his account, so as to make mention of this abidance of the women? For it was his purpose to teach even this, viz., that probably even the Mother of the Lord herself was scandalized at the unexpected Passion, and that the death upon the Cross, being so very bitter, was near unsettling her from her fitting mind; and in addition to this, the mockeries of the Jews, and the soldiers too, perhaps, who were sitting near the Cross and making a jest of Him who was hanging on it, and daring, in the sight of His very mother, the division of His garments. Doubt not that she received (εἰσεδέξατο) some such thoughts as these:—I bore Him who is laughed at on the wood; but, in saying He was the true Son of the Omnipotent God, perhaps somehow He was mistaken. He said He was the Life, how then has He been crucified? how has He been strangled by the cords of His murderers? how prevailed He not over the plot of His persecutors? why descends He not from the Cross, though He bade Lazarus to return to life, and amazed all Judæa with His miracles? And it is very natural that a woman (τὸ γύναιον, woman's nature), not knowing the mystery, should slide into some such trains of thought. For we should understand, if we do well, that the gravity of the circumstances was enough to overturn even a self-possessed mind; it is no wonder then if a woman (τὸ γύναιον) slipped into this reasoning. For if he himself, the chosen one of the holy disciples, Peter, once was scandalized, . . . so as to cry out hastily, Be it far from Thee, Lord. . . . what paradox is it, if the soft mind of womankind was carried off to weak ideas? And this we say, not idly conjecturing, as it may strike one, but entertaining the suspicion from what is written concerning the Mother of the Lord. For we remember that Simeon the Just, when he received the Lord as a little child into his arms, . . . said to her, 'A sword shall go through thine own soul, that out of

many hearts thoughts may be revealed.' By sword he meant the sharp access of suffering cutting down a woman's mind into extravagant thoughts. For temptations test the hearts of those who suffer them, and make bare the thoughts which are in them."

Now what do these three Fathers say in these passages?

1. St. Basil imputes to the Blessed Virgin, not only doubt, but the sin of doubt. On the other hand, 1. he imputes it only on one occasion; 2. he does not consider it to be a grave sin; 3. he implies that, in point of spiritual perfection, she is above the Apostles.

2. St. Chrysostom, in his first passage, does not impute sin to her at all. He says God so disposed things for her as to shield her from the chance of sinning; that she was too admirable to be allowed to be betrayed by her best and purest feelings into sin. All that is implied in a spirit repugnant to a Catholic's reverence for her, is, that her woman's nature, viewed in itself and apart from the watchful providence of God's grace over her, would not have had strength to resist a hypothetical temptation, —a position which a Catholic will not care to affirm or deny, though he will feel great displeasure at having to discuss it at all. This too at least is distinctly brought out in the passage, viz., that in St. Chrysostom's mind, our Lady was not a mere physical instrument of the Incarnation, but that her soul, as well as her body, "ministered to the mystery," and needed to be duly prepared for it.

As to his second most extraordinary passage, I should not be candid, unless I simply admitted that it is as much at variance with what we hold, as it is solitary and singular in the writings of Antiquity. The Saint distinctly and (*pace illius*) needlessly, imputes to the Blessed Virgin, on the occasion in question, the sin or infirmity of vain-glory. He has a parallel passage in commenting on the miracle at the Marriage-feast. All that can be said to alleviate the startling character of these passages is, that it does not appear that St. Chrysostom would account such vain-glory in a woman any great sin.

3. Lastly, as to St. Cyril, I do not see that he declares that Mary actually doubted at the Crucifixion, but that, considering

she was a woman, it is likely she was tempted to doubt, and nearly doubted. Moreover, St. Cyril does not seem to consider such doubt, had it occurred, as any great sin.

Thus on the whole, all three Fathers, St. Basil and St. Cyril explicitly, and St. Chrysostom by implication, consider that on occasions she was, or might be, exposed to violent temptation to doubt; but two Fathers consider that she actually did sin, though she sinned lightly;—the sin being doubt, and on one occasion, according to St. Basil; and on two occasions, the sin being vain-glory, according to St. Chrysostom.

However, the strong language of these Fathers is not directed against our Lady's person, so much as against her nature. They seem to have participated with Ambrose, Jerome, and other Fathers in that low estimation of woman's nature which was general in their times. In the broad imperial world, the conception entertained of womankind was not high; it seemed only to perpetuate the poetical tradition of the "Varium et mutabile semper." Little was then known of that true nobility, which is exemplified in the females of the Gothic and German races, and in those of the old Jewish stock, Miriam, Deborah, Judith, Susanna, the forerunners of Mary. When then St. Chrysostom imputes vain-glory to her, he is not imputing to her any thing worse than an infirmity, the infirmity of a nature, inferior to man's, and intrinsically feeble; as though the Almighty could have created a more excellent being than Mary, but could not have made a greater woman. Accordingly Chrysostom does not say that she sinned. He does not deny that she had all the perfections which woman could have; but he seems to have thought the capabilities of her nature were bounded, so that the utmost grace bestowed upon it could not raise it above that standard of perfection in which its elements resulted, and that to attempt more, would have been to injure, not benefit it. Of course I am not stating this as brought out in any part of his writings, but it seems to me to be the real sentiment of many of the ancients.

I will add that such a belief on the part of these Fathers, that the Blessed Virgin had committed a sin or a weakness, was not in itself inconsistent with the exercise of love and devotion to her (though I am not pretending that there is proof of

its actual existence); and for this simple reason, that if sinlessness were a condition of inspiring devotion, we should not feel devotion to any but our Lady, not to St. Joseph, or to the Apostles, or to our Patron Saints.

Such then is the teaching of these three Fathers; now how far is it in antagonism to ours. On the one hand, we will not allow that our Blessed Lady ever sinned; we cannot bear the notion, entering, as we do, into the full spirit of St. Augustine's words, "Concerning the Holy Virgin Mary, I wish no question to be raised at all, when we are treating of sins." On the other hand, we admit, rather we maintain, that, except for the grace of God, she might have sinned; and that she may have been exposed to temptation in the sense in which our Lord was exposed to it, though as His Divine Nature made it impossible for Him to yield to it, so His grace preserved her from its assaults also. While then we do not hold that St. Simeon prophesied of temptation, when he said a sword would pierce her, still, if any one likes to say he did, we do not consider him heretical, provided he does not impute to her any sinful or inordinate emotion as the consequence to it. In this way St. Cyril may be let off altogether; and we have only to treat of the *paradoxa* or *anomala* of those great Saints, St. Basil and St. Chrysostom. I proceed to their controversial value.

II. I mean, that having determined what the Three Fathers say, and how far they are at issue with what Catholics hold now, I now come to the main question, viz. What is the authoritative force in controversy of what they thus say in opposition to Catholic teaching? I think I shall be able to show that it has no controversial force at all.

I begin by observing, that the main force of passages which can be brought from any Father or Fathers in controversy, lies in the fact that such passages represent the judgment or sentiment of their own respective countries; and again, I say that the force of that local judgment or sentiment lies in its being the existing expression of an Apostolical tradition. I am far, of course, from denying the claim of the teaching of a Father on our deference, arising out of his personal position and character;

or the claims of the mere sentiments of a Christian population on our careful attention, as a fact carrying with it, under circumstances, especial weight; but, in a question of doctrine, we must have recourse to the great source of doctrine, Apostolical Tradition, and a Father must represent his own people, and that people must be the witnesses of an uninterrupted Tradition from the Apostles, if any thing decisive is to come of any theological statement which is found in his writings; and if, in a particular case, there is no reason to suppose that he does echo the popular voice, or that that popular voice is transmitted from Apostolic times,—or (to take another channel of Tradition) unless the Father in question receives and reports his doctrine from the Bishops and Priests who instructed him on the very understanding and profession that it is Apostolical,—then, though it was not one Father but ten who said a thing, it would weigh nothing against the assertion of only one Father to the contrary, provided it was clear that that Father witnessed to an Apostolical Tradition. Now I do not say that I can decide the question by this issue with all the exactness which is conceivable, but still this is the issue by which it must be tried, and which I think will enable me to come to a satisfactory conclusion upon it.

Such, I say, being the issue, viz., that a doctrine reported by the Fathers, in order to have dogmatic force, must be a Tradition in its *source* or *form*, next, what is a Tradition, considered in its *matter?* It is a belief, which, be it *affirmative* or *negative*, is *positive*. The mere absence of a tradition in a country, is not a tradition the other way. If, for instance, there was no tradition in Syria and Asia Minor that the words "consubstantial with the Father," came from the Apostles, that would not be a tradition that they did not come from the Apostles, though of course it would be necessary for those who said that they did, to account for the ignorance of those countries as to the real fact.

The proposition "Christ is God," serves as an example of what I mean by an affirmative tradition; and "no one born of woman is born in God's favour," is an example of a negative tradition. Here it is observable that a tradition does not carry its own full explanation with it; it does but land (so to say)

a proposition at the feet of the Apostles, and its interpretation has still to be determined,—as the Apostles' words in Scripture, however much theirs, need an interpretation. Thus I may accept the above negative Tradition, that "no one woman-born is born in God's favour," yet question its strict universality, as a point of criticism, saying that a general proposition admits of exceptions, that our Lord was born of woman, yet was the sinless and acceptable Priest and sacrifice for all men. So again the Arians allowed that "Christ was God," but they disputed about the meaning of the word "God."

Further, there are *explicit* traditions and *implicit*. By an explicit tradition I mean a doctrine which is conveyed in the letter of the proposition which has been handed down; and by implicit, one which lies in the force and virtue, not in the letter of the proposition. Thus it might be an Apostolical tradition that our Lord was the very Son of God, of one nature with the Father, and in all things equal to Him; and again a tradition that there was but one God: these would be explicit, but in them would necessarily be conveyed, moreover, the implicit tradition, that the Father and the Son were numerically one. Implicit traditions are positive traditions, as being strictly conveyed in positive.

Lastly, there are at least two ways of determining an Apostolical tradition:—1. When credible witnesses declare that it *is* Apostolical; as when three hundred Fathers at Nicæa stopped their ears at Arius's blasphemies; 2. When, in various places, independent witnesses enunciate one and the same doctrine, as St. Irenæus, St. Cyprian, and Eusebius assert, that the Apostles founded a Church, Catholic and One.

Now to apply these principles to the particular case, on account of which I have laid them down.

That "Mary is the new Eve," is a proposition answering to the *idea* of a Tradition. I am not prepared to say that it can be shown to have the first of the above two tests of its Apostolicity, viz., that the writers who record it, profess to have received it from the Apostles; but I conceive it has the second test, viz., that the writers are independent witnesses, as I have shown at length in the course of my Letter.

It is an explicit tradition; and by the force of it follow two others, which are implicit:—first (considering the condition of Eve in paradise), that Mary had no part in sin, and indefinitely large measures of grace; secondly (considering the doctrine of merits), that she has been exalted to glory proportionate to that grace.

This is what I have to observe on the argument in behalf of the Blessed Virgin. St. Justin, St. Irenæus, Tertullian, are witnesses of an Apostolical tradition, because in three distinct parts of the world they enunciate one and the same definite doctrine. And it is remarkable that they witness just for those three seats of Catholic teaching, where the truth in this matter was likely to be especially lodged. St. Justin speaks for Jerusalem, the see of St. James; St. Irenæus for Ephesus, the dwelling-place, the place of burial, of St. John; and Tertullian, who made a long residence at Rome, for the city of St. Peter and St. Paul.

Now, let us inquire, what can be produced on the other side, parallel to an argument like this? A tradition in its matter is a positive statement of belief; in its form it is a statement which comes from the Apostles: now, first, what statement of belief at all is witnessed to by St. Basil, St. Chrysostom, and St. Cyril? I cannot find any. They do but interpret certain passages in the Gospels to our Lady's disadvantage; is an interpretation a distinct statement of belief? but they do not all interpret the same passages. Nor do they agree together in their interpretation of those passages which one or other of them interprets so unsatisfactorily; for, while St. Chrysostom holds that our Lord spoke in correction of His mother at the wedding feast, St. Cyril on the contrary says that He wrought the miracle then, which He was Himself unwilling to work, in order to show "reverence to His Mother," and that she "having great authority for the working of the miracle, got the victory, persuading the Lord, as being her Son, as was fitting." But, taking only the statements which are in her disparagement, can we generalize them into one proposition? Shall we make it such as this, viz., "The Blessed Virgin during her earthly life committed actual sin?" If we mean by this, that there was a

positive recognition of such a proposition in the country of St. Basil or St. Chrysostom, this surely is not to be gathered merely from their separate and independent comments on Scripture. All that can be gathered thence legitimately is, that, had there been a positive belief in her sinlessness in those countries, the Fathers in question would not have spoken of her in the terms which they have used; in other words, that there was no belief in her sinlessness then and there; but the absence of a belief is not a belief to the contrary, it is not that positive statement, which, as I have said, is required for the matter of a tradition.

Nor do the passages which I have quoted from these Fathers supply us with any tradition, viewed in its form, that is, as a statement which has come down from the Apostles. I have suggested two tests of such a statement:—one, when the writers who make it so declare that it was from the Apostles; and the other when, being independent of one another, they bear witness to one positive statement of doctrine. Neither test is fulfilled in this case. The three Fathers of the 4th and 5th centuries are but commenting on Scripture; and comments, though carrying with them of course, and betokening the tone of thought of the place and time to which they belong, are, *primâ facie* of a private and personal character. If they are more than this, the *onus probandi* lies with those who would have it so. Exegetical theology is one department of divine science, and dogmatic is another. On the other hand, the three Fathers of the 2nd century are all writing on dogmatic subjects, when they compare Mary to Eve.

Now to take the Three later Fathers one by one:—

1. As to St. Cyril, as I have said, he does not, strictly speaking, say more than that our Lady was grievously tempted. This does not imply sin, for our Lord was "tempted in all things like as we are, yet without sin." Moreover, it is this St. Cyril who spoke at Ephesus of the Blessed Virgin in terms of such high panegyric, as to make it more consistent in him to suppose that she was sinless, than that she was not.

2. St. Basil derived his notion, that the Blessed Virgin at the time of the Passion admitted a doubt about our Lord's mission, from Origen; and he, so far from professing to rest it

on Tradition, draws it as a theological conclusion from a received doctrine. Origen's characteristic fault was to prefer scientific reasonings to authority; and he exemplifies it in the case before us. In the middle age, the great obstacle to the reception of the doctrine of the Blessed Mary's immaculate conception, was the notion that, unless she had been in some sense a sinner, she could not have been redeemed. By an argument parallel to this, Origen argues, that since she was one of the redeemed, she must at one time or another have committed a sin. He says: "Are we to think, that the Apostles were scandalized, and not the Lord's Mother? If she suffered not scandal at our Lord's passion, then Jesus died not for her sins. If all have sinned and need the glory of God, being justified by His grace, and redeemed, certainly Mary at that time was scandalized." This is precisely the argument of Basil, as contained in the passage given above; his statement then of the Blessed Virgin's wavering in faith, instead of professing to be a tradition, carries with it an avowal of its being none at all.

However, I am not unwilling to grant that, whereas Scripture tells us that all were scandalized at our Lord's passion, there was some sort of traditional interpretation of Simeon's words, to the effect that she was in some sense included in that trial. How near the Apostolic era the tradition arose, cannot be determined; but this need not include the idea of sin in the Blessed Virgin, but only the presence of temptation and darkness of spirit. This tradition, whatever its authority, would be easily perverted, so as actually to impute sin to her, by such reasonings as that of Origen. Origen himself, in the passage I have quoted from him, refers to the sword of Simeon, and is the first to do so. St. Cyril, who, though an Alexandrian as well as Origen, represents a very different school of theology, has, as we have seen, the same interpretation for the piercing sword. It is also found in a Homily attributed to St. Amphilochius; and in that sixth Oration of Proclus, which, according to Tillemont and Ceillier, is not to be considered genuine. It is also found in a work incorrectly attributed to St. Augustine.

3. St. Chrysostom is, *par excellence*, the Commentator of the Church. As Commentator and Preacher, of all the Fathers, he

carries about him the most intense personality. In this lies his very charm, peculiar to himself. He is ever overflowing with thought, and he pours it forth with a natural engaging frankness, and an unwearied freshness and vigour. If he was in the practice of deeply studying and carefully criticizing what he delivered in public, he had in perfection the rare art of concealing his art. He ever speaks from himself, not of course without being impregnated with the fulness of a Catholic training, but still, not speaking by rule, but as if "trusting the lore of his own loyal heart." On the other hand, if it is not a paradox to say it, no one carries with him so little of the science, precision, consistency, gravity of a Doctor of the Church, as he who is one of the greatest. The difficulties are well known which he has occasioned to school theologians: his *obiter dicta* about our Lady are among them.

On the whole then I conclude that these three Fathers supply no evidence that, in what they say of her having failed in faith or humility on certain occasions mentioned in Scripture, they are reporting the decisions of Apostolical Tradition.

Such difficulties as the above are not uncommon in the writings of the Fathers. I will mention several:—

1. St. Gregory Nyssen is a great dogmatic divine; he too, like St. Basil, is of the school of Origen; and, in several passages of his works, he, like Origen, declares or suggests that future punishment will not be eternal. Those Anglicans who consider St. Chrysostom's passages in his Commentary on the Gospels to be a real argument against the Catholic belief of the Blessed Virgin's sinlessness, should explain why they do not feel St. Gregory Nyssen's teaching in his Catechetical Discourse, an argument against their own belief in the eternity of punishment.

2. Again, they believe in the proper divinity of our Lord, in spite of Bull's saying of the Ante-Nicene Fathers, "nearly all the ancient Catholics, who preceded Arius, have the appearance of being ignorant of the invisible and incomprehensible (*immensam*) nature of the Son of God;" an article of faith expressly contained in the Athanasian Creed, and enforced by its anathema.

3. The Divinity of the Holy Ghost is an integral part of the

fundamental doctrine of Christianity; yet St. Basil, in the fourth century, apprehending the storm of controversy which its assertion would raise, refrained from asserting it on an occasion when the Arians were on watch as to what he would say. And St. Athanasius took his part, on his keeping silence. Such inconsistencies take place continually, and no Catholic doctrine but suffers from them at times, until what has been preserved by Tradition is formally pronounced to be apostolical by definition of the Church.

Before concluding, I shall briefly take notice of two questions which may be asked me.

1. How are we to account for the absence, at Antioch or Cæsarea, of a tradition of our Lady's sinlessness? I consider that it was obliterated or confused by the Arian troubles in the countries in which those Sees are included.

It is not surely wonderful, if, in Syria and Asia Minor, the seat in the fourth century of Arianism and Semi-arianism, the prerogatives of the mother were obscured together with the essential glory of the Son, or if they who denied the tradition of His divinity, forgot the tradition of her sinlessness. Christians in those countries and times, however religious themselves, however orthodox their teachers, were necessarily under peculiar disadvantages.

Now let it be observed that Basil grew up in the very midst of Semi-arianism, and had direct relations with that portion of its professors who had been reconciled to the Church and accepted the Homoüsion. It is not wonderful then, if he had no firm habitual hold upon a doctrine which (though Apostolical) was in his day so much in the background as yet all over Christendom, as our Lady's sinlessness.

As to Chrysostom, not only was he in close relations with the once Semi-arian Cathedra of Antioch, to the disavowal of the rival succession there, recognized by Rome and Alexandria, but, as his writings otherwise show, he came under the teaching of the celebrated Antiochene School, celebrated, that is, at once for its Scripture criticism, and (orthodox as it was itself) for the successive outbreaks of heresy among its members. These outbreaks began in Paul of Samosata, were

continued in the Semi-arian pupils of Lucian, and ended in Nestorius. The famous Theodore, and Diodorus, of the same school, who, though not heretics themselves, have a bad name in the Church, were, Diodorus the master, and Theodore the fellow-pupil, of St. Chrysostom. (Vid. *Arians of the Fourth Cent.*, p. 8, and *Doctr. Devel.* p. 252.) Here then is a natural explanation, why St. Chrysostom, even more than St. Basil, should be wanting in a clear perception of the place of the Blessed Virgin in the Evangelical Dispensation.

2. How are we to account for the passages in the Gospels, which are the occasion of the Fathers' remarks to her disparagement? They seem to me intended to discriminate between our Lord's work who is our Teacher and Redeemer, and the ministrative office of His Mother.

As to the words of Simeon, as interpreted by St. Basil and St. Cyril, there is nothing in the sacred text which obliges us to consider the "sword" to mean doubt rather than anguish; but Matth. xii. 46—50, with its parallels Mark iii. 31—35, and Luke viii. 19—21; Luke xi. 27, 28, and John ii. 4, require some explanation.

I observe then, that, when our Lord commenced His ministry, and during it, as one of His chief self-sacrifices, He separated Himself from all ties of earth, in order to fulfil the typical idea of a teacher and priest; and to give an example to His priests after Him; and especially to manifest by this action the cardinal truth, as expressed by the Prophet, "I am, I am the Lord, and there is no Saviour besides Me." As to His Priests, they, after Him, were to be of the order of that Melchizedech, who was "without father and without mother;" for "no man, being a soldier to God, entangleth himself with secular business:" and "no man putting his hand to the plough, and looking back, is fit for the kingdom of God." As to the Levites, who were His types in the Old Law, there was that honourable history of their zeal for God, when they even slew their own brethren and companions who had committed idolatry; "who said to his father and to his mother, I do not know you, and to his brethren, I know you not, and their own children they have not known." To this separation even from His Mother He refers by anticipation at twelve years old in His words, "How is it

that you sought Me? Did you not know that I must be about My Father's business?"

This separation from her, with whom He had lived thirty years and more, was not to last beyond the time of His ministry. She seems to have been surprised when she first heard of it, for St. Luke says, on occasion of His staying in the Temple, "they understood not the word, that He spoke to them." Nay, she seems hardly to have understood it at the marriage-feast; but He, in dwelling on it more distinctly then, implied also that it was not to last long. He said, "Woman, what have I to do with thee? My hour is not yet come," —the hour of His triumph, when His Mother was to take her predestined place in His kingdom. In saying the hour was not yet come, He implied that the hour would come, when He would have to do with her, and she might ask and obtain from Him miracles. Accordingly, St. Augustine thinks that that hour had come, when on the Cross He said, "*Consummatum est*," and, after this ceremonial estrangement of some years, He recognized His mother and committed her to the beloved disciple. Thus by marking out the beginning and the end of the period of exception, when she could not exert her influence upon Him, He signifies more clearly, by the contrast, that her presence with Him, and her power, was to be the rule. In a higher sense than He spoke to the Apostles, He seems to address her in the words, "Because I have spoken these things, sorrow hath filled your heart. But I will see you again, and your heart shall rejoice, and your joy no man shall take from you." (*Vid. Sermon* iii. *in Sermons on Subjects of the Day, on* "*Our Lord's Last Supper and His First.*")

NOTE D. PAGE 96.

Canisius, in his work *de Mariâ Deiparâ Virgine*, p. 514, while engaged in showing the carefulness with which the Church distinguishes the worship of God from the *cultus* of the Blessed Virgin, observes, "Lest the Church should depart from *Latria* (i. e. the worship of God) she has instituted the public supplications in the Liturgy in perpetuity in such wise as to address them directly to God the Father, and not to the Saints, according to that common form of praying, 'Almighty, everlasting God,' &c.; and the said prayers which they also call 'Collects,' she generally ends in this way, 'through Jesus Christ, Thy Son, our Lord.'" He says more to the same purpose, but the two points here laid down are sufficient; viz. that as to the Latin Missal, Ritual, and Breviary, 1. Saints are not directly addressed in these books: and 2. prayers end with the name of Jesus. An apposite illustration of both of these, that is, in what is omitted and what is introduced, is supplied by the concluding prayer of the Offertory in the Latin Mass. If in any case the name of 'our Lady and all Saints' may be substituted at the end of a prayer for our Lord's name, it would be when the object addressed is, not God the Father, but the Son, or the Holy Trinity; but let us observe how the prayer in question runs:—

"Suscipe, Sancta Trinitas" — "Receive, *O Holy Trinity*, this oblation which we make to Thee, in memory of the Passion, Resurrection, and Ascension of our Lord Jesus Christ, and *in honour of* the Blessed Mary, Ever-Virgin, of Blessed John Baptist, and of the Holy Apostles Peter and Paul, and of these and all Saints, that it may avail for their honour and our salvation, and that they may vouchsafe to intercede for us in heaven, whose memory we celebrate on earth, *Through the same Christ our Lord.* Amen."

When in occasional Collects the intercession of the Blessed Mary is introduced, it does not supersede mention of our Lord

as the Intercessor. Thus in the Post-communion on the Feast of the Circumcision,—

"May this communion, O Lord, purify us from guilt; and at the intercession of Blessed Virgin Mary, Mother of God, make us partakers of the heavenly remedy, through the same Lord Jesus Christ. Amen."

In like manner, when the Son is addressed, and the intercession of Mary and the Saints is supplicated, His own merits are introduced at the close, as on the Feast of the Seven Dolours:—

"God, at whose passion, according to the prophecy of Simeon, the most sweet soul of the glorious Virgin-Mother Mary was pierced through with the sword of sorrow, mercifully grant, that we, who reverently commemorate her piercing and passion, may, by the intercession of the glorious merits and prayers of the Saints who faithfully stood by the Cross, *obtain the happy fruit of Thy Passion*, who livest and reignest, &c."

"We offer to Thee, Lord Jesus Christ, our prayers and sacrifices, humbly supplicating, that we, who renew in our prayers the piercing of the most sweet soul of Thy Blessed Mother Mary, by the manifold compassionate intervention of both her and her holy companions under the Cross, *by the merits of Thy death*, may merit a place with the Blessed, who livest, &c."

Now let us observe how far less observant of dogmatic exactness, how free and fearless, is the formal Greek devotion:—

1. "We have risen from sleep, and we fall down before Thee, O good God; and we sing to Thee the Angelic Hymn, O powerful God. Holy, holy, holy art Thou, God; have mercy on us through the Theotocos.

"Thou hast raised me from my bed and slumber, O God. Lighten my mind, and open my heart and lips, to sing of Thee, Holy Trinity. Holy, holy, holy art Thou, God; have mercy on us through the Theotocos.

"Soon will come the Judge, and the deeds of all will be laid bare . . . Holy, holy, holy art Thou, God; have mercy on us through the Theotocos."—*Horologium*, p. 2, *Venet.* 1836: vide also, pp. 34. 48. 52. Also, *Eucholog. Venet.* p. 358.

2. "O God, who lookest on the earth, and makest it tremble, deliver us from the fearful threatenings of earthquake, Christ our God; and send down on us Thy rich mercies, and save us, at the intercessions (πρεσβείαις) of the Theotocos."—*Ibid.* p. 224. Vid. also *Pentecostar.* p. 14.

3. "O Holy God, . . . visit us in Thy goodness, pardon us every sin, sanctify our souls, and grant us to serve Thee in holiness all the days of our life, at the intercessions (πρεσβείαις) of the Holy Theotocos and all the Saints, &c."—*Euchologium*, p. 64. *Venet.* 1832.

4. "Again, and still again, let us beseech the Lord in peace. Help, save, pity, preserve us, O God [through] her, the all-holy, Immaculate, most Blessed, and glorious, (διαφύλαξον ἡμᾶς ὁ Θεὸς, τῆς παναγίας,) &c."—*Euchologium*, p. 92. *Venet.* 1832. Vid. also *Pentecostar.* p. 232; and *passim.*

5. "Lord, Almighty Sovereign, . . . restore and raise from her bed this Thy servant, &c. . . . at the intercession (πρεσβείαις) of the all-undefiled Theotocos and all the Saints."—*Ibid.* p. 142.

6. "Have mercy and pardon, (for Thou alone hast power to remit sins and iniquities,) at the intercession of Thy all-holy Mother and all the Saints."—*Ibid.* p. 150.

7. "O Lord God Almighty, . . . bless and hallow Thy place . . . at the intercession (πρεσβείαις) of our glorious Lady, Mary, Mother of God and Ever-Virgin."—*Eucholog.* p. 389.

Is the Blessed Virgin ever called "our Lady," as here, in the Latin Prayers? whereas it is a frequent title of her in the Greek.

8. "Save me, my God, from all injury and harm, Thou who art glorified in Three Persons . . . and guard Thy flock at the intercessions (ἐντεύξεσιν) of the Theotocos."—*Pentecostarium*, p. 59. *Venet.* 1820. Vid. also Goar, *Eucholog.* p. 30.

9. "In the porch of Solomon there lay a multitude of sick . . . Lord, send to us Thy great mercies at the intercession (πρεσβείαις) of the Theotocos."—*Pentecostar.* p. 84. Vid. also Goar, *Eucholog.* pp. 488. 543.

10. "O great God, the Highest, who alone hast immortality . . . prosper our prayer as the incense before Thee . . . that we may remember even in the night Thy holy Name, . . . and

rise anew in gladness of soul . . . bringing our prayers and supplications to Thy loving-kindness in behalf of our own sins and of all Thy people, whom visit in mercy at the intercessions (πρεσβείαις) of the Holy Theotocos."—*Ibid.* p. 232. Vid. *Horolog.* p. 192. *Venet.* 1836.

11. Between the Trisagion and Epistle in Mass. "O Holy God, who dwellest in the holy place, whom with the voice of their Trisagion the Seraphim do praise, &c. . . . sanctify our souls and bodies, and grant us to serve Thee in holiness all the days of our life, at the intercession (πρεσβείαις) of the Holy Theotocos and all the Saints."—*Eucholog.* p. 64. *Venet.* 1832.

12. In the early part of Mass. "Lift up the horn of Christians, and send down on us Thy rich mercies, by the power of the precious and life-giving Cross, by the grace of Thy light-bringing, third-day resurrection from the dead, at the intercession (πρεσβείαις) of our All-holy Blessed Lady Mary, Mother of God and Ever-Virgin, and all Thy Saints."—Assemani, *Codex Liturg.* t. v. p. 71. *Rite of St. James.*

13. At the Offertory at Mass. "In honour and memory of our singularly blessed and glorious Queen, Mary Theotocos and Ever-Virgin; at whose intercession, O Lord, receive, O Lord, this sacrifice unto Thy altar which is beyond the heavens."—Goar, *Euchol.* p. 58. *Rite of St. Chrysostom.*

14. In the Commemoration at Mass. "*Cantors.* Hail, Mary, full of grace, &c. &c. . . . for thou hast borne the Saviour of our souls. *Priest.* [Remember, Lord] especially the most Holy Immaculate, &c. . . . Mary. *Cantors.* It is meet truly to bless (μακαρίζειν) thee, the Theotocos . . . more honourable than the Cherubim, &c. . . . thee we magnify, who art truly the Theotocos. O Full of Grace, in thee the whole creation rejoices, the congregation of Angels, and the race of men, O sanctified shrine, and spiritual Paradise, boast of virgins," &c.—Assemani, t. v. p. 44. *Jerusalem Rite.*

15. In the Commemoration at Mass. "*Priest.* Especially and first of all, we make mention of the Holy, glorious, and Ever-Virgin Mary, &c. *Deacon.* Remember her, Lord God, and at her holy and pure prayers be propitious, have mercy upon us, and favourably hear us. *Priest.* Mother of our Lord Jesus Christ, pray for me to thy Son Only-begotten, who came

of thee, that, having remitted my sins and debts, He may accept from my humble and sinful hands this sacrifice, which is offered by my vileness on this altar, through thy intercession, Mother most holy."—*Ibid.* p. 186. *Syrian Rite.*

16. Apparently, after the Consecration. "*The Priest incenses thrice before the Image* (*imagine*) *of the Virgin, and says:* Rejoice, Mary, beautiful dove, who hast borne for us God, the Word; thee we salute with the Angel Gabriel, saying, Hail, full of grace, the Lord is with thee, Hail, Virgin, true Queen; hail, glory of our race, thou hast borne Emmanuel. We ask, remember us, O faithful advocate, in the sight of our Lord Jesus Christ, that He put away from us our sins."—*Ibid.* t. vii., *pars* 2*da. in fin.* p. 20. *Alexandrian Rite.*

17. At the Communion in Mass. "Forgive, our God, remit, pardon me my trespasses as many as I have committed, whether in knowledge or in ignorance, whether in word or in deed. All these things pardon me, as Thou art good and kind to men, at the intercession (πρεσβείαις) of Thy all-undefiled and Ever-Virgin Mother. Preserve me uncondemned, that I may receive Thy precious and undefiled Body, for the healing of my body and soul."—Goar, *Euchologium*, p. 66.

18. After Communion at Mass. "O Lord, be merciful to us, bless us, let Thy countenance be seen upon us, and pity us. Lord, save Thy people, bless Thine heritage, &c., . . . through the prayers and addresses (orationes) which the Lady of us all, Mother of God, the divine (diva) and Holy Mary, and the four bright holy ones, Michael," &c., &c.—Renaudot, *Liturg. Orient.* t. i. p. 29. *Coptic Rite of St. Basil.* Vid. also *ibid.* pp. 29. 37. 89. 515, *of St. Basil, Coptic, of St. Gregory, Coptic, of Alexandria, Greek, and of Ethiopia.*

19. After Communion at Mass. "We have consummated this holy service (λειτουργίαν), as we have been ordered, O Lord . . . we, sinners, and Thine unworthy servants, who have been made worthy to serve at Thy holy altar, in offering to Thee the bloodless sacrifice, the immaculate Body and the precious Blood of the Great God, our Saviour, Jesus Christ, to Thy glory, the unoriginate Father, and the glory of Him, Thy only-begotten Son, and of the Holy Ghost, good, life-giving, and consubstantial with Thee. We ask a place on Thy right

hand in Thy fearful and just day through the intercession (διὰ τῶν πρεσβειῶν) and prayers of our most glorious Lady, Mary, Mother of God, and Ever-Virgin, and of all saints."—Assemani, *Cod. Liturg.* t. vii. p. 85. *Rite of Alexandria.*

20. After Communion at Mass. "We thank Thee, Lord, Lover of men, Benefactor of our souls, that also on this day Thou hast vouchsafed us Thy heavenly and immortal mysteries. Direct our way aright, confirm us all in Thy fear, &c., . . . at the prayers and supplications of the glorious Theotocos and Ever-Virgin Mary, and of all Thy saints."—*Eucholog.* p. 86. *Venet.* 1832.

21. Concluding words of Mass. "Blessed is He who has given us His holy Body and precious Blood. We have received grace and found life, by virtue of the Cross of Jesus Christ. To Thee, O Lord, we give thanks, &c. Praise to Mary, who is the glory of us all, who has brought forth for us the Eucharist."—Renaudot, *Liturg. Orient.* t. i. p. 522. *Rite of Ethiopia.*

I will add some of the instances, which have caught my eye in these ecclesiastical books, of expressions about the Blessed Virgin, which, among Latins, though occurring in some Antiphons, belong more to the popular than to the formal and appointed devotions paid to the Blessed Virgin.

22. "Thee we have as a tower and a harbour, and an acceptable ambassadress (πρέσβιν) to the God whom thou didst bear, Mother of God who hadst no spouse, the salvation of believers."—*Pentecostar.* p. 209. *Venet.* 1820.

23. "O Virgin alone holy and undefiled, who hast miraculously (ἀσπόρως) conceived God, intercede (πρέσβευε) for the salvation of the soul of thy servant."—*Eucholog.* p. 439. *Venet.* 1832.

24. "Show forth thy speedy protection and aid and mercy on thy servant, and still the waves, thou pure one, of vain thoughts, and raise up my fallen soul, O Mother of God. For I know, O Virgin, I know that thou hast power for whatever thou willest."—*Ibid.* p. 679.

25. "Joachim and Anna were set free from the reproach of childlessness, and Adam and Eve from the corruption of death, O undefiled, in thy holy birth. And thy people keeps festival

upon it, being ransomed from the guilt of their offences in crying to thee. The barren bears the Theotocos, and the nurse of Life."—*Horolog.* p. 198. *Venet.* 1836.

26. "Let us now run earnestly to the Theotocos, sinners as we are, and low, and let us fall in repentance, crying from the depth of our souls, Lady, aid us, taking compassion on us. Make haste, we perish under the multitude of our offences. Turn us not, thy servants, empty away; for we have thee as our only hope."—*Ibid.* p. 470. Vid. "My whole hope I repose in thee."—*Triodion*, p. 94. *Venet.* 1820.

27. "We have gained thee for a wall of refuge, and the all-perfect salvation of souls, and a release (πλατυσμὸν) in afflictions, and in thy light we ever rejoice; O Queen, even now through suffering and danger preserve us."—*Ibid.* p. 474.

28. "By thy mediation, Virgin, I am saved."—*Triod.* p. 6. *Venet.* 1820.

29. "The relief of the afflicted, the release of the sick, O Virgin Theotocos, save this city and people; the peace of those who are oppressed by war, the calm of the tempest-tost, the sole protection of the faithful."—Goar, *Euchолog.* p. 478.

30. All through the Office Books are found a great number of Collects and Prayers to the Blessed Virgin, called Theotocia, whereas in the Latin Offices addresses to her scarcely get beyond the Antiphons. There are above 100 of them in the Euchology, above 170 in the Pentecostarium, close upon 350 in the Triodion. These, according to Renaudot, are sometimes collected together into separate volumes. (*Liturg. Orient.* t. ii, p. 98.)

31. At p. 424 of the *Horologium* there is a collection of 100 invocations in her honour, arranged for the year.

32. At p. 271 of the *Euchologium*, is a form of prayer to her "in the confession of a sinner," consisting of thirty-six collects, concluding with a Gospel, supplication, &c. If there were any doubt of the difference which the Greeks make between her and the Saints, one of these would be evidence of it. "*Take with you* (παράλαβε) the multitude of Archangels and of the heavenly hosts, and the Forerunner, &c., . . . and make

intercession (*πρεσβείαν*), Holy One, in my behalf with God," p. 275. Vid. also *ibid.* p. 390, &c.

33. There is another form of prayer to her at p. 640, of forty-three collects or verses, "in expectation of war," arranged to form an Iambic acrostic, "O undefiled, be the ally of my household." Among other phrases we read here, "Thou art the head commander (*ὁ ἀρχιστράτηγος*) of Christians;" . . . "They in their chariots and horses, we, thy people, in thy name;" "with thy spiritual hand cast down the enemies of thy people;" "Thy power runs with thy will (*σύνδρομον ἔχεις*), &c." "Deliver not thine heritage, O holy one, into the hands of the heathen, lest they shall say, where is the Mother of God in whom they trusted?" "Hear from thy holy Temple, thy servants, O pure one, and pour out God's wrath upon the Gentiles that do not know thee, and the kingdoms that have not faithfully called upon thy celebrated name."

34. It is remarkable, that, not only the Jacobites, but even the Nestorians agree with the Orthodox in the unlimited honours they pay to the Theotocos. "No one," says Renaudot, "has accused the Orientals of deficiency in the legitimate honours, which are the right of the Deipara; but many have charged them with having sometimes been extravagant in that devotion, and running into superstition, which accusation is not without foundation."—t. i. p. 257.

Another remark of his is in point here. The extracts above made are in great measure from Greek service-books of this day; but even those which are not such are evidence according to their date and place of opinions and practices, then and there existing. "Their weight does not depend on the authority of the writers, but on the use of the Churches. Those prayers had their authors, who indeed were not known; but, when once it was clear that they had been used in Mass, who their authors were ceased to be a question."—t. i. p. 173. The existing manuscripts can hardly be supposed to be mere compositions, but are records of rites.

I say then, first:—That usage, which, after a split has taken place in a religious communion, is found to obtain equally in each of its separated parts, may fairly be said to have existed

before the split occurred. The concurrence of Orthodox, Nestorian, and Jacobite in the honours they pay to the Blessed Virgin, is an evidence that those honours were paid to her in their "Undivided Church."

Next:—Passages such as the above, taken from the formal ritual of the Greeks, are more compromising to those who propose entering into communion with them, than such parallel statements as occur in unauthoritative devotions of the Latins.

NOTE E. PAGE 113.

I find the following very apposite passage at note t, p. 390, of Vol. I. of Mr. Morris's "Jesus the Son of Mary," a work full of learning, which unhappily I forgot to consult, till my Letter was finished and in type.

"An error of this sort [that our Lady is in the Holy Eucharist] was held by some persons, and is condemned in the following language by Benedict XIV.[?], as has been pointed out to me by my old and valued friend, Father Faber: 'This doctrine was held to be erroneous, dangerous, and scandalous, and the *cultus* was reprobated, which in consequence of it, they asserted was to be paid to the most Blessed Virgin in the Sacrament of the Altar.'"

Lambertini de Canonizatione Sanctorum. Lib. iv. p. 2, c. 31, n. 32.

De cultu erga Deiparam in Sacramento Altaris.

Non multis abhinc annis prodiit *Liber de cultu erga Deiparam in Sacramento altaris*, auctore Patre Zephyrino de Someire Recollecto Sancti Francisci, in quo asserebatur, in Sacramento altaris aliquam illius partem adesse, eandem videlicet carnem, quam olim ejus sanctissima anima vivificavit, eumdemque illum sanguinem, qui in ejus venis continebatur, et ipsum lac, quo ejus ubera plena erant. Addebatur, nos habere in Sacramento non tantum sanguinem Deiparæ, quatenus in carnem et ossa Christi mutatus est, sed etiam partem sanguinis in propria specie; neque solum veram carnem ipsius, sed etiam aliquid singulorum membrorum, quia sanguis, et lac, ex quibus formatum et nutritum fuit corpus Christi, missa fuerunt ab omnibus et singulis membris Beatissimæ Virginis.

Etiam Christophorus de Vega in volumine satis amplo, quod inscribitur, *THEOLOGIA MARIANA Lugduni edito ann.* 1653, fusius ea omnia prosecutus est: sed Theophilus Raynau-

dus in suis *Diptychis Marianis* t. 7. p. 65, ca reprobat, asseritque hæresim sapere juxta Guidonem Carmelitam *in Summa de hæresibus tract. de hæresi Græcorum* c. 13., cujus verba sunt hæc: "*Tertius decimus error Græcorum est. Dicunt enim, quod reliquiæ Panis consecrati sunt reliquiæ corporis Beatæ Virginis. Hic error stultitiæ et amentiæ plenus est. Nam corpus Christi sub qualilibet parte hostiæ consecratæ integrum manet. Itaque quælibet pars, a tota consecrata hostia divisa et separata, est verum corpus Christi. Hæreticum autem est et fatuum dicere, quod corpus Christi sit corpus Virginis matris suæ, sicut hæreticum esset dicere, quod Christus esset Beata Virgo; quia distinctorum hominum distincta sunt corpora, nec tantus honor debetur corpori virginis, quantus debetur corpori Christi, cui ratione Divini Suppositi debetur honor latriæ, non corpori Virginis. Igitur dicere, reliquias hostiæ consecratæ esse reliquias corporis Beatæ Virginis est hæreticum manifeste.*"

Porro Theologorum Princeps D. Thomas 3 *part. quæst.* 31, *art.* 5, docet primo, Christi corpus conceptum fuisse ex Beatæ Virginis castissimis et purissimis sanguinibus non quibuscunque, sed "*perductis ad quamdam ampliorem digestionem per virtutem generativam ipsius, ut essent materia apta ad conceptum,*" cum Christi conceptio fuerit secundum conditionem naturæ; materiamque aptam, sive purissimum sanguinem in conceptione Christi sola Spiritus Sancti operatione in utero Virginis adunatam, et in prolem formatum fuisse; ita ut vere dicatur corpus Christi ex purissimis et castissimis sanguinibus Beatæ Virginis fuisse formatum. Docet secundo, non potuisse corpus Christi formari de aliqua substantia, videlicet de carne et ossibus Beatissimæ Virginis, cum sint partes integrantes corpus ipsius; ideoque subtrahi non potuissent sine corruptione, et ejus diminutione: illud vero, quod aliquando dicitur, Christum de Beata Virgine carnem sumpsisse, intelligendum esse et explicandum, non quod materia corporis ejus fuerit actu caro, sed sanguis qui est potentia caro. Docet demum tertio, quomodo subtrahi potuerit ex corpore Adam aliqua ejus pars absque ipsius diminutione, cum Adam institutus ut principium quoddam humanæ naturæ, aliquid habuerit ultra partes sui corporis personales, quod ab eo subtractum est pro formanda Heva, salva ipsius

integritate in ratione perfecti corporis humani: quæ locum habere non potuerunt in Beatissima Virgine, quæ uti singulare individuum habuit perfectissimum corpus humanum, et aptissimam materiem ad Christi corpus formandum, quantum est ex parte feminæ, et ad ejus naturalem generationem. Ex quo fit, ut non potuerit, salva integritate Beatæ Virginis, aliquid subtrahi, quod dici posset de substantia corporis ipsius.

Itaque, cum per hanc doctrinam, Fidei principiis conjunctissimam, directe et expressis verbis improbata remanserint asserta in citato libro Patris Zephyrini, ejus doctrina habita est tanquam "*erronea, periculosa, et scandalosa,*" reprobatusque fuit cultus, quem ex ea præstandum Beatissimæ Virgini in Sacramento altaris asserebat. Loquendi autem formulæ a nonnullis Patribus adhibitæ, *Caro Mariæ est caro Christi Etc. Nobis carnem Mariæ manducandum ad salutem dedit*, ita explicandæ sunt, non ut dicamus, in Christo aliquid esse, quod sit Mariæ; sed Christum conceptum esse ex Maria Virgine, materiam ipsa ministrante in similitudinem naturæ et speciei, et ideo filium ejus esse. Sic, quia caro Christi fuit sumpta de David, ut expresse dicitur *ad Romanos* 1. "*Qui factus est ex semine David secundum carnem,*" David dicitur Christus, ut notat S. Augustinus *enarrat. in Psalm.* 144, *num.* 2. "*Intelligitur laus ipsi David, laus ipsi Christo. Christus autem secundum carnem David, quia Filius David.*" Et infra: "*Quia itaque ex ipso Christus secundum carnem, ideo David.*" Est item solemnis Scripturæ usus, loquendo de parentibus, ut caro unius vocitetur caro alterius. Sic Laban *Gen.* 29 dixit Jacob.: "*Os meum es, et caro mea;*" et Judas, loquendo de fratre suo Joseph, *Gen.* 27. ait: "*Frater enim, et caro nostra est:*" et *Lev.* 18 legitur: "*Soror patris tui caro est patris tui, et soror matris tuæ caro est matris tuæ;*" absque eo quod hinc inferri possit, ut in Jacob fuerit aliqua actualis pars corporis Laban, aut in Joseph pars Judæ, aut in filio pars aliqua patris. Igitur id solum affirmare licet, in Sacramento esse carnem Christi assumptam ex Maria, ut ait Sanctus Ambrosius relatus in canone *Omnia, de Consecrat. distinct.* 2 his verbis: "*Hæc caro mea est pro mundi vita, et, ut mirabilius loquar, non alia plane, quam quæ*

nata est de Maria, et passa in cruce, et resurrexit de sepulcro; hæc, inquam, ipsa est." Et infra loquens de corpore Christi: "*Illud vere, illud sane, quod sumptum est de Virgine, quod passum est, et sepultum.*"

Since the first edition of this Letter a correspondent of the Weekly Register has pointed out that Oswald's work (vid. supr. p. 103) is on the Index. Vide page 5 of "Appendix Librorum Prohibitorum a die 6 Septembris, 1852, ad mensem junium, 1858."

THE END.

GILBERT AND RIVINGTON, PRINTERS, ST. JOHN'S SQUARE, LONDON.

THE WORKINGS OF THE HOLY SPIRIT IN THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

A LETTER

TO

THE REV. E. B. PUSEY, D.D.

BY

HENRY EDWARD MANNING, D.D.

SECOND EDITION.

LONDON:
LONGMAN, GREEN, LONGMAN, ROBERTS, & GREEN.
1865.

LONDON
PRINTED BY SPOTTISWOODE AND CO
NEW-STREET SQUARE

My Dear Friend,

I do not know why twelve years of silence should forbid my calling you still by the name we used both to give and to accept of old. Aristotle says indeed—

Πολλὰς δὴ φιλίας ἀπροσηγορία διέλυσεν—

but he did not know the basis and the affections of a Christian friendship such as that to which—though I acknowledge in myself no claim to it—you were so kind as to admit me. Silence and suspension of communications cannot prevail against the kindliness and confidence which springs from such years and such events as once united us. Contentions and variances might indeed more seriously try and strain such a friendship. But, though we have been both parted and opposed, there has been between us neither variance nor contention. We have both been in the field indeed where a warfare has been waging, but, happily, we have not met in contest. Sometimes we have been very near to each other, and have even felt the opposition of each other's will and hand; but I believe

on neither side has there ever been a word or an act which has left a needless wound. That I should have grieved and displeased you is inevitable. The simple fact of my submitting to the Catholic Church must have done so, much more the duties which bind me as a pastor. If, in the discharge of that office, I have given you or any one either pain or wound by personal faults in the manner of its discharge, I should be open to just censure. If the displeasure arise only from the substance of my duties, 'necessity is laid upon me,' and you would be the last to blame me.

You will perhaps be surprised at my beginning thus to write to you. I will at once tell you why I do so. Yesterday I saw, for the first time, your pamphlet on the legal force of the Judgment of the Privy Council, and I found my name often in its pages. I have nothing to complain of in the way you use it. And I trust that in this reply you will feel that I have not forgotten your example. But your mention of me, and of old days, kindled in me a strong desire to pour out many things which have been for years rising in my mind. I have long wished for the occasion to do so, but I have always felt that it is more fitting to take than to make such an occasion: and as your kindness has made it, I will take it.

But before I enter upon the subject of this letter I wish to say a few words of yourself, and of some others whom I am wont to class with you.

Among the many challenges to controversy and public disputation which it has been my fortune to re-

ceive, and I may add, my happiness to refuse, in the last twelve or thirteen years, one was sent me last autumn at Bath. It was the only one to which, for a moment, I was tempted to write a reply. The challenger paid me compliments on my honesty in leaving the Church of England, denouncing those who, holding my principles, still eat its bread. I was almost induced to write a few words to say that my old friends and I are parted because we hold principles which are irreconcileable; that I once held what they hold now, and was then united with them; that they have never held what I hold now, and therefore we are separated; that they are as honest in the Church of England now as I was once, and that our separation was my own act in abandoning as untenable the Anglican Church and its rule of faith, Scripture and antiquity, which you and they hold still, and in submitting to the voice of the Catholic and Roman Church at this hour, which I believe to be the sole authoritative interpreter of Scripture and of antiquity. This principle no friend known to me in the Church of England has ever accepted. In all these years, both in England and in foreign countries, and on occasions both private and public, and with persons of every condition, I have borne this witness for you and for others.

I felt no little indignation at what seemed to me the insincerity of my correspondent, but on reflection I felt that silence was the best answer.

I will now turn to your pamphlet, and to the subject of this Letter.

You speak at the outset of 'the jubilee of triumph among half believers' on the occasion of the late Judgment of the Crown in Council; and you add, 'A class of believers joined in the triumph. And while I know that a very earnest body of Roman Catholics rejoice in all the workings of God the Holy Ghost in the Church of England (whatever they think of her), and are saddened in what weakens her who is, in God's hands, the great bulwark against infidelity in this land, others seemed to be in an ecstasy of triumph at this victory of Satan.'* Now, I will not ask where you intended to class me. But as an anonymous critic of a pamphlet lately published by me accused me of rejoicing in your troubles, and another more recently—with a want of candour visible in every line of the attack—accused me of being 'merry' over these miseries of the Church of England, I think the time is made for me to declare how I regard the Church of England, and events like these; and I know no one to whom I would rather address what I have to say than to yourself.

I will, then, say at once:

1. That I rejoice with all my heart in all the workings of the Holy Ghost in the Church of England.
2. That I lament whensoever what remains of truth in it gives way before unbelief.
3. That I rejoice whensoever what is imperfect in it is unfolded into a more perfect truth.

* Legal Force of the Judgment of the Privy Council, by the Rev. E. B. Pusey, D.D., pp. 3, 4.

4. But that I cannot regard the Church of England as 'the great bulwark against infidelity in this land,' for reasons which I will give in their place.

1. First, then, I will say what I believe of the Church of England, and why I rejoice in every working of the Holy Spirit in it. And I do this the more gladly because I have been sometimes grieved at hearing, and once at even seeing in a handwriting which I reverence with affection, the statement that Catholics—or at least the worst of Catholics called Converts, deny the validity of Anglican Baptism, regard our own past spiritual life as a mockery, look upon our departed parents as heathen, and deny the operations of the Holy Spirit in those who are out of the Church. I do not believe that those who say such things have ever read the Condemned Propositions, or are aware that a Catholic who so spoke would come under the weight of at least two Pontifical censures, and the decrees of at least two General Councils.

I need not, however, do more than remind you that, according to the faith and theology of the Catholic Church, the operations of the Holy Spirit of God have been from the beginning of the world co-extensive with the whole human race.*

Believing, then, in the operations of the Holy Spirit, even among the nations of the world who have neither the revelation of the Faith nor the Sacraments,

* Suarez, De Divina Gratia, Pars Secunda, lib. iv. c. viii. xi. xii. Ripalda, De Ente Supernaturali, lib. i. disp. xx. s. xii. and s. xxii. Viva Cursus Theol., pars iii. disp. i. quæst. v. iii.

how much more must we believe His presence and grace in those who are regenerate by water and the Holy Ghost? It would be impertinent for me to say to you —whose name first became celebrated for a tract on Baptism, which, notwithstanding certain imperfections inseparable from a work written when and where you wrote it, is in substance deep, true, and elevating—that Baptism, if rightly administered with the due form and matter, is always valid by whatsoever hand it may be given.*

Let me, then, say at once

1. That in denying the Church of England to be the Catholic Church, or any part of it, or in any divine and true sense a church at all, and in denying the validity of its absolutions and its orders, no Catholic ever denies the workings of the Spirit of God or the operations of grace in it.

2. That in affirming the workings of grace in the Church of England no Catholic ever thereby affirms that it possesses the character of a Church.

They who most inflexibly deny to it the character of a Church affirm most explicitly the presence and

* Concil. Florent. Decretum Eugenii iv. Mansi Concil. tom. xviii. 547. 'In causa autém necessitatis non solum sacerdos vel diaconus sed etiam laicus vel mulier, immo etiam paganus et hæreticus baptizare potest, dummodo formam servet Ecclesiæ, et facere intendat quod facit Ecclesia.' The Council of Trent repeats this under anathema, Sess. vii. can. iv.: 'Si quis dixerit Baptismum qui etiam datur ab hæreticis in Nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti, cum intentione faciendi quod facit Ecclesia, non esse verum Baptismum, anathema sit.' See also Bellarm. Controversiæ, De Baptismo, lib. i. c. vii.

the operations of grace among its people, and that for the following reasons:

In the judgment of the Catholic Church, a baptized people is no longer in the state of nature, but is admitted to a state of supernatural grace. And though I believe the number of those who have never been baptized to be very great in England, and to be increasing every year, nevertheless I believe the English people, as a mass, to be a baptized people. I say the number of the unbaptized is great, because there are many causes which contribute to produce this result. First, the imperfect, and therefore invalid, administration of baptism through the carelessness of the administrators. You, perhaps, think that this is exaggerated, through an erroneous belief of Catholics as to the extent of such carelessness among the Protestant ministers, both in and out of the Church of England. It is however undeniable, as I know from the evidence of eye-witnesses, that such carelessness has, in times past, been great and frequent. This I consider the least, but a sufficient reason for believing that many have never been baptized. Add to this, negligence caused by the formal disbelief of baptismal regeneration in a large number of Protestant ministers. There are, however, two other reasons far more direct. The one is the studied rejection, as a point of religious profession, of the practice of infant baptism. Many therefore grow up without baptism who in adult life, for various causes, never seek it. The other, the sinful unbelief and neglect of parents in every class of the

English people, who often leave whole families of children to grow up without baptism. Of the fact that many have never been baptized, I, or any Catholic priest actively employed in England, can bear witness. There are few among us who have not had to baptize grown people of every condition, poor and rich; and, of children, often whole families together. There has indeed been, in the last thirty years, a revival of care in the administration of baptism on the part of the Anglican ministers, and of attention on the part of parents in bringing their children to be baptized; but this reaction is by no means proportionate to the neglect, which on the other side has been extending. My fear is that, after all, the number of persons unbaptized in England is greater at this moment than at any previous time.

Still the English people as a body are baptized, and therefore elevated to the order of supernatural grace. Every infant, and also every adult baptized, having the necessary dispositions, is thereby placed in a state of justification; and, if they die without committing any mortal sin, would certainly be saved. They are also, in the sight of the Church, Catholics. S. Augustine says, 'Ecclesia etiam inter eos qui foris sunt per baptismum generat suos.' A mortal sin of any kind, including *prava voluntatis electio*, the perverse election of the will, by which in riper years such persons chose for themselves, notwithstanding sufficient light, heresy instead of the true faith, and schism instead of the unity of the Church,

would indeed deprive them of their state of grace. But before such act of self-privation all such people are regarded by the Catholic Church as in the way of eternal life. With perfect confidence of faith, we extend the shelter of this truth over the millions of infants and young children who every year pass to their Heavenly Father. We extend it also in hope to many more who grow up in their baptismal grace. Catholic missionaries in this country have often assured me of a fact, attested also by my own experience, that they have received into the Church persons grown to adult life, in whom their baptismal grace was still preserved. Now how can we then be supposed to regard such persons as no better than heathens? To ascribe the good lives of such persons to the power of nature would be Pelagianism. To deny their goodness would be Jansenism. And, with such a consciousness, how could any one regard his past spiritual life in the Church of England as a mockery? I have no deeper conviction than that the grace of the Holy Spirit was with me from my earliest consciousness. Though at the time, perhaps, I knew it not as I know it now, yet I can clearly perceive the order and chain of grace by which God mercifully led me onward from childhood to the age of twenty years. From that time the interior workings of His light and grace, which continued through all my life, till the hour in which that light and grace had its perfect work, to which all its operations had been converging, in submission to the fulness of truth, and

of the Spirit in the Church of God, is a reality as profoundly certain, intimate, and sensible to me now as that I live. Never have I by the lightest word breathed a doubt of this fact in the Divine order of grace. Never have I allowed any one who has come to me for guidance or instruction to harbour a doubt of the past workings of grace in them. It would be not only a sin of ingratitude, but a sin against truth. The working of the Holy Spirit in individual souls is, as I have said, as old as the fall of man, and as wide as the human race. It is not we who ever breathe or harbour a doubt of this. It is rather they who accuse us of it. Because, to believe such an error possible in others, shows how little consciousness there must be of the true doctrine of grace in themselves. And such, I am forced to add, is my belief, because I know by experience how inadequately I understood the doctrine of grace until I learned it of the Catholic Church. And I trace the same inadequate conception of the workings of grace in almost every Anglican writer I know, not excepting even those who are nearest to the truth.

But, further, our theologians teach, not only that the state of baptismal innocence exists, and may be preserved out of the Church, but that they who in good faith are out of it, if they shall correspond with the grace they have already received, will receive an increase or augmentation of grace.* I do not for a

* Suarez, De Div. Gratia, lib. iv. c. xi. Ripalda, De Ente Supernaturali, lib. i. disp. xx. sect. xii. et seq. S. Alphonsi Theol. Moral. lib. i. tract. i. 5, 6.

moment doubt that there are to be found among the English people individuals who practise in a high degree the four cardinal virtues, and in no small degree, though with the limits and blemishes inseparable from their state, the three theological virtues of Faith,* Hope, and Charity, infused into them in their baptism. I do not think, my dear friend, in all that I have said or written in the last fourteen years, that you can find a word implying so much as a doubt of these workings of the Holy Spirit among all the baptized who are separated from the Catholic Church.

I will go further still. The doctrine, '*extra ecclesiam nulla salus*,' is to be interpreted both by dogmatic and by moral theology. As a dogma, Theologians teach that many belong to the Church who are out of its visible unity; † as a moral truth, that to be out of the Church is no personal sin, except to those who sin in being out of it. That is, they will be lost, not because they are *geographically* out of it, but because they are *culpably* out of it. And they who are culpably out of it are those who know—or might, and

* De Lugo, De Virtute divinæ Fidei, disp. xvii. sect. iv. v. Viva, Cursus Theol. p. iv. disp. iv. quæst. iii. 7.

† See Perrone Prælect. Theolog. pars i. c. ii. 1, 2:
'Omnes et soli justi pertinent ad Ecclesiæ animam.'
'Ad Christi Ecclesiæ corpus spectant fideles omnes tam justi quam peccatores.'
S. Augustine expresses these two propositions in six words, 'Multæ oves foris, multi lupi intus.' S. Aug. tom. iii. pars ii. p. 600.

therefore ought to, know—that it is their duty to submit to it. The Church teaches that men may be *inculpably* out of its pale. Now they are inculpably out of it who are and have always been either physically or morally unable to see their obligation to submit to it. And they only are culpably out of it who are both physically and morally able to know that it is God's will they should submit to the Church; and either knowing it will not obey that knowledge, or, not knowing it, are culpable for that ignorance. I will say then at once, that we apply this benign law of our Divine Master as far as possible to the English people. First, it is applicable in the letter to the whole multitude of those baptized persons who are under the age of reason. Secondly, to all who are in good faith, of whatsoever age they be: such as a great many of the poor and unlettered, to whom it is often physically, and very often morally, impossible to judge which is the true revelation or Church of God. I say physically, because in these three hundred years the Catholic Church has been so swept off the face of England that nine or ten generations of men have lived and died without the faith being so much as proposed to them, or the Church ever visible to them; and I say morally, because the great majority of the poor, from lifelong prejudice, are often incapable of judging in questions so removed from the primary truths of conscience and Christianity. Of such simple persons it may be said that, *infantibus æquiparantur*, they are to be classed morally with infants. Again,

to these may be added the unlearned in all classes, among whom many have no contact with the Catholic Church, or with Catholic books. Under this head will come a great number of wives and daughters, whose freedom of religious enquiry and religious thought is unjustly limited or suspended by the authority of parents and husbands. Add, lastly, the large class who have been studiously brought up, with all the dominant authority of the English tradition of three hundred years, to believe sincerely, and without a doubt, that the Catholic Church is corrupt, has changed the doctrines of the faith, and that the author of the Reformation is the Spirit of holiness and truth. It may seem incredible to some that such an illusion exists. But it is credible to me, because for nearly forty years of my life I was fully possessed by this erroneous belief. To all such persons it is morally difficult in no small degree to discover the falsehood of this illusion. All the better parts of their nature are engaged in its support: dutifulness, self-mistrust, submission, respect for others older, better, more learned than themselves, all combine to form a false conscience of the duty to refuse to hear anything against 'the religion of their fathers,' 'the Church of their baptism,' or to read anything which could unsettle them. Such people are told that it is their duty to extinguish a doubt against the Church of England, as they would extinguish a temptation against their virtue. A conscience so subdued and held in subjection exercises true virtues upon a false

object, and renders to a human authority the submissive trust which is due only to the Divine voice of the Church of God.

One last point I will add. I believe that the people of England were not all guilty of the first acts of heresy and schism by which they were separated from the Catholic unity and faith. They were robbed of it. In many places they rose in arms for it. The children, the poor, the unlearned at that time, were certainly innocent: much more the next generation. They were born into a state of privation. They knew no better. No choice was before them. They made no perverse act of the will in remaining where they were born. Every successive generation was still less culpable, in proportion as they were born into a greater privation, and under the dominion of a tradition of error already grown strong. For three centuries they have been born further and further out of the truth, and their culpability is perpetually diminishing; and as they were passively borne onward in the course of the English separation, the moral responsibility for the past is proportionately less.

The Divine law is peremptory—'to him who knoweth to do good, and doth it not, to him it is sin.'* Every Divine truth as it shines in upon us lays its obligation on our conscience to believe and to obey it. When the Divine authority of the Church manifests itself to our intellect, it lays its jurisdiction upon our conscience to submit to it. To refuse is an act of

* S. James iv. 17, 2.

infidelity, and the least act of infidelity in its measure expels faith; one mortal act of it will expel the habit of faith altogether.* Every such act of infidelity grieves the Holy Ghost by a direct opposition to His Divine voice speaking through the Church; the habit of such opposition is one of the six sins against the Holy Ghost defined as 'impugning the known truth.' All that I have said above in no way modifies the absolute and vital necessity of submitting to the Catholic Church as the only way of salvation to those who know it, by the revelation of God, to be such. But I must not attempt now to treat of this point.

Nevertheless for the reasons above given we make the largest allowance for all who are in invincible ignorance; always supposing that there is a preparation of heart to embrace the truth when they see it, at any cost, a desire to know it, and a faithful use of the means of knowing it, such as study, docility, prayer, and the like. But I do not now enter into the case of the educated or the learned, or of those who have liberty of mind and means of enquiry. I cannot class them under the above enumeration of those who are inculpably out of the truth. I leave them, therefore, to the only Judge of all men.

Lastly, I will not here attempt to estimate how far all I have said is being modified by the liberation and expansion of the Catholic Church in England during the last thirty years. It is certain that the restoration of the Catholic Hierarchy, with the universal

* De Lugo. De Virtute Fidei Divinæ disp. xvii. sect. iv. 53 et seq.

tumult which published it to the whole world, still more by its steady, widespread, and penetrating action throughout England, is taking away every year the plea of invincible ignorance.

It is certain, however, that to those who, being in invincible ignorance, faithfully co-operate with the grace they have received, an augmentation of grace is given; and this at once places the English people, so far as they come within the limits of these conditions, in a state of supernatural grace, even though they be out of the visible unity of the Church. I do not now enter into the question of the state of those who fall from baptismal grace by mortal sin, or of the great difficulty and uncertainty of their restoration. This would lead me too far; and it lies beyond the limits of this Letter.

It must not, however, be forgotten, for a moment, that this applies to the whole English people, of all forms of Christianity, or, as it is called, of all denominations. What I have said does not recognise the grace *of* the Church of England as such. The working of grace *in* the Church of England is a truth we joyfully hold and always teach. But we as joyfully recognise the working of the Holy Spirit among Dissenters of every kind. Indeed, I must say that I am far more able to assure myself of the invincible ignorance of Dissenters as a mass than of Anglicans as a mass. They are far more deprived of what survived of Catholic truth; far more distant from the idea of a Church; far more traditionally opposed to it by the prejudice of education; I must

add, for the most part, far more simple in their belief in the person and passion of our Divine Lord. Their piety is more like the personal service of disciples to a personal Master than the Anglican piety, which has always been more dim and distant from this central light of souls. Witness Jeremy Taylor's works, much as I have loved them, compared with Baxter's, or even those of Andrews compared with Leighton's, who was formed by the Kirk of Scotland.

I do not here forget all you have done to provide ascetical and devotional books for the use of the Church of England, both by your own writings, and, may I not say it, from your neighbour's vineyard?

With truth, then, I can say that I rejoice in all the operations of the Holy Spirit out of the Catholic Church, whether in the Anglican or other Protestant bodies; not that those communions are thereby invested with any supernatural character, but because more souls, I trust, are saved. If I have a greater joy over these workings of grace in the Church of England, it is only because more that are dear to me are in it, for whom every day I never fail to pray. These graces to individuals were given before the Church was founded, and are given still out of its unity. They are no more tokens of an ecclesiastical character, or a sacramental power in the Church of England, than in the Kirk of Scotland, or in the Wesleyan connexion; they prove only the manifold grace of God, which, after all the sins of men, and in the midst of all the ruins they have made, still works in the souls for whom

Christ died. Such, then, is our estimate of the Church of England in regard to the grace that works not *by* it, nor *through* it, but *in* it and among those who, without faults of their own, are detained by it from the true Church of their baptism.

And here it is necessary to guard against a possible misuse of what I have said. Let no one imagine that he may still continue in the Church of England because God has hitherto mercifully bestowed His grace upon him. As I have shown, this is no evidence that salvation is to be had *by* the Church of England. It is an axiom that *to those who do all they can God never refuses His grace.* He bestows it that He may lead them on from grace to grace, and from truth to truth, until they enter the full and perfect light of faith in His only true Fold. The grace they have received, therefore, was given, not to detain them in the Church of England, but to call them out of it. The grace of their past life lays on them the obligation of seeking and submitting to the perfect Truth. God would 'have all men to be saved, and to come to the knowledge of the truth.'* But His Church is an eminent doctrine, and member of that truth; and all grace given out of the Church is given in order to bring men into the Church, wheresoever the Church is present to them. If they refuse to submit to the Church they resist the Divine intention of the graces they have hitherto received, and are thereby in grave danger of losing them, as we see too often in men who once

* 1 Tim. ii. 4.

were on the threshold of the Church, and now are in rationalism, or in states of which I desire to say no more.

2. Let me next speak of the truths which the Church of England still retains. I have no pleasure in its present trials; and the anonymous writer who describes me as being 'positively merry' over its disasters little knows me. If I am to speak plainly, he seems to me to be guilty of one of the greatest offences—a rash accusation against one whom he evidently does not know. I will further say that I lament with all my heart whensoever what remains of truth in the Anglican system gives way before unbelief.

I do not, indeed, regard the Church of England as a teacher of *truth*, for that would imply that it teaches the truth in all its circumference, and in all its divine certainty. Now this is precisely what the Church of England does not, and, as I will show presently, has destroyed in itself the power of doing. I am willing to call it a teacher of *truths*, because many fragmentary truths, shattered, disjointed from the perfect unity of the Christian revelation, still survive the Reformation, and, with much variation and in the midst of much contradiction, are still taught in it. I have been wont always to say, and to say with joy, that the Reformation, which has done its work with such a terrible completeness in Germany, was arrested in England; that here much of the Christian belief and Christian order has survived. Until lately I have been

in the habit of saying that there are three things which missionaries may take for granted in England: first, the existence of a supernatural world; secondly, the revelation of Christianity; and thirdly, the inspiration of Scripture. The Church of England has also preserved other doctrines with more or less of exactness, such as the doctrine of the Holy Trinity, the incarnation, baptism, and the like. I will not now enter into the question as to what other doctrines are retained by it, because a few more or a few less would make little difference in the final estimate a Catholic must make of it. A teacher of Christian truths I gladly admit it to be. A teacher of Christian truth—no, because it rejects much of that truth, and also the divine principle of its perpetuity in the world. Nevertheless, I rejoice in every fragment of doctrine which remains in it; and I should lament the enfeebling or diminution of any particle of that truth. I have ever regarded with regret the so-called Low-Church and Latitudinarian schools in the Anglican Church, because I believe their action and effect is to diminish what remains of truth in it. I have always regarded with joy, and I have never ceased to regard with sympathy, notwithstanding much which I cannot either like or respect, the labours of the High-Church or Anglo-Catholic party, because I believe that their action and effect are 'to strengthen the things which remain, which were ready to die.' For myself, I am conscious how little I have ever done in my life; but as it is now drawing towards its end, I have at least this

consolation, that I cannot remember at any time, by word, or act, to have undermined a revealed truth; but that, according to my power, little enough as I know, I have endeavoured to build up what truth I knew, truth upon truth, if only as one grain of sand upon another, and to bind it together by the only bond and principle of cohesion which holds in unity the perfect revelation of God. A very dear friend, whose friendship has been to me one of the most instructive, and the loss of which was to me one of the hardest sacrifices I had to make, has often objected to me, with the subtlety which marks his mind, that my act in leaving the Church of England has helped forward the unbelief which is now invading it. No doubt he meant to say that the tendency of such an act helped to shake the confidence of others in the Church of England as a teacher of truth. This objection was like his mind, ingenious and refined. But a moment's thought unravelled it, and I answered it much in these words:

I do not believe that by submitting to the Catholic Church any one can weaken the witness of the Church of England for the truth which it retains. So far as it holds the truth, it is in conformity to the Catholic Church. In submitting to the Catholic Church, I all the more strongly give testimony to the same truths which the Church of England still retains. If I give testimony against the Church of England, it is in those points in which, being at variance with the truth, the Church of England is itself undermining the faith of Christianity.

It was for this reason I always lamented the legalising of the sacramentarian errors of the Low-Church party by the Gorham Judgment; and that I lament now the legalising of the heresies of the Essays and Reviews, and the spreading unbelief of Dr. Colenso. I believe that anything which undermines the Christianity of England is drawing it further and further from us. In proportion as men believe more of Christianity, they are nearer to the perfect truth. The mis sion of the Church in the world is to fill up the truth. Our Divine Lord said, 'I am not come to destroy, but to fulfil;' and St. Paul did not overthrow the altar of the Unknown God, but gave to it an object of Divine worship and a true adoration. For this cause I regard the present downward course of the Church of England and the Christianity of England with great sorrow and fear. And I am all the more alarmed because of those who are involved in it so many not only refuse to acknowledge the fact, but treat us who give warning of the danger as enemies and accusers.

One of my critics has imagined, that I propose to myself and others the alternative of Catholicism or Atheism. I have never attempted to bring any one to the perfect truth by destroying or by threatening the imperfect faith they might still possess. I do not believe that the alternative before us is Catholicism or Atheism. There are lights of the natural order, divine witnesses of Himself inscribed by the Creator on His works, characters engraven upon the conscience, and testimonies of mankind in all the ages of the

world, which prove the existence and perfections of God, the moral nature and responsibility of man anterior to Catholicism, and independently of revelation. If a man, through any intellectual or moral aberration, should reject Christianity, that is Catholicism, the belief of God and of His perfections stands immutably upon the foundations of nature. Catholicism, or Deism, is indeed the only ultimately logical and consistent alternative, though, happily, few men in rejecting Catholicism are logically consistent enough to reject Christianity. Atheism is an aberration which implies not only an intellectual blindness, but a moral insensibility. The theism of the world has its foundation on the face of the natural world, and on the intellect and the heart of the human race. The old Paganism and modern Pantheism are reverent, filial, and elevating compared with the Atheism of Comte and of our modern Secularists. It would be both intellectually and morally impossible to propose to any one the alternative of Catholicism or Atheism. Not only then do I lament to see any truth in the Church of England give way before unbelief, but I should regard with sorrow and impatience any attempt to promote the belief of the whole revelation of Christianity by a mode of logic which undermines even the truths of the natural order. The Holy See has authoritatively declared that the existence of God may be proved by reason and the light of nature,* and

* 'Ratiocinatio Dei existentiam, animæ spiritualitatem, hominis libertatem, cum certitudine probare potest.' Theses a SS. D. N.

Alexander VIII. declared that men who do not know of the existence of God are without excuse.* Atheism is not the condition of man without revelation. As Viva truly says in his comment on this declaration, Atheists are anomalies and exceptions in the intellectual tradition of mankind.

Nay, I will go further. I can conceive a person to reject Catholicism without logically rejecting Christianity. He would indeed reject the Divine certainty which guarantees and proposes to us the whole revelation of the Day of Pentecost. But as Catholic theologians teach, the infallible authority of the Church does not of necessity enter into the essence of an act of faith.† It is, indeed, the Divine provision for the perfection and perpetuity of the faith, and *in hac providentia*, the ordinary means whereby men are illuminated in the revelation of God; but the known and historical evidence of Christianity is enough to convince any prudent man that Christianity is a Divine revelation. It is quite true that by this process he cannot attain an explicit faith in all the doctrines of revelation, and that in rejecting Catholicism he reduces himself to human and historical evidence as the maximum of extrinsic certainty for his religion, and that

Pio IX. approbatæ, 11 Junii 1855. Denzinger's Enchiridion, p. 448. Ed. 1856.

* Viva, Propos. damnatæ, p. 372. Ripalda de ente Supernaturali, disp. xx. s. 12, 59.

† De Lugo, De Virtute divinæ Fidei, disp. i. sect. xii. 250–53. Viva, Cursus. Theol. p. iv. disp. i. quæst. iv. art. iii. Ripalda, De Ente Supern. disp. xx. sect. xxii. 117.

this almost inevitably resolves itself in the long run into rationalism. It is an inclined plane on which, if individuals may stand, generations cannot. Nevertheless, though the alternative in the last analysis of speculation be Catholicism or Deism, the practical alternative may be Catholicism and fragmentary Christianity.

I have said this to show how far I am from sympathising with those, if any there be, and I can truly say I know none such, who regard the giving way of any lingering truth in the Church of England under the action of unbelief with any feeling but that of sorrow. The Psalmist lamented over the dying out of truths. 'Diminutæ sunt veritates a filiis hominum,' and I believe that every one who loves God, and souls, and truth must lament when a single truth, speculative or moral, even of the natural order is obscured; much more when any revealed truth of the elder or of the Christian revelation is rejected or even doubted. Allow me also to answer, not only for myself, which is of no great moment, but for an eminent personage to whom you have referred in your pamphlet. I can say, with a personal and perfect knowledge, that no other feeling has ever arisen in His Eminence's mind, in contemplating the troubles of the Anglican Church, than a sincere desire that God may use these things to open the eyes of men to see the untenableness of their position; coupled with a very sincere sorrow at the havoc which the advance of unbelief is making among the truths which yet linger in the Church of England.

3. It is, however, but reason that I should rejoice when whatsoever remains in it of imperfect truth is unfolded into a more perfect faith: and that therefore I desire to see not only the conversion of England, but the conversion of every soul to whom the more perfect truth can be made known. You would not respect me if I did not. Your own zeal for truth and for souls here speaks in my behalf. There are two kinds of proselytism. There are the Jews whom our Lord condemned. There are also the Apostles whom He sent into all the world. If by proselytising be meant the employing of unlawful and unworthy means, motives, or influences to change a person's religion, I should consider the man who used such means to commit *lèse-majesté* against Truth, and against our Lord who is the Truth. But if by proselytising be meant the using all the means of conviction and persuasion which our Divine Master has committed to us to bring any soul who will listen to us into the only faith and fold, then of this I plead guilty with all my heart. I do heartily desire to see the Church of England dissolve and pass away, as the glow of lingering embers in the rise and steady light of a reviving flame. If the Church of England were to perish to-morrow under the action of a higher and more perfect truth, there would be no void left in England. All the truths hitherto taught in fragments and piecemeal would be still more vividly and firmly impressed upon the minds of the English people. All of Christianity which survives in Anglicanism would

be perfected by the restoration of the truths which have been lost, and the whole would be fixed and perpetuated by the evidence of Divine certainty and the voice of a Divine Teacher. No Catholic desires to see the Church of England swept away by an infidel revolution, such as that of 1789 in France. But every Catholic must wish to see it give way year by year, and day by day, under the intellectual and spiritual action of the Catholic Church: and must watch with satisfaction every change, social and political, which weakens its hold on the country, and would faithfully use all his power and influence for its complete removal as speedily as possible.

4. But lastly, I am afraid we have reached a point of divergence. Hitherto I hope we may have been able to agree together; but now I fear every step of advance will carry us more wide of each other. I am unable to consider the Church of England to be 'in God's hands the great bulwark against infidelity in this land.' And my reasons are these:—

1.) First, I must regard the Anglican Reformation, and therefore the Anglican Church, as the true and original source of the present spiritual anarchy of England. Three centuries ago the English people were in faith *unius labii*: they were in perfect unity. Now they are divided and subdivided by a numberless multiplication of errors. What has generated them? From what source do they descend? Is it not self-evident that the Reformation is responsible for the production of every sect and every error which has

sprung up in England in these three hundred years, and of all which cover the face of the land at this day? It is usual to hear Anglicans lament the multiplication of religious error. But what is the productive cause of all? Is it not Anglicanism itself which, by appealing from the voice of the Church throughout the world, has set the example to its own people of appealing from the voice of a local and provincial authority?

I am afraid, then, that the Church of England, so far from a barrier against infidelity, must be recognised as the mother of all the intellectual and spiritual aberrations which now cover the face of England.

2.) It is true, indeed, that the Church of England retains many truths in it. But it has in two ways weakened the evidence of these very truths which it retains. It has detached them from other truths which by contact gave solidity to all by rendering them coherent and intelligible. It has detached them from the Divine voice of the Church, which guarantees to us the truth incorruptible and changeless. The Anglican Reformation destroyed the principle of cohesion, by which all truths are bound together into one. The whole idea of theology, as the science of God and of His revelation, has been broken up. Thirty-nine Articles, heterogeneous, disjointed, and mixed with error, are all that remain instead of the unity and harmony of Catholic truth. Surely this has been among the most prolific causes of error, doubt, and unbelief. So far from the bulwark against it,

Anglicanism appears to me to be the cause and spring of its existence. As I have already said, the Reformation placed the English people upon an inclined plane, and they have steadily obeyed the law of their position, by descending gradually from age to age, sometimes with a more rapid, sometimes with a slower motion, but always tending downwards. Surely it would be unreasonable to say of a body always descending, that it is the great barrier against reaching the bottom.

I do not, indeed, forget that the Church of England has produced writers who have vindicated many Christian truths. I am not unmindful of the service rendered by Anglican writers to Christianity in general, nor, in particular, of the works of Bull and Waterland in behalf of the holy Trinity; of Hammond and Pearson in behalf of Episcopacy; of Butler and Warburton in behalf of Revelation, and the like. But whence came the errors and unbeliefs against which they wrote? Were they not generated by the Reformation abroad and in England? This is like the spear which healed the wounds it had made. But it is not the Divine office of the Church to make wounds in the faith that it may use its skill in healing. It was only quelling the mutiny which Protestantism had raised, and arresting the progress of the Reformation which, like Saturn, devours its own children.

Moreover, to be just I must say that if the Church of England be a barrier against infidelity the Dissenters must also be admitted to a share in this office

and commendation. And in truth I do not know among the Dissenters any works like the Essays and Reviews, or any Biblical criticism like that of Dr. Colenso. They may not be very dogmatic in their teaching, but they bear their witness for Christianity as a Divine revelation, for the Scriptures as an inspired book, and, I must add further, for the personal Christianity of conversion and repentance, with an explicitness and consistency which is not less effectual against infidelity than the testimony of the Church of England. I do not think the Wesleyan Conference or the authorities of the Three Denominations would accept readily this assumed superiority of the Anglican Church as a witness against unbelief. They would not unjustly point to the doctrinal confusions of the Church of England as causes of scepticism, from which they are comparatively free. And I am bound to say that I think they would have an advantage. I well remember that while I was in the Church of England I used to regard Dissenters from it with a certain, I will not say aversion, but distance and recoil. I never remember to have borne animosity against them, or to have attacked or pursued them with unkindness. I always believed many of them to be very earnest and devoted men. I did not like their theology, and I believed them to be in disobedience to the Church of England; but I respected them, and lived at peace with them. Indeed, I may say that some of the best people I have ever known out of the Church were Dissenters or children of Dissenters. Nevertheless, I

had a dislike of their system, and of their meeting-houses. They seemed to me to be rivals of the Church of England, and my loyalty to it made me look somewhat impatiently upon them. But I remember, from the hour I submitted to the Catholic Church, all this underwent a sensible change. I saw that the whole revelation was perpetuated in the Church alone, and that all forms of Christianity lying round about it were but fragments more or less mutilated. But with this a sensible increase of kindly feeling grew upon me. The Church of England and the dissenting communions all alike appeared to me to be upon the same level. I rejoiced in all the truth that remains in them, in all the good I could see or hope in them, and all the workings of the Holy Spirit in them. I had no temptation to animosity towards them; for neither they nor the Church of England could be rivals of the imperishable and immutable Church of God. The only sense, then, in which I could regard the Church of England as a barrier against infidelity I must extend also to the dissenting bodies; and I cannot put this high, for reasons I will give.

3.) If the Church of England be a barrier to infidelity by the truths which yet remain in it, I must submit that it is a source of unbelief by all the denials of other truths which it has rejected. If it sustains a belief in two sacraments, it formally propagates unbelief in five; if it recognises an undefined presence of Christ in the sacrament, it formally imposes on its

people a disbelief in transubstantiation and the sacrifice of the altar; if it teaches that there is a Church upon earth, it formally denies its indissoluble unity, its visible Head, and its perpetual Divine voice.

It is not easy to see how a system can be a barrier against unbelief when by its Thirty-nine Articles it rejects, and binds its teachers to propagate the rejection, of so many revealed truths.

4.) But this is not all. It is not only by the rejection of particular doctrines that the Church of England propagates unbelief. It does so by principle, and in the essence of its whole system. What is the ultimate guarantee of the Divine revelation but the Divine authority of the Church? Deny this, and we descend at once to human teachers. But it is this that the Church of England formally and expressly denies. The perpetual and ever-present assistance of the Holy Spirit, whereby the Church in every age is not only preserved from error, but enabled at all times to declare the truth, that is the infallibility of the living Church at this hour—this it is that the Anglican Church in terms denies. But this is the formal antagonist of infidelity, because it is the evidence on which God wills that we should believe that which His veracity reveals. Do not be displeased with me. It appears to me that the Anglican system, by this one fact alone, perpetually undoes what it strives to do in behalf of particular doctrines. What are they, one by one, when the Divine certainty of all is destroyed? Now, for three hundred years the Anglican clergy

have been trained, ordained, and bound by subscriptions to deny not only many Christian truths, but the Divine authority of the ἡ ἀεὶ ἐκκλησία, the living Church of every age. The barrier against infidelity is the Divine voice which generates faith. But this the Anglican clergy are bound to deny. And this denial opens a flood-gate in the bulwark, through which the whole stream of unbelief at once finds way. Seventeen or eighteen thousand men, educated with all the advantages of the English schools and Universities, endowed with large corporate revenues, and distributed all over England, maintain a perpetual protest, not only against the Catholic Church, but against the belief that there is any Divine voice immutably and infallibly guiding the Church at this hour in its declaration of the Christian revelation to mankind. How can this be regarded as 'the great bulwark in God's hand against infidelity?'

It seems to me that the Church of England, so far from being a bulwark against the flood, has floated before it. Every age has exhibited an advance to a more indefinite and heterogeneous state of religious opinion within its pale. I will not go again over ground I have already traversed. Even in our memory the downward progress of the Church of England is manifest. That I may not seem to draw an unfavourable picture from my own view, I will quote a very unsuspected witness. Dr. Irons, in a recent pamphlet, says: 'The religion of the Church has sunk far deeper into conscience now than the surviving men of

1833–1843 are aware of. *And all that Churchmen want* of their separated brethren is that they accept nothing, and profess nothing, and submit to nothing which has "no root" in their conscience.'* If this mean anything, it means that objective truth has given place to subjective sincerity as the Anglican Rule of Faith. You will know better than I whether this be the state of men's minds among you. To me it is as strange as it is incoherent, and a sign how far men have drifted. This certainly was not the faith or religion that we held together in the years when I had the happiness of being united in friendship with you. Latitudinarian sincerity was not our basis, and if the men of 1833 and 1843 have arrived at this, it is very unlike the definite, earnest, consistent belief which animated us at that time. You say in your note (page 21), kindly, but a little upbraidingly, that my comment on your letter to the 'Record' was not like me in those days: forasmuch as I used then to join with those with whom even then you could not. It was this that made me note your doing so now. It was this which seemed to me to be a drifting backward from old moorings. For myself, it is true, indeed, that I have moved likewise. I have been carried onwards to what you then were, and beyond it. What I might have done then, I could not do now. What you do now seems to me what you would not have done then. I did not note this unkindly, but with

* Apologia pro vita Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, p. 22.

regret, because, as I rejoice in every truth, and in every true principle retained in the Church of England, it would have given me great joy to see you maintaining with all firmness, not only all the particular truths you held, but also the impossibility of uniting with those who deny both those truths and the principles on which you have rested through your laborious life of the last thirty years.

And now I will add only a few more words of a personal sort, and then make an end. It was not my fate in the Church of England to be regarded as a contentious or controversial spirit, nor as a man of extreme opinions, or of a bitter temper. I remember indeed that I was regarded, and even censured, as slow to advance, somewhat tame, cautious to excess, morbidly moderate, as some one said. I remember that the Catholics κατ' ἐξοχήν used to hold me somewhat cheap, and to think me behindhand, uncatholic, over-English, and the like. But now, is there anything in the extreme opposite of all this which I am not? Ultramontane, violent, unreasoning, bitter, rejoicing in the miseries of my neighbours, destructive, a very Apollyon, and the like. Some who so describe me now are the same who were wont then to describe me as the reverse of all this. They are yet catholicising the Church of England, without doubt more catholic still than I am. Well, what shall I say? If I should say that I am not conscious of these changes, you would only think me self-deceived. I will therefore only tell you where I believe I

am unchanged, and then where I am conscious of a change, which, perhaps, will account for all you have to say of me.

I am unconscious, then, of any change in my love to England in all that relates to the natural order. I am no politician, and I do not set up for a patriot; but I believe, as S. Thomas teaches, that love of country is a part of charity, and assuredly I have ever loved England with a very filial love. My love for England begins with the England of S. Bede. Saxon England, with all its tumults, seems to me saintly and beautiful. Norman England I have always loved less, because, though more majestic, it became continually less Catholic, until the evil spirit of the world broke off the light yoke of faith at the so-called Reformation. Still, I loved the Christian England which survived, and all the lingering outlines of dioceses and parishes, cathedrals and churches, with the names of saints upon them. It is this vision of the past which still hovers over England and makes it beautiful, and full of memories of the kingdom of God. Nay, I loved the parish church of my childhood, and the college chapel of my youth, and the little church under a green hill-side, where the morning and evening prayers, and the music of the English Bible, for seventeen years, became a part of my soul. Nothing is more beautiful in the natural order, and if there were no eternal world I could have made it my home. But these things are not England, they are only its features, and

I may say that my love was and is to the England which lives and breathes about me, to my countrymen whether in or out of the Church of England. With all our faults as a race, I recognise in them noble Christian virtues, exalted characters, beautiful examples of domestic life, and of every personal excellence which can be found, where the fulness of grace and truth is not, and much, too, which puts to shame those who are where the fulness of grace and truth abounds. So long as I believed the Church of England to be a part of the Church of God I loved it, how well you know, and honoured it with a filial reverence, and laboured to serve it, with what fidelity I can affirm, with what, or if with any utility, it is not for me to say. And I love still those who are in it, and I would rather suffer anything than wrong them in word or deed, or pain them without a cause. To all this I must add, lastly, and in a way above all, the love I bear to many personal friends, so dear to me, whose letters I kept by me till two years ago, though more than fifty of them are gone into the world unseen, all these things are sweet to me still beyond all words that I can find to express it.

You will ask me then perhaps, why I have never manifested this before? It is because when I left you, in the full, calm, deliberate and undoubting belief that the light of the only Truth led me from a fragmentary Christianity into the perfect Revelation of the day of Pentecost, I believed it to be my duty to walk alone in the path in which it led me, leaving

you all unmolested by any advance on my part. If any old friend has ever written to me, or signified to me his wish to renew our friendship, I believe he will bear witness to the happiness with which I have accepted the kindness offered to me. But I felt that it was my act which had changed our relations, and that I had no warrant to assume that a friendship, founded upon agreement in our old convictions, would be continued when that foundation had been destroyed by myself, or restored upon a foundation altogether new. And I felt, too, a jealousy for truth. It was no human pride which made me feel that I ought not to expose the Catholic Church to be rejected in my person. Therefore I held on my own course, seeking no one, but welcoming every old friend—and they have been many—who came to me. This has caused a suspension of nearly fourteen years in which I have never so much as met or exchanged a line with many who till then were among my nearest friends. This, too, has given room for many misapprehensions. It would hardly surprise me if I heard that my old friends believed me to have become a cannibal.

But perhaps you will say, This does not account for your hard words against us and the Church of England. When I read your late pamphlet I said to myself, Have I ever written such hard words as these? I will not quote them, but truly I do not think that, in anything I have ever written, I have handled at least any person as you, my dear friend, in your zeal,

which I respect and honour, have treated certain very exalted personages who are opposed to you. But let this pass. It would not excuse me even if I were to find you in the same condemnation.

One of my anonymous censors writes that 'as in times past I had written violently against the Church of Rome, so now I must do the same against the Church of England.' Now I wish he would find, in the books I published when out of the Church, the hard sayings he speaks of. It has been my happiness to know that such do not exist. I feel sure that my accuser had nothing before his mind when he risked this controversial trick. I argued, indeed, against the Catholic and Roman Church, but I do not know of any railing accusations. How I was preserved from it I cannot tell, except by the same Divine goodness which afterwards led me into the perfect light of faith.

But I have written, some say, hard things of the Church of England. Are they hard truths or hard epithets? If they are hard epithets, show them to me, and I will erase them with a prompt and public expression of regret; but if they be hard facts, I cannot change them. It is true, indeed, that I have for the last fourteen years incessantly and unchangingly, by word and by writing, borne my witness to the truths by which God has delivered me from the bondage of a human authority in matters of faith. I have borne my witness to the presence and voice of a divine, and therefore infallible, teacher, guiding the Church with His perpetual assistance, and speaking through it as His organ.

I have also borne witness that the Church through which He teaches is that which S. Augustine describes by the two incommunicable notes—that it is 'spread throughout the world' and 'united to the Chair of Peter.'* I know that the corollaries of these truths are severe, peremptory, and inevitable. If the Catholic faith be the perfect revelation of Christianity, the Anglican Reformation is a cloud of heresies; if the Catholic Church be the organ of the Holy Ghost, the Anglican Church is not only no part of the Church, but no church of divine foundation. It is a human institution, sustained as it was founded by a human authority, without priesthood, without sacraments, without absolution, without the real presence of Jesus upon its altars. I know these truths are hard. It seems heartless, cruel, unfilial, unbrotherly, ungrateful so to speak of all the beautiful fragments of Christianity which mark the face of England, from its thousand towns to its green villages, so dear even to us who believe it to be both in heresy and in schism. You must feel it so. You must turn from me and turn against me for saying it; but if I believe it must I not say it? And if I say it, can I find words more weighed, measured, and deliberate than those I have used? If you can, show them to me, and so that they are adequate, I will use them always hereafter. God knows I have never written a syllable with the intent to leave a wound. I have erased, I have refrained from writing

* S. Aug. Opp. tom. ii. pp. 119, 120; tom. x. p. 93.

and speaking, many, lest I should give more pain than duty commanded me to give. I cannot hope that you will allow of all I say. But it is the truth. I have refrained from it, not only because it is a duty, but because I wish to disarm those who divert men from the real point at issue by accusations of bitterness and the like. It has been my lot, more than of most, to be in these late years on the frontier which divides us. And—why I know not—people have come to me with their anxieties and their doubts. What would you have done in my place? That which you have done in your own; which, *mutato nomine*, has been my duty and my burden.

And now I have done. I have a hope that the day is coming when all in England who believe in the supernatural order, in the revelation of Christianity, in the inspiration of Holy Scripture, in the divine certainty of dogmatic tradition, in the divine obligation of holding no communion with heresy and with schism, will be driven in upon the lines of the only stronghold which God has constituted as 'the pillar and ground of the truth.' This may not be, perhaps, as yet; but already it is time for those who love the faith of Christianity, and look with sorrow and fear on the havoc which is laying it waste among us, to draw together in mutual kindness and mutual equity of judgment. That I have so ever treated you I can truly say; that I may claim it at your hands I am calmly conscious; but whether you and others accord it to me or not, I must leave it to the Disposer of

hearts alone to determine. Though we are parted now, it may not be for ever; and morning by morning, in the Holy Sacrifice, I pray that the same light of faith which so profusely fell upon myself, notwithstanding all I am, may in like manner abundantly descend upon you who are in all things so far above me, save only in that one gift which is not mine, but His alone who is the Sovereign Giver of all Grace.

Believe me, my dear friend,

Always affectionately yours,

HENRY EDWARD MANNING.

ST. MARY'S, BAYSWATER:
Sept. 27, 1864.

P.S. My attention has just been called to the concluding pages of the last number of the *Quarterly Review*, in which I am again described by a writer who evidently has abilities to know better, to be in 'ecstasies.' The writer represents, as the sum or chief argument of my 'Second Letter to an Anglican Friend,' the passing reference I there made to the Lord Chancellor's speech. I quoted this to prove that the late judgment is a part of the law, both of the land and of the Church of England. But the whole of the Letter, excepting this single point, is an argument to show that the vote of the Convocation carries with it no divine certainty, and resolves itself into the private judgment of the majority who passed

it. For all this argument the writer has not a word. I cannot be surprised that he fills out his periods with my 'ecstasies,' 'shouts of joy,' 'wild pæans,' a quotation from 'Shylock,' and other things less fitting. This is not to reason, but to rail. Is it worthy? Is it love of truth? Is it good faith? Is it not simply the fallacy of evasion? I can assure him that this kind of controversy is work that will not stand. We are in days when personalities and flimsy rhetoric will not last long. Neither will it bear to be tried by 'the fire,' nor will it satisfy, I was about to say, nor will it mislead, men who are in earnest for truth or for salvation. I had hoped that this style of controversy had been cured or suppressed by a greater sincerity, and reality of religious thought in these days of anxiety and unbelief. There either is, or is not, a Divine Person teaching perpetually through the Church in every age, and therefore now as always, generating faith with Divine certainty in the minds of men. This question must be answered; and, as men answer it, we know where to class them, and how to deal with them. All the evasions and half-arguments of such writers are becoming daily more and more intolerable to those of the English people—and they are a multitude—who would give all that they count dear, and life itself, to know and to die in the full and certain light of the revelation of God in Jesus Christ.

H. E. M.

PRINTED BY SPOTTISWOODE AND CO., NEW-STREET SQUARE, LONDON

BY THE SAME AUTHOR.

LATELY PUBLISHED BY MESSRS. LONGMAN & CO.

THREE LETTERS TO ANGLICAN FRIENDS:

1. THE CROWN IN COUNCIL ON THE ESSAYS AND REVIEWS. 1*s.*
2. THE CONVOCATION AND THE CROWN IN COUNCIL. 1*s.*
3. THE WORKINGS OF THE HOLY SPIRIT IN THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND. 1*s.*

THE BLESSED SACRAMENT THE CENTRE OF IMMUTABLE TRUTH. 1*s.*

Also,

SERMONS ON ECCLESIASTICAL SUBJECTS. (DUFFY.) 6*s.*

THE LOVE OF JESUS TO PENITENTS. (DUFFY.) 2*s.* 6*d.*

THE TEMPORAL POWER OF THE POPE. (BURNS.) 5*s.*

TRUTH BEFORE PEACE. (DUFFY.) 6*d.*

THE MISSION OF ST. ALPHONSUS. (DUFFY.) 6*d.*

3

THE LADY CHAPEL

AND

DR. PUSEY'S PEACEMAKER.

The Substance of a Sermon

PREACHED IN ST. JOHN'S CHURCH, ISLINGTON,

On the 24th Sunday after Pentecost, 1865,

BY

THE REV. FATHER GALLWEY, S.J.

Peace, peace: and there was no peace. *Jeremias* vi. 14.
In peace is my bitterness most bitter. *Isaias* xxxviii. 17.

Sold for the Benefit of Poor Children.

LONDON:
BURNS, LAMBERT, AND OATES,
17, 18 Portman Street & 63 Paternoster Row.
DUBLIN: DUFFY, WELLINGTON QUAY.

[*Price One Shilling.*]

LONDON:
ROBSON AND SON, GREAT NORTHERN PRINTING WORKS,
PANCRAS ROAD, N.W.

9 *Hill Street, Berkeley Square,*
December 27th, 1865.

My dear Canon Oakeley,

I am not where I would be to-day—at your festival—because I am working at a task which you imposed on me; I am getting ready for the printer the Sermon I preached at the reopening of your Lady Chapel. I publish it, first, because you wish it, and gratitude makes me respect any wish coming from you; secondly, because the hearty devotion of your Evening Service, and the glorious band of men around your sanctuary, have left a very pleasing impression on my mind, and make me glad to be associated with St. John's; thirdly (and last, not least), because I look on it as a valuable grace to be allowed to say a word in defence of our Blessed Lady's cause.

You will find that I have given you more than you asked for. Being obliged to write by snatches, at chance moments, I have been more diffuse than I should have been if I could have finished at one sitting.

Very sincerely

Your servant in Christ,

P. GALLWEY.

THE LADY CHAPEL, &c.

"Then shall the Son of Man come in the clouds of heaven, with much power and majesty."

Matt. xxiv. 30 (*Gospel, 24th Sund. after Pent.*).

To judge the living and the dead, dear brethren, our Blessed Lord will then be coming. We all know well that we are to expect this judgment; we were warned at the font of Baptism to carry the white robe of grace then given to us unstained to the Judgment-seat. May God in His mercy grant us all grace to remember this judgment that is to come—to prepare for it, and to wash away by sorrow all stains that may in past time have disfigured the white robe! Meanwhile, angels are watching each day and each hour of our lives; no act, no word, no thought of ours escapes their notice. When we leave this world at death, to appear before our Blessed Saviour, we shall be amazed to see with what scrupulous fidelity all our works have been stored up, that they may then receive their just recompense. Among the rest, the work you are busy about to-day, brethren, is chronicled and most carefully registered, and will be proved, and weighed, and subjected to a searching scrutiny. Let us, then, reflect upon it a little before this day closes. You are keeping a festival on the occasion of the reopening of the Lady Chapel; you are making a special public mani-

festation of your devotion to Mary. Let us dwell a little on this act of yours. And first let me mention a circumstance connected with it that will help to set forth its character in a clearer light. I have spoken of the white robe of Baptism. Well, brethren, at the time when, by the infinite charity of my Creator, I was admitted to the grace of Baptism, there were in the leading University of this country two young students, then in the early days of their manhood, and apparently destined to run the race of life side by side, as they both intended to become clergymen in the Established Church of England. Later, their destinies seemed to be more closely linked together, as they both became hearty supporters of the Tractarian movement which gave birth to a new and peculiar school in the Church of England. In their case, however, as in so many others, for reasons only known to the mercy and the justice of our Blessed Lord, those words of His came true, "Two men shall be in the field; one shall be taken, the other shall be left."* One of these two students is now a devoted priest in the Holy Roman Catholic Church; and it is he, your Pastor, who has invited me to come here this evening to take a part in this act of honour and love to the Blessed Mother of God. Now, brethren, about the time when I received his invitation I was engaged in reading a volume recently sent abroad amongst men by the other of these two students, once companions. He is not a Roman Catholic clergyman. He was not taken—he has been left. He has seen many friends go from his side to enter the one

* Luke xvii. 35.

fold; but he remains what he was then—a Protestant, a clergyman of the Established Church of England, a leader of a party in that Church; and in these last days he has prepared and published a volume, of which the leading feature is a strong and earnest denunciation of the devotion which Catholics pay to the Mother of God. What will be the effect of this protest we know not yet; but this much is evident, that it has been prepared with great care and industry; that all the points that seemed to make against devotion to our Lady have been gathered together with the skill of a keen advocate; that every fact and statement has been presented in a plausible form; that there has been so clever a subtlety in discovering apparent weak points in this our devotion, that this volume enjoys a melancholy distinction among the works written to deter men from putting any hope in the intercession of our Lady. Now, brethren, it is clear that both these clergymen will have to answer for their respective works. Your Pastor must give an account of the pains he is taking to foster in your souls that hope in the Blessed Virgin and that love of her which your Lady Chapel represents; and his former companion will also have to render an account of this strong effort which he is making in his old age to discredit the devotion of Catholics to our Lady, and to deter men from adopting it. We too, brethren, shall also have to answer for the part we take in this contest. And if I may be allowed to state what I apprehend to be your mind, and what I know to be my own, in this matter, I say that we declare without any hesitation,—we declare advisedly, after the deliberation of

our whole lives,—we declare, with much peace and gladness; and hope that our words will help us at the tribunal of Christ Jesus,—we declare that most happy and delighted we should be if it could be proved against us that we had been devout to our Lady, and had moved others to be devout to her; and, on the other hand, I should be filled, as you would also, with fear and remorse, and great sadness—we should not find any rest, we could not close our eyes in peace—had we on our souls the consciousness that we had written a single line to deter any of Christ's little ones from praying to the most Blessed Mother of God. This is our creed and our profession on this point. But, brethren, it is only a profession—only a statement of our sentiments; and as it is the will of our Lord that your faith should rest on something more substantial than mere assertion,—as we are expected to render to God a worship that is reasonable and founded on convictions,—as we are supposed to be able to give an account of the hope that is within us, let us this evening call to mind what kind of answer a child of the Catholic Church will be able to give at the Judgment-seat of Christ, if there accused of having unduly exalted Holy Mary. Catholic men and Catholic women have before now been summoned from the foot of our Lady's altar to their judgment. Were it, then, announced to any of us that this night his soul should be demanded of him, what sort of answer has that man ready, in case he be charged with an unwarrantable devotion to Mary? Before we go into this question, let us endeavour to secure God's blessing on our endeavours; and how can we

better secure that blessing than by turning to our Lady, and saying to her in the familiar words of the Church,

> "Vouchsafe that we may praise thee, Holy Virgin;
> Grant us strength against thy enemies"?

Well, then, brethren, if so be that an accuser is to appear against you on this point, and to charge you with indulging in a blamable devotion to our Lady, what will you answer?

A Catholic's plea for devotion to the Mother of God.

1. In the first place, brethren, I think that a Catholic can safely give this answer: "What I believed concerning Thy Mother, O Lord,—what I practised in her honour, (*a*) I received it. that I received. I did not invent the devotion to our Lady: I received it." In fact, brethren, no one of us has much desire to originate doctrines and devotions. I can well understand that an Anglican should suspect us and accuse us of a fondness for novelties, because naturally a man must read the souls of others in his own. A generous man thinks those around him generous; an intriguer fancies every one a plotter. Therefore, as in the present state of transition the very life and soul of Anglicanism is innovation; as the effort of every good Anglican, his pride and his boast, is to add something every year to the ancient Protestantism of his fathers; as every zealous Anglican feels that his party cannot stand still and must move on, it is natural that they should easily believe us to be also fond of new things. But we are not so. At all events, our devotion to our Lady is not a new thing. We found it existing; we received it. Therefore I think that if accused concerning this matter, a Catholic might with great reverence say to our Blessed Lord, "O Lord,

Thou knowest all things; Thou knowest that devotion to Thy Holy Mother came to me through the right channel. For is it not Thy decree that faith and truth must come by hearing?" So far then, brethren, we are safe. This devotion to Mary began well in us; and a good beginning is always a strong recommendation. When we see the efforts that many Anglicans are making after holiness, we cannot help pitying them as we call to mind how the bad beginning of the Established Church still paralyses their efforts. What price would not some of them, in these our times, have gladly paid if they could have procured a rectification of the bad beginning of the Established Church of England! But there it stands irremediable, that terrible flaw. I say terrible, because our Lord has spoken very strongly against him who "enters into the sheepfold not by the door, but climbeth up another way."* Do what he will, the pious Anglican cannot bring himself to a belief that Anglicanism did come into this country by the right door, which is Christ our Lord. You are aware, brethren, that to an Anglican, when his mind is ill at ease and yearning after security, it is often said, "What seek you in Rome that you have not here? You have the Sacraments, you have the apostolic succession, you have the Liturgy, you have the Holy Ghost." I could well imagine the restless soul that God is drawing on, the anxious heart that cannot rest till it rests in God's one ark, answering this appeal something after this manner: "Whether we have all these things I know not; but this I know, that

* John x. 1.

an evil tree cannot bear good fruit."* There is an incurable want of legitimacy adhering to Anglicanism. Its divines love much to claim connection with the early Church. But around the cradle of the early Church you find the Apostles and our Lady, and resting over it the Holy Spirit. Around the cradle of Anglicanism you find only the Tudor princes and their servile ministers: Elizabeth and her mother are the Eves of this new creation. The devotion of Catholics to Mary, my brethren, is at least free from this reproach, of coming to us in any questionable way; since what we believe and practise, that we received.

2. "True," the accuser may reply,—"true, you received it; but from whom? A grown-up man must use his reason, must reflect on the lessons taught him in youth, and correct the errors of his education. You received it; but from whom? From one man—from your parish-priest." No, no, accusing spirit; make not this insinuation against us, for we are Roman Catholics, not Anglicans. Among us one priest is not one isolated witness; he is a host of witnesses. A Roman Catholic priest knows perfectly well that he must teach in his parish only what he has received, and only what is taught in all the parishes around. An Anglican clergyman indeed, owing to the disorganised state of the Church of England, is not so bound. He can in his own church bring his people to talk of the Real Presence, to practise confession, and to relish vestments—although the most assiduous church-goer in the surrounding parishes may never imagine for a moment that there

(*b*) It is not the speciality of one influential Curate.

* Matt. vii. 18.

exists either the Real Presence, or absolution, or a chasuble. With us this cannot be. The parish-priest, whatever be his shortcomings, knows well that he must bring into his parish only what he has received; that if he preach a gospel other than that which his parishioners have received, his Bishop will in a few days pronounce the sentence, "Let him be anathema:"* and his people, though so true and loyal to their priesthood, the moment they discover that he is a wolf in sheep's clothing, and that he brings not with him the old familiar doctrine, will no longer receive him into their houses, "nor say to him, God speed you!"† or if, through pity for a consecrated ruin, they harbour him when he is cast out, and show a charitable respect to his indelible character, yet this they never will do—they never will go with their children to sit under him, nor pin their souls to his inventions and adaptations. For while we say, "I believe in the Catholic Church," we never mean, I believe in one curate, or in one well-appointed Gothic church.

(c) Not a national error.

3. Well, brethren, but even granting that our devotion to Mary cannot be a peculiarity of one church or parish, still might it not be the superstition of one people? Can the accuser perhaps contend that it is the growth of one island? Certainly, we see clearly that men can grow up and live on till death blindly clinging to prejudices and theories and practices which have no value at all beyond the shores of their own island. Anglicanism, for instance, is precisely a body of religious opinions, which, like the coin of England, are current here, but not elsewhere: but

* Gal. i. 9. † 2 John i. 10.

surely no man will say that our devotion to Holy Mary is merely a national extravagance, for it is too well known that the Rosary is found in every land of Christendom in which the Cross of Christ Jesus is honoured; and that on every sea where the storm has power to wreck, the Catholic seaman in the moment of danger calls on Mary. Therefore, if our devotion to the Mother of God be an error, it is an error of the whole Catholic world.

(d) Not a superstition of the poor.

4. "So much the worse," the accuser may rejoin deploringly; he may say, "We know too well that it is a widespread error, a world-wide corruption; but what wonder, when we see the power of the Roman priesthood! The poor and the unlettered are every where the same, and may every where be easily seduced into a plausible superstition." To this new insinuation we answer, brethren, that it is very true, thank God, that the minds and hearts of the poor are very full of this devotion to our Blessed Lady; that the Catholic poor, even if they cannot read, can say their Rosary, and know well the chief mysteries of our Saviour's life and death. And in this particular, again, our devotion to Mary contrasts strongly with Anglicanism; for the poor have never been evangelised by the Church of England. Anglicanism, most assuredly, can never be called a folly of the poor and the unlearned. At the same time, however, it is equally certain that among us the rich and the poor kneel side by side around the Madonna, and the ablest scholars love their rosaries. It is not the poor who have robed the Madonnas of Christendom in jewels; it is not the poor who have raised the great

temples to the Mother of God; it is not the poor alone that travel to Loreto. It was not an ignorant, unlearned mind that bequeathed to us the heavenly poetry of the *Salve Regina*, which we so often hear and never tire of it. Nor was he a weak-minded man that penned that little prayer, "Remember, Holy Mary;" so dear to after ages. Poor he was, indeed, by choice; for he left the house of his noble sires to become one of Christ's poor. But no one will say that Bernard was a weak-minded follower of superstition.

(*e*) Not a fruit of Ultramontanism.

5. But now, brethren, the accusers can still say, and they do say, that it is to the Ultramontane spirit of these our days that we owe this devotion to Mary which we see so widespread among all classes. But surely it is more than a wonder when a doctor of Anglicanism utters this charge; for Anglicans are wont to love old books; and there are some quaint old volumes which neither the Reformation nor the hand of time has been able to destroy. I have said already that Anglicanism does not hold to the landmarks set by its fathers; but, on the contrary, professes to be an improvement on the Protestantism of former days. Hence the Anglican loves and honours old books; while the first apostles of the Church of England dreaded and destroyed them, as the title-deeds of the ejected heir. In these our days the friends of Anglicanism claim for it a mission to build and to plant. Whatever be said of this claim, this much, at least, is certain—that in the earlier days of its existence the Church of England fulfilled with great vigour, though not with much warrant from above, the other part of the commission given to the prophet or

old, "to root up and to pull down, and to waste and to destroy."* Still all the old volumes did not perish. Here and there a copy of the black-lettered *Sarum Hours* survived; and Anglicans do come across these time-honoured pages. How comes it, then, that they do not observe, printed and illuminated there, set before them in very glowing colours, the self-same sweet hymns to our Lady which we now hold so dear?† Is it our Ultramontanism that compiled for our forefathers and emblazoned these pious poems? Nay, to push the question further, if I may for a moment digress, how comes it that men who believe so much in old Catholic books, who use old books against their Low-Church bishops much as the Jewish priests used Moses and the prophets against our Lord (John ix. 28), can run risk of suspension or deprivation by introducing, on the authority of some moth-eaten book, the use of incense or some obsolete rubric, and yet find it in their hearts to proscribe the ancient hymns and anthems to our Lady which our forefathers loved so well? Is not this tithing mint and anise, and leaving the graver things of the law? If an Anglican clergyman would from old Catholic books teach himself and his people to value the ancient unity of the Church, and the old-fashioned obedi-

England is a witness.

* Jerem. i. 10.

† St. Anselm was not afraid to write such lines as these:

Ave nostra Advocatrix
Atque vitæ reparatrix.

There was no Dr. Pusey to chide him. Dr. Pusey may live to atone for his *Eirenicon* by publishing a good English version of our old monkish hymns to our Lady.

ence of Christendom to one Head, and the devotion of our forefathers to the Mother of God, would not all else be added to him? But of what avail will incense and vestments, or even nine points of the law, be, so long as the tenth and vital point of obedience be wanted? And now to come back. Besides our own black-lettered books, the Anglican has a special partiality for the liturgy of the Greek Church, and for every thing else of the Greek Church. He professes a readiness to learn from the venerable Greek Church. We need not stay to ask why; for it is obviously because he can have a lesson from the Greek Church without paying for the lesson the bitter price of obedience. When he learns from Greece he is doing amateur work; when he comes in presence of Rome, he stands before his appointed master, and feels as the doctors of the law felt when they stood before our Blessed Lord. But whatever his motive be, this is certain, that just at present the Anglican venerates the Greek Church. Well, and have the Greeks no hymns to Mary? And if they indulge profusely in the use of such hymns, and in the ardent expressions of devotion to our Lady, whence have they these ideas? Surely not from us Ultramontanes. The Greek turned his back on Rome 1000 years ago and more. Since then, Cæsar has done for the Greek what he since did for England,—he has established between the Greek Church and Rome a chaos that no man is permitted to pass. Whatever, then, the Greek now has must have come down from old times,—from what the Anglican loves to call pure times. I have said already that the very soul

The Greek Church is a witness.

of Anglicanism at present is the introduction of new doctrines and practices into the Church of England. So that if the Church of England be a vineyard, the chief occupation of the Anglican husbandman at this moment must of necessity be, to graft on her vine branches cut from our vine. And it so happens that one of the very latest ideas adopted by Anglicanism is, to own the infallibility of the Church, at least after a fashion; to say, that when all the branch churches were united, the Church was infallible. This is not old Protestantism, but it is the Anglicanism of this moment. Well, if the Church was infallible when the branches were united, why is devotion to our Lady rejected by Anglicans? Was it not found in the English branch in days of old, and in the Greek branch, as well as at Rome? When Greece and England and Rome were one, there were two doctrines in the Catechism of Christendom—obedience to Christ's Vicar, and devotion to His Mother. What plea can there be for rejecting precisely these two dogmas? It was only when England became a branch cut off that our Lady's name was hushed in this island. It was only when Greece and England both became branches cut off—that is to say, when they ceased to share the Church's infallibility—that they both disowned the authority of St. Peter's See, and said, as another Church had said before them, "We have no king but Cæsar."* Neither modern Ultramontanism, then, nor St. Alphonsus Liguori, is the creator of Catholic devotion to the Blessed Virgin. There is an ancient antiphon, sometimes ascribed

* John xix. 15.

to the great St. Augustine: "Holy Mary, succour the miserable, help the faint-hearted, cheer the mourner, pray for the people, plead for the clergy, intercede for the devout female sex; let all feel thy helping hand who make remembrance of thee." This is not modern Ultramontanism; and if our accusers will permit us to use such a prayer as this, we are content; we care little to add to it any thing modern. Again, there are words attributed to St. Ephrem: "Lady most praiseworthy and excellent, fountain of mercy, abyss of goodness, living water and true vine, life of the whole world; execrable though I be, yet do not thou, since thou art God's Mother, gentle and compassionate, spurn me from thee in my sins." If we may believe all that these ancient words comprise, we ask not for much more.

Critical research does not shake the testimony.

6. "Nay, hold!" cries the accuser; "in this precisely is our complaint, that these prayers are spurious, and are not the prayers of either Ephrem or Augustine. This is our great complaint, that the Roman Church has built up a corrupt devotion to Mary on a foundation of no solidity, on passages of doubtful authenticity, whose authors are not known." What are we to answer, brethren? Surely this much, at least, we may hope, that, even if it were true that Augustine and Ephrem are not the authors of these words, it would not, at the Judgment-seat of our merciful Lord, go hard with us because we were not scholars enough to see that the style of one was not the style of Augustine, or that the ancient Ms. which contains the other must not be assigned to the days of Ephrem; for, after all, what

damage does this error do? If Augustine and Ephrem did not write these old prayers, somebody else did; and no matter who wrote them, these ancient prayers, like the bones of nameless martyrs, are still good witnesses to ancient faith and devotion. Whatever doubt may attach to them, this much is certain, that they are old,—older by many centuries than Tractarianism,—old prayers come down from the time when there were no branch churches cut off,—old prayers of the one infallible Church. They say St. Augustine and St. Ephrem never wrote these prayers. Be it so, for the moment, if the critic will have it so. But still this much is certain, that if St. Augustine and St. Ephrem never wrote these prayers, neither they nor any doctors of the Church in any age, early or late, denounced these prayers to our Lady as the Anglican doctor denounces them. You cannot find even a spurious passage in the works of the Fathers that speaks of our Lady as Anglicanism now speaks. They, the watchmen that never let a novelty escape, nowhere complain that some devotees are introducing a new devotion to Mary foreign to the Gospel. No; but had any doctor of a branch church ventured to impugn devotion to our Lady, assuredly they would not have remained silent. Their Catholic hearts would have been wounded, as ours are; and like one man they would have risen and reëchoed again and again the cry of Ephesus, "Honour to the Mother of God!"*

* Dr. Pusey rejects summarily such passages as I have cited. They are spurious, he says; and he gravely assures us, that St. Bernard and

And here, brethren, let me pause for a while to remark how strangely St. Paul's word comes true—"O man, whosoever thou art that judgest . . . . thou doest the same things which thou judgest."* The sensualist suspects the morality of all around; the ambitious complain of their neighbours' pretensions; the Doctor of Anglicanism objects to devotions built on doubtful foundations. Can it be so? Why, if there be on earth a man bound by the necessity of his position to shrink from all mention of doubtful foundations and questionable title-deeds, such a man, it seems to me, brethren, is the Anglican clergyman. For what is an Anglican clergyman? How describe him so as to distinguish him at once both from the old Protestant minister — whom Anglicans would now gladly bury in oblivion, as a thing obsolete— and from the Roman Catholic priest? I know that a very solemn and sacred and unerring voice seems to pronounce that he is only a simple layman; but this judgment I

nglicanism as no such ure title-eeds.

other later saints were misled into their devotion to Mary by a few spurious passages of this kind. The calm oracular boldness with which Dr. Pusey puts forth assertions of this nature is a phenomenon that requires explanation. Meanwhile, the argument I insist on is this: the eminent Roman Theologians employed to ascertain the mind of the early Church respecting the Immaculate Conception of our Lady have given us, in two thick quarto volumes, prayers to our Lady as ardent as any we use, taken from Oriental liturgies and the writings of Greek Fathers, to the number, I should think, of many thousands. Are all these spurious? Spurious or not, were they not known to the Greeks and Orientals before the great schism? If so, how comes it that there was no Dr. Pusey to denounce them as innovations? Surely the Greeks were not in those days asleep, or averse to controversy. Theological discussion was meat and drink and sleep to them. * Rom. ii. 1.

do not at present urge. I wish rather to shape a definition out of the notions of those more partial to Anglicanism; and I ask what, according to their view, is an Anglican clergyman? Is he not a clergyman of the Established Church, who, with a doubtful title to the priesthood, claims to the full all priestly privileges and aspires to every function of the priesthood? The ancient minister of bygone days was not wont to ambition the higher duties of the priesthood. He used not, even in his dreams, to imagine that he. could offer sacrifice. He did not pretend that he had power to absolve a sinner. It did not enter his mind that he could really change bread into the Body of our Lord. He could pray, and he could preach; with this he was content, and so were his people. His title to exercise his functions was the same as the title of his Anglican successor; but if his title to the priesthood was doubtful, his use of its powers was very modest. Between his aspirings and those of the Anglican there is a marked difference. On the other hand, the Roman Catholic priest in this is like the Anglican, that he too aspires to the very height of the Divine powers of the priesthood. In the name of Christ Jesus he looses and he binds. In the name of Christ Jesus he stands at the altar and consecrates. But he widely differs from the Anglican in this one point, that he never will raise his hand to absolve, never will dare to ascend the steps of the altar to celebrate the mysteries, until his title to the priesthood and all its prerogatives is quite secure. A conscientious Catholic priest would beg his bread for life, or starve for want of

bread, rather than once be guilty of the sacrilege of usurping priestly power without having secure and certain title-deeds; and, docile as the Catholic people are, yet were a Catholic congregation to discover that the pastor appointed to minister to them and to their families was a man whose consecration could not be proved, whose ordination papers were open to grave suspicion, that congregation would never rest till this scandal were removed from the midst of them. And who would blame the agitation?

I say then, brethren, that when an Anglican clergyman, whose priesthood is a tottering structure erected on foundations eminently, preëminently insecure; whose whole career is, to say the least, made up of things doubtful, —a doubtful ordination by a questionable bishop, doubtful jurisdiction, doubtful absolutions, and consecrations most painfully full of uncertainty,—with regard to whom there is nothing certain but his separation from unity and his antagonism to the Vicar of Christ Jesus,—when a clergyman thus constituted stands forward to denounce devotion to the Blessed Mother of God because it is based on an uncertain groundwork, to say the very least, he is not kind to himself.

7. But still, brethren, there are other counts against us. The accuser softens towards us and sighs for union; but contends with feeling that our devotion to Mary, in its present form, is a necessary apple of discord, a barrier for ever. "If," he says, "you would limit yourselves to the moderate teachings of the Church, peace might come back, the wall of separation might be beaten down, the Thirty-

f) Devotion to Mary is fully sanctioned by the Church;

nine Articles and the definitions of Trent might be blended into a harmonious whole, "the calf and the lion and the sheep might abide together, and a child might lead them."* And this charge too, brethren, we must be prepared to meet. And can we not meet it? Should we fear to say to our Blessed Saviour, "O Lord, Searcher of hearts, is it true? Did we ever outstrip the teachings of Thy Church in our devotion to thy Blessed Mother? Oftentimes, as we remember, we were warned by the Shepherd to honour her more; but never were we chidden for honouring her too much." No, brethren; it never can be pretended that our devotion to the Blessed Virgin is in the Church, but not of the Church. No man can say that we are a body of active Tractarians, a band of pious conspirators in league to draw on our Bishops into the use of the Rosary. Our Bishops in this point are eminently our teachers. It is not one exceptional colonial bishop, eccentric in his views, but the whole Episcopate—and foremost, he who stands in St. Peter's place, the Vicar of Christ—who call on us to put our hope in the Mother of God; and the rule they lay down to regulate our devotion to our Lady is, with proportion, something akin to the rule they give us to guide our devotion to the most Blessed Sacrament:

"Quantum potes, tantum aude,
Quia major omni laude,
Nec laudare sufficis."

"Praise her, love her all you can;
For never shall the heart of man
Love her as her Son has loved."

* Isaias xi. 6.

No, brethren, fear not; it is not with us that Anglicanism has to adjust its quarrel—it is with the Church. We have received all that we believe and practise to the honour of the Mother of God.

And here, brethren, take rest a little while, as a traveller does upon some rising ground, that he may feast his eye and cheer himself with the lovely landscape, or the murmur of a stream, or the song of the birds; for is it not a lovelier sight than any landscape that mild aspect of our Lord when we say to Him, "Thy Church taught me"? Is there not a most sweet and cheering music in those words, "It was Thy Church, O Lord; I heard Thy Church"? Need the accused man falter when he utters that plea? I know, brethren, that our accusers draw a line between Church and Church. They say that if it were the Church of the first century or third century that were teaching them, they would hear. It is a safe promise, brethren; for the Church of those days is gone by. But who would canonise a man for obedience to dead Bishops? What our Saviour came to teach was obedience to the living man, whoever he be, that for the hour holds the place of God. "This we knew, O Lord, for we were taught, and therefore we took good care to hear the voice of the living Church of our own century. And when men told us this fable, that Thy Church was corrupted and was no longer a sure guide, we marvelled much, and asked ourselves which of Thy words concerning Thy Church justified this daring calumny." In fact, brethren, what is there in Holy Writ or the ancient Fathers to warrant

y the living
hurch of to-
ay.

this degradation of the present Church? These lovers of antiquity, do they find any words in antiquity that tell them not to hear the Church of the century in which they live? Do they find even some doubtful passages to warrant them in believing that in their own times there would be no one infallible Church, but only several fallible branch churches? If they will accept nothing that is not ancient, why do they not find something in ancient lore to justify schism, and obedience to Cæsar instead of obedience to Peter? "They say that Thy Holy Spirit is withdrawn, O Lord. But surely if our sins called for a chastisement, it would have been more merciful to withdraw from earth Thy Body and Thy Blood, which feed sanctity, than to withdraw the guidance of Thy Holy Spirit, without which there can be no certainty, no truth, no faith, which is the beginning of sanctity. As the everlasting Sacrifice, then, is still on earth, as Thou art still in the tabernacle, who shall persuade me that Thou hast withdrawn Thy Holy Spirit?" And, again, brethren, our accusers do not say that God has taken away from man the power of forgiving sins; but of what use to man is sacramental absolution, if certainty, if truth, if faith are gone, which must prepare the soul for sacramental grace? And if the guidance of the Holy Ghost has been taken away, where is faith? We utterly, then, reject this fable, that Christ is not now with His Church. He never Himself spoke that word. His enemy uttered this blasphemy. Christ called His Church His bride. Did He espouse His bride only for one century or two—only till such time as Cæsar should divorce

by the Church that possesses the Body and Blood of our Lord,

and the power of absolving;

the Church of the promises.

them? Christ pledged Himself to remain with the Church till the consummation of the world. Were all things consummated in the world at the end of the first four centuries? Christ said His Church should be built on Peter. Because, then, an island is torn away from Peter by Cæsar's order, is Peter annihilated, and does the promise perish? Or is it only the severed island that suffers—the branch cut off that withers? Christ said that the gates of hell should never prevail against the Church on the rock—the Church of Peter. Did He say any thing like this of the Established Church of England? Are Rome and England really only two sisters with equal rights—only two branch churches equally unsound? or is the Roman Catholic Church the Church on the rock, the Church of Christ, the Church of all the promises? And is the Church of England a house built by Cæsar on the sands, against which winds and waves can prevail—a house that can be shaken—a house that can totter—a house that can fall—a house that can lie in ruins—a house that can perish so as to leave no discoverable trace, even as the gigantic fabric of Arianism has perished? The Holy Roman Catholic and Apostolic Church then, brethren, has taught us the devotion to Mary which is in our hearts. This is our plea and our apology.

"Through Mary to Jesus." St. Bernard.

8. And now, brethren, are you weary of justifying yourselves? Be not weary yet, for the accuser does not easily tire of accusing. To the blessed St. John it was revealed that the accusing spirit accused the brethren by day and by night. He is not silenced, then, yet. When we say that

the Church of Christ taught us, he answers, "So did man in Paradise, when he sinned, lay the blame on his Creator: 'It was the woman whom Thou gavest to me that caused my sin.'" "The Romanist," they say, "makes Christ accountable for the Church, and the Church accountable for his own corruptions. Christ is held accountable for the worship of the Virgin; whereas it is well known and quite evident the Marian system withdraws men, and must withdraw them, from an undivided homage to Christ." So they say, brethren. And at once we answer by asking, Is it true that we who honour Mary love Christ Jesus less than you who honour her not? And again: since the Madonna was cast down in the Church of England, is Christ Jesus loved more than the old Saxon saints loved Him? Or again: since the Established Church of England ceased to teach devotion to Mary, or rather began to forbid it, has Anglicanism given birth to a race of saints who loved Christ Jesus more than Theresa, and Xavier, and Ignatius, of modern Spain—more than St. Philip, St. Charles, St. Aloysius, and St. Magdalen de Pazzi, of modern Italy—more than Francis of Sales, and Vincent of Paul, and Mary Marguerite, of modern France — more than the uncounted martyrs of the Roman Catholic Church, in these latter days, in China, in Japan, and on the seas? Say, since Cæsar made the Rosary high-treason, and the state clergy said Amen to Cæsar's decree, have Anglicans become more conformable to the image of Christ Jesus than the rest of men? Has love burned in their hearts before their altar?—or was the altar pulled down on the

same day as the Madonna, and has love died out since the altar and the tabernacle were taken away, and the image of Mary banished from England? Again, has heavenly purity and virginity flourished here more than before, or did the cloister crumble to ruins from the day when the Mother of God was degraded and the holy tabernacle swept away? And has the spirit of chastening penance grown in England since devotion to Mary was exterminated by act of parliament—or is the fast in memory of the Passion forgotten as much as the name of Mary is forgotten? And once more: since the day on which it was made a crime in England to honour the Mother of God, have men become more tender, more compassionate to the poor, or did the burning brand for the poor man's cheek come into use when the memory of the Mother of God was banished? And to say one word of these our own days, is it true that the factory-child of England, who certainly is never guilty of the crime of honouring Mary, loves our Saviour more than the convent-child of Ireland, who morning, noon, and night, when the bell reminds men of the Word made man, kneels to say 'Hail, Mary'? Is it true that the peasants of England, in their mines or in their fields, know more of Christ Jesus and love Him better than the peasants of Spain and Italy, who come from their work with their beads in their hands, thinking of His crown of thorns, of His scourging and His crucifixion? And to mount a little higher, is it true that the clergy of England, the consecrated class of England, can point to a larger number of hearts burning with love of

Has England loved our Blessed Saviour more since it loved His Holy Mother less?

our Blessed Lord than the Roman Catholic Church sees in her cloisters and her sanctuaries? Seriously, if the Anglican wished to be a friend to me, would he tell me that by leaving Rome, with its devotion to Mary, and going over to Anglicanism, where there is no devotion to Mary, I should grow in grace and find myself nearer to my Lord and Saviour? O brethren, if this were so, why in these our days, when, after their long enslavement of three hundred years, some at least of the men of this country are beginning to feel their thraldom,—why do they spontaneously turn their eyes to Rome? Like the Jews after their captivity, they want to find again the long-lost hallowed fire. Why do they look to Rome for it? If devotion to Mary is so hostile to the love of Jesus, why does the zealous Anglican, as soon as ever he desires to see the love of Jesus revive in his own heart and in the hearts of his friends, run to the Catholic prayer-book, which has retained the hymn to Mary, to find there the language of love, for which he looks in vain in the lifeless pages of that prayer-book where her name is not found—that cold prayer-book of formalities, which so well befits a State Church, a Church of workhouses and poor-rates, a Church without an altar? Seriously, does the conscientious Anglican advise us to give up Roman devotion to Mary, and take in exchange the good things of Anglicanism? No, brethren, I think not; I think that many a thoughtful Anglican would give to his best friend the answer that a minister of the Church of England, in the early days of its existence, did give to a troubled con-

science. "Since you ask me," he said, "to speak the truth, I will tell you that this new religion is the one to get a living in, but the old religion is the one to die in."

"Search the Scriptures."

9. Brethren, you must bear with me yet awhile. I have set before you many good arguments that justify the homage we pay to our Blessed Lady; but I count them all as almost unavailing, so long as I see in the background undisturbed the strong champion of that vast host of men who dislike submission to living authority,—I mean that much-abused word of our Saviour, "Search the Scriptures."* Protestants of all centuries, Protestants of every shade and degree, Protestants of every country, call them by what name you will,—Scribes and Pharisees in Judea; Nestorians or Eutychians in the East; Albigenses in France; Anglicans, or the branch church, in England—all have this in common, that they dislike a living master. The motto of them all is, "I will not serve;"† and they all use the dead letter as helmet, shield, and sword, in their war against living authority. They do search the Scriptures; but not wisely, as our Master wished. They spend their lives in searching, and disputing about Christ Jesus and His doctrine, and never learn the one great lesson He came on earth to teach mankind, which is contained in those few words, "He was subject"‡—He was "obedient unto death."§

"Not in the letter, but in the spirit" (2 Cor. iii. 6).

The Protestants of Judea asked our Lord for a sign. He worked a miracle. They protested that this sign was

* John v. 39.
† Jeremias ii. 20.
‡ Luke ii. 5.
§ Philip. ii. 8.

not convincing, and asked for a sign from heaven. He showed a sign from heaven. Again they protested, that Beelzebub helped to work this wonder. Our Saviour, the Eternal Truth, proved to conviction that between Himself and Beelzebub there could be no compact; that light and darkness could not work together. Were they silenced? No; they protested still, saying, "We are the disciples of Moses."* So runs on this never-ending protest. Accordingly, brethren, we must be patient; and why should we not reverently search the Scriptures, to see how far in our devotion to Mary they are for or against us: whether Scripture warrants our belief and practice, as the Church does, or denounces and condemns it, as the accuser does? Yes, brethren, let us search the Scriptures, most earnestly, and never-tiring; for God in His mercy has stored up there untold treasures, which are figured in the gold and silver of the mines, in the pearls and diamonds hidden in the depths of the ocean. Let us search the Scriptures; but before we begin to search, let us have the grace to remember that we are forewarned that a man may have eyes and see not, ears and hear not; that many a man looked on while the Son of God worked wonders, and yet in his soul saw nothing, and was a listener while our Lord was speaking words powerful enough to create a world, and yet in his soul heard nothing at all. Let us search the Scriptures; but let us not forget that even the little-instructed stranger, when the holy page fell in his way, and he was asked the question, "Thinkest thou that thou understandest

* John ix. 28.

"How can I unless some one show me?"

what thou readest?" had the good sense to answer, "How can I unless some one show me?"* Scholar, Doctor, Scripturist!—whoever you be—if separated by schism from the Church in which the Holy Spirit dwells and teaches, thinkest thou that thou understandest what thou teachest? Is not the sense of Scripture one of the peculiar properties of the Church, as much as the power of the keys and the power to consecrate? Can Bible dictionaries or German critics reveal to you the hidden manna contained in Scripture and reserved for those who conquer,—who conquer by obeying? Search the Scriptures; yes, surely, for every word that cometh from the mouth of God deserves man's eternal meditation; but if you think to read the inspired pages without the guide that God has given you, your eyes will do for you what they do as you gaze on the consecrated Host—they will mislead you. You will read in the Book of Kings, for instance, the words, "I will be to him a Father, and he will be to Me a son;"† and your critic's eye will tell you for certain that these words were said of Solomon, and him alone. The context, you will say, proves it beyond dispute. And if Pius IX. or St. Alphonsus were to contend that these same words were spoken with reference to Christ Jesus, the scripturist of the branch church would cry out that Rome brings in unwarrantable corruptions—clearly, since the words immediately preceding, "He shall build a house to My name," designate unmistakably Solomon and no other; and the words that follow immediately, "if he commit iniquity, I

* Acts viii. 30. † 2 Kings vii. 14.

will correct him," make it a blasphemy to apply the text to the Son of God. So the critic might have argued, had not St. Paul, under the guidance of that Holy Spirit that points out to the Church the hidden truths, disclosed to us in his letter to the Hebrews, that the words, "I shall be to Him a Father, He shall be to Me a Son," were written concerning the Messias to come.*

Standing, then, within the pale of that Church which the Holy Spirit overshadows, carrying within us those instincts and those habits of mind which Baptism engenders, and the Church with her other Sacraments fosters,—not walking alone (for woe to him that is alone!), but with Christ's bride to guide our footsteps,—we do set ourselves to explore the sacred mines of Holy Scripture, to see what thoughts concerning Mary lie treasured there—whether the thoughts that Holy Church has given us, or the thoughts of the accuser.

10. And first of all, brethren, I read concerning her, that "she brought forth her first-born Son,"† Jesus—of whom, in after years, the voice of man, the voice of nature, and the voice of God testified that "This Man was truly the Son of God!"‡ "The Word was made flesh"§ in her virginal womb, and therefore she is the Mother of God as truly and really as any other woman is the mother of the child she bears. This being so, brethren, what follows? Why, trained as we have been in the bosom of the Church, believing Mary's maternity to be a reality, not a mere name

Mary, Mother of God.

* Hebrews i. 5.
† Luke ii. 7.
‡ Matthew xxvii. 54.
§ John i. 14.

—even as we believe the body of our Lord in the Eucharist to be a reality, not a mere word—we find it simply impossible not also to believe that Christ, when He made her His Mother, decreed for her every grace and privilege and prerogative that He could give her. If, then, the holy and infallible Church were to teach me that it was an impossibility that Christ should give to His Mother the power of helping man by her prayers, I should of course bow my head to the decision, and accept the mystery as I accept the dogma of the Trinity, without understanding it. But if, on the other hand, the Church of Christ allows me to follow on this point the instincts of my faith—and not only allows me, but in the name of God commands me, to follow the teaching of this inward guide—then I will go on believing as I have believed, that the Son of God has given to His Mother every grace and gift that the best of sons can give to the worthiest of mothers. And in order to lift up my mind to becoming thoughts on this matter, I observe the action of filial affection wherever it exists in life, or wherever it is described in fiction or in history; and still as I contemplate I always say, This is not the reality; "eye hath not seen," the heart of man has never on earth conceived, the great things which the Son of God has done for His Mother, and how He has put forth the might of His right arm to make her in every way the worthy Mother of God. And therefore, when I hear Bethsabee say to Solomon, "My son, I desire one small petition—do not put me to confusion;"* and Solomon answer, "Mother, ask; I may

* 3 Kings ii. 20.

not turn away thy face,"—I say at once this is a lovely image—but O, how poor an image—of the reality, when Mary stands, holy and immaculate, and His Mother, before the face of her Son, and utters her petition, and He, her Son and her God, makes answer, "My Mother, ask; I must not turn away thy face"! and certainly, if Lucifer, who does mount up at times and stand among the children of God, could ever see Christ Jesus reject the pleading of His Mother's countenance, that moment would be a triumph for Lucifer, and great confusion for Holy Mary. But the thought is simply a horrible impossibility. And so again, when I see the great eastern monarch Assuerus spring from his throne and run to Esther, and say to her, "What is thy petition, Esther? The law is not for thee,"* I say to myself, it is a graceful type; but O, what a mere shadow of the great reality—of the ineffable and infinite contentment with which our Blessed Saviour says to Mary, "What is thy petition? The law is not for thee"! No, the law is not for her, brethren, as Mother of God—so the faith that is in me tells me. She ought to have a privilege that goes beyond laws and the ordinary rules of Divine providence: she ought to be indulged as a mother. And if Christ said even to His Apostles, "Amen, amen, I say to you, He that believeth in Me, the works that I do he also shall do; and greater things than these shall he do;"† what will He say to His Mother? This then, I say, is the conclusion that my reason, under the guidance of the Holy Church, would come to—that, being Mother of God,

* Esther v. 3, and xv. 13. † John xiv. 12.

she ought to have every prerogative that can be hers; and among the rest, the great prerogative of helping man to win his place in heaven near his God.

Hail, full of grace!

11. Yes, I should expect to find that some revelation had been made to her, or to others concerning her, that would prove that God had given her every good gift. I search then, brethren, and do I not find my conclusions borne out? Was not such a word revealed to her? We know it—for happily the word that was whispered in her ear has since been preached to us all from the house-top—we know it, that when the fulness of time was come—in the hour when the eternal Son of God was to become her Son, the ever-blessed Trinity—Father and Son and Holy Ghost—sent to her a messenger to say to her in Their name, "*Hail, full of grace!*" And this word, brethren, too, like every word that cometh from the mouth of God, we believe to be a great reality; and this word that comes from heaven to Mary we accept most reverently; and, under the teaching of the Holy Church and of the Divine Spirit, we study it, and we see that it ratifies and sets a seal on our conclusions, and declares to us that God has given to His Blessed Mother every grace befitting her. Therefore, if man tells me that she cannot help the poor sinner to his salvation, I utterly reject the fable, because, were this true, there would be one great grace withheld from the Mother of God; for we know that it is, of all divine works, the most divine to work along with God our Saviour for the salvation of lost man. And if the adversary contend that there is no warrant in Scripture for say-

ing that Mary can hear the sinner's prayer, I answer, Yes, there is warrant and proof, "heaped up and pressed down, and flowing over;" for it is written that the angel of God shall sound his trumpet in heaven, and that the sound shall reach the dead bones even of the coldest atheist, wherever they lie buried, either in the bosom of the earth or the depths of the sea. If God, then, has power to make a voice from heaven heard by the buried dead here below, so has He power to make the cry of the banished child of Eve reach the Mother of God in heaven; and if He has the power to do it, He does it, for she is His Mother, and full of every grace.

12. But, brethren, for a moment, if it be possible, cast yourselves into a hideous dream, a terrible nightmare, and fancy, if you can, that the Anglican is uttering a truth—that Mary does not hear us nor help us; that we have been deluded. In this case, what are we to say for ourselves? I search and seek, brethren, and I find our Lord saying by the mouth of His prophet to His people, "Come and accuse Me;"* and most humbly and reverently I do dare to speak to my Saviour, even as Abraham was bold enough to plead with his Creator; and I say, "O Lord, ever-blessed, Thou knowest all things. Nothing was ever hidden from Thy eyes. The future, as the present and the past, is always before Thee; and the night and the secrets of our hearts are all as the noonday in Thy sight. If then, O Lord, Thy Church and her Saints have gone astray, and have unduly and unwarrantably and wickedly exalted Thy

* Isaias i. 16.

Mother, and put their trust in her, then, O Saviour, merciful and compassionate, why didst Thou—knowing all that was to come, and knowing of what we are made and the leaning of our hearts—why didst Thou decree that a woman should be Thy Mother, and full of grace?" Suppose for an instant, brethren, that this fearful saying of Anglicanism were true, and that we were honouring unduly the Mother of God, how easily might our Blessed Saviour have prevented all this inordinate homage! for might He not in His wisdom have planned and contrived an Incarnation more according to the mind and heart of Anglicanism, in which there should have been no Blessed Virgin? Or might He not easily have taken care to say some word or to do some act that might make it clear to all those His faithful servants that were to come, that the Doctors of Anglicanism teach a truth when they tell us it is wicked to pray to the Mother of God, and put our hope in her? This, my brethren, is the argument we urge, and urge with great force, in establishing from Scripture the doctrine of the Blessed Eucharist. We contend that it would have been easy for our Lord, when He saw that the Jews were scandalised at the words He had uttered, "My Flesh is meat indeed, and My Blood is drink indeed,"* to remove the scandal and keep them all near Him, by uttering one word of Calvinism; and because He did not utter that word, but added weight and strength to His former solemn announcement, we believe and contend that He meant His words to convey to the mind of man their full

* John vi. 56.

force. If our most merciful Saviour could save us from impiety by a warning, and does not give that warning, how could He fearlessly challenge us and say, "What is there that I ought to do more for My vineyard, and have not done it?" Well, brethren, search the Holy Scriptures, and say do you find any thing written to warn you that you must not lay too much stress on Mary's maternity; that you must not argue from the conduct of Solomon or Assuerus, or any man on earth; that you must not expect to see her have privileges above measure?

I know of no such word; but I do know of words that are written which, to those who have eyes to see and ears to hear, do reveal very clearly that it is the will of the Divine Son to honour His Mother and give her a mother's happy privileges in season and out of season, and beyond law and measure, and make her in every sense the Mother of God, and full of grace. For is it not written that at His very first coming upon earth, while yet His long term of silent preparation was not even properly begun,—while He was still unseen by human eye, an unborn infant in His Mother's womb,—He worked a wonder of mercy, the first of His miracles of mercy, a miracle out of time, a miracle that went beyond all expectation, a miracle that set aside the decree that reigned supreme since the days of Adam's fall, a miracle that outstripped the laws of nature,—giving supernatural life to John the Baptist before he was ushered into the natural life of man? Well, brethren, this stupendous prodigy of power and mercy was just such a wonder as an initiated soul or an angel might in a holy dream

"Behold, as soon as the voic of thy salutation sounded i my ears, the in fant in my womb leaped for joy" (Luk i. 44).

imagine the Son of God to work to please His Mother, to do honour to His Mother, that thus she might be seen to do greater things than He would do when she was not there. And so it is written—for the inspired chronicler was commanded by the Holy Spirit to leave it on record, that every man in after ages might read it and know it—that the sanctification of John the Baptist, out of all time and natural order, was wrought at the sound of the voice of the Mother of God. How easily might the Holy Spirit have suppressed that line of Scripture had the all-seeing God been anxious to preserve His much-loved bride the Church from what the accuser calls our Mariolatry, our Marian system, our wicked worship of Mary! This, then, Jesus did in His infancy; this was the first-fruits of His mission on earth. Afterwards He grew in grace and wisdom; but did He afterwards in any way modify what He had done? Did He do any thing to correct the impression sure to be made on futurity by that first act of His infancy? No, brethren; but, on the contrary; as in the case of the Blessed Eucharist, when He saw that His words scandalised, He repeated them, and added that solemn word, "Amen, I say to you, Except you eat the flesh of the Son of Man, you shall not have life in you,"* to give them firmness and an everlasting stability; so when He came to His maturity He said Amen to what He had done in infancy, to make men know and understand that Mary is in very truth Mother of God, and full of grace. For when once more in manhood He was beginning life—now, again,

* John vi. 54.

not by chance, but acting on a premeditated and eternal plan—He assigned His first miracle, the first-fruits of His harvest of mercies, to His Mother; and not only that, but to make His design more evident, before He worked the wonder of Canaan He uttered a word—prepared also from all eternity,—He said to her—and at the same time decreed that what He whispered to her should be preached from the house-tops—He said to her, "My hour is not yet come."* The man who dwells among the tombs, the man who has not the life and light of Holy Church within him, the man who has eyes that see not, reads these words, and yields to the foul imagination that Jesus was reproving Mary. But the child of the Church of Christ Jesus, the child whom the Holy Spirit teaches, reads, and understands that Christ wished all men to know that the law is not for His Mother; that whether His time be come or not, when she asks, He never will turn her face away. How easy a thing, brethren, I say again, would it have been for the Holy Spirit to secure that the Evangelist should not pen that line, so sure to influence the expectations of after ages, if, as the accuser tells us, to expect great help from Blessed Mary is a folly and a crime!

"The Mother of Jesus saith to Him, They have no wine" (John ii. 3).

13. And now, brethren, let us search once more and see what we can find in Holy Scripture to lay up in our hearts concerning the handmaid of the Lord, the ever-blessed Mother of God.

The messenger of the Most Holy Trinity had said to her, "Hail, full of grace!" and now he said, "The Lord

"The Lord is with thee."

* John ii. 4.

is with thee." And, brethren, be sure of it, while you ponder on those words, angels of heaven would sing around you, if you would hear them, "Sursum corda." High, and higher still—as high as your hearts and thoughts can soar —let them ascend, to conceive and picture the perfect companionship between the Son and the Mother that is implied in these words, "The Lord is with thee." Once and for ever He gives Himself to thee. "The Lord is with thee," and shall be with thee in every way in which He can be with thee. He will live in thy memory; for thou never shalt forget thy Son, thy God. He will be with thy understanding, giving light; and thy God shall be thy everlasting study. He will be with thy heart, setting it on fire; and He shall be its portion for ever. He will be with thy will, giving it power and an undying firmness to persevere till all is consummated, for thou art the handmaid of thy God for ever and for ever. The Lord is with thee, Mother of God, and thou art with Him; and because He is with thee thou seest Him and knowest Him "as He is in Himself," and therefore art thou made most like to Him (1 John iii. 2), the most perfect created copy of the uncreated loveliness of thy Son. His image is stamped on thee every where. The features of thy Child, Blessed Mother, are like to thine, and so are all the features of thy soul and every movement of thy body copies of His perfection. Thy destiny, Holy Mary, is to be in all things conformed to thy Divine Son. Henceforth you shall be two in one: God has joined the Mother and the Son; why should man vainly endeavour to separate? As in the

early ages of the Church, the watchmen of its sheepfold knew at once when the destroyer was near whenever they heard a false teacher trying to separate or divide Christ Jesus into two persons, so now we may be sure of it, that any word that goes to separate Jesus and Mary comes from the father of lies and nowhere else. For observe the prophecy, brethren; it is only a little enlargement or development of the archangel's words. He had said to Mary, "The Lord is with thee." A few months later she stood in the Temple with her Child in her arms, and the just man that had so long waited for her to come with that Child, took Jesus from her arms and spoke the prophetic words that the Holy Ghost commanded him to utter, and said, "This Child is set for the resurrection and the fall of many, and for a sign which shall be contradicted."* This word he spoke of the Child; and he added to the Mother, "and thy own soul the sword shall pierce, that out of many hearts thoughts may be revealed." Weigh each word well, brethren, and wonder how men can search the Scriptures and after reading these prophetic warnings strive still to separate Jesus and Mary. Does not the Anglican, who asks us for peace-sake to give up our devotion to our Lady, hear what the old man Simeon says? It cannot be; for it is decreed—it is foretold by God, that the Son and the Mother shall, till all is consummated on earth, be set up side by side, sharing sorrow together as they share all else, and making conjointly a spectacle that all men must gaze upon, and, while they

"Thy own soul a sword shall pierce, that out of many hearts thoughts may be revealed" (Luke ii. 35).

* Luke ii. 34.

gaze, reveal the thought of their hearts that is to determine their doom. Brethren, some men have said that just when death is coming the whole scene of past life is spread out before the mind of the dying Christian, and that if he can gaze without despairing he is saved; but if he despairs while he gazes, that is the last and final sin that shall not be remitted. Whether this be true or not, we know not. No traveller comes back to tell us the secrets of the last hour of time and the first of eternity. But this we do know, that, according to God's plan, the Son of God and His Mother have both their place, side by side, in the Incarnation, and man must gaze on both; and the thought that he gives forth from his heart must seal his doom. Cæsar has willed it otherwise, I know. This state-religion of England has an incarnation without a Mother of God. But this is not God's decree, for His angel said the word, "The Lord is with thee;" and to the end the Mother and the Son shall not be parted, but be found side by side, as they were when Simeon spoke the prophecy.

14. The Lord is with thee, Mary; and this word, brethren, is the answer to one of those wily war-cries which the enemy of God and men has taken care to render popular. You have all heard it; you have heard men say flippantly, triumphantly, as if they were speaking a dogma, that there is but one Mediator; and therefore, they argue, if Jesus is the Mediator, Mary cannot be a mediator; and hereupon, brethren, they are wont to turn pale and grow scandalised, and rend their garments, because they

find in our Roman books that she is called the Mediatrix. Yes, brethren, it is true she is called, and she is, the Mediatrix; and if a man will but listen to Gabriel's words, "The Lord is with thee," he will understand that, of necessity, if Jesus is a Mediator, Mary must be a mediator. There! the accusers cry, "What more do we need of witnesses? You have heard the blasphemy,"—so clearly against the word of God—which teaches that Christ is the one Mediator! Well, brethren, let us at once and for ever understand this mystery. Christ is the one Mediator; but He is also the one Messias, the one Victim, the one Priest, the one who is alone good, the one only God. But if He be the one Messias, does He lock up in Himself the commission to teach; or does He say to man, "As My Father sent Me, I send you"?* Again, He is the one Victim; but if He be so, does He insist on carrying His cross alone, and dying alone—or does He share Mount Calvary with man? And, to utter one name in particular, did Mary, or did she not, share the Passion of her Son? Was there a wound on the Body of her Son that could not be found on her heart—was there one of His sorrows that was not reproduced in her? Again, brethren, Jesus is the one holy Priest. Then has He, as He well might have done, jealously reserved for Himself all the priesthood? or did He say to man, "Whose sins you forgive, they are forgiven"?† And on that night of ineffable mercies, when by a word He brought into being a new creation—His own Divine Eucharistic life, with all its prodigies—did He, as He so justly might have

* John xx. 21. † John xx. 23.

done, reserve for Himself alone that act of a God, and proclaim that man should die the death if he dared to stretch out his hand to usurp the office that was His? No, brethren; for He said to the fishermen, "You are My friends."* He said, "All things whatsoever I have heard from My Father I have made known to you." He said, "Do ye this in memory of Me."

Again, brethren, Jesus is the one alone who is good and holy and most high,—"Tu solus altissimus, Tu solus sanctus." Well, and does He stand isolated and alone, and never share His sanctity? or does He say to man, "I am the Vine, you the branches;† we are one, the life within us is one; the fruit I bear, the same you bear; My sanctity is yours"? Lastly, Jesus is the one God. And does He keep to Himself His divinity; or is that true which the children of the Church believe, that He became man that man might become a sharer of God's divinity? The adversaries forget themselves: their ideal of the Incarnation is a monstrous disfigurement, and their idea of God is equally false and calumnious. They picture to us a God standing alone, as if He were selfish; but our Blessed Lord rejects the slander, and proclaims that "God is charity,"‡ and must therefore give whatever He can give. And in fact, did He not say to man, "All I have is thine"?§ If, then, out of necessity, constrained by His charity, He must share all with men,—how if He be the one Mediator? shall not His Mother, then, be also a mediator? Is this one office a

* John xv. 14, 15. Luke xxii. 19.
† John xv. 5.
‡ 1 John iv. 8.
§ Luke xv. 31.

thing He will not share? If she were not the Mediatrix, it would be a clear proof that He is no mediator, since all that is His is hers. I say then, brethren, that most certainly if Christ be living in heaven to intercede for man, it follows that Blessed Mary must be also living in heaven to intercede for man. Every time the heart of the Son of God pleads for mercy, Mary's heart must beat and throb with the self-same yearnings for mercy. Every time the eye of Christ Jesus is raised to appeal for mercy, the eye of His Blessed Mother must reflect that tender petition for mercy. Every time the lips of Jesus say, "Father, forgive them," the lips of Mary must of necessity echo the very same words, "Father, forgive them;" for they are "two in one." The angel said it, "The Lord is with thee," Mary.

Brethren, let me once more say it. Our Blessed Saviour asks us, "What could I do more for My vineyard, and have not done it?" Surely, brethren, we might answer, that if the long line of our Catholic saints have been misled, and have misled us into an unholy devotion to Mary, the evil could easily have been prevented if some warning word had been left on the sacred pages, to teach us not to believe that the Lord is with her so perfectly; and if Simeon had not been permitted to speak that prophecy, that both shall stand side by side, that out of many hearts thoughts may be revealed. For these words teach us what is going on in the bosom of the Church and out of it; they tell us that the Catholic heart must reverence and love both Mother and Son; that the withered heart, separated from life and unity, shall cavil either against the Son, or the

Mother, or both, according as the father of all heresy inspires.

"Blessed art thou amongst women."

15. And there yet remains, my brethren, for us to think upon one other word that Gabriel spoke to Mary. He had said, "Hail, full of grace!" he had said, "The Lord is with thee;" he now said, "Blessed art thou amongst women." Blessed amongst women! Why blessed? how blessed? Have we not it prophesied that the sword is to pierce her soul? Wherein is she blessed, brethren? Men would not call her blessed. It is not flesh and blood that teaches us to call her blessed; it is the decree of God that makes all generations call her blessed. It is a revelation to us that this Mother of Sorrows is the blessed among women. See her, brethren, on the day in which she came into possession of her birthright; for it was her great birthright to share the sorrows of her Son. He came to suffer, and all that was His was hers. See her, then, where she stands watching till all is consummated on Calvary. Now, I pray you, ask mankind if she ought to be there,—if by all law the Mother ought not to be taken away perforce while her Son undergoes His torments. And let man search the Scriptures on this point too, and what does he find? Why, brethren, that the tender providence of our Creator, in the book of Deuteronomy, lays down this law for man: "If thou find as thou walkest on the way a bird's nest on the tree or the ground, and the dam with her young, thou shalt not take her with her young, but shalt let her go, keeping the young which thou hast caught."* How then,

* Deuter. xxii. 6.

brethren, does our Creator, who cares for the sparrow and the raven, forget to watch over the blessed amongst women, the Mother of God? Why are not men commanded to let her go, and not to carry cruelty beyond all bounds, by crucifying the Son in His Mother's sight? Brethren, men cannot give the answer; but the archangel gives it, when he utters that word, "Blessed art thou amongst women." It is because she is the blessed among women that she is to stand on Calvary. For what is Calvary?

Calvary, brethren, is the second Garden of Eden. The hour is come. There is to be a new heaven and a new earth—a new creation; but first the great battle must be fought that is to end the story of the old world. Calvary is the new Garden of Eden; and because there was a tree of life and knowledge in Eden, there must be a tree of life and knowledge on Calvary. And the second Adam, you see, is here; and He falls asleep in this Paradise, because the first Adam slept in Eden. And mark as He sleeps in death, the men who have no mercy come with their bludgeons to break the bones of the three malefactors; and they strike their heavy blows unsparingly, and break the knees of the one on the right and the one on the left; but they never lift their hands to break the knees of Jesus. What is the reason, brethren? Is it that they grow pitiful, or reverence the lifeless corpse? Alas, on that day there was no pity, no reverence for the Man of Sorrows. No; but there was a decree from the beginning that they should not break His bones, but must open His side, because He was the Adam of the new world, and the side of the first Adam had been opened.

Well, brethren, if Calvary be Eden, and if the tree be there, and if the Adam be there, and if Lucifer and his princes of darkness be there—what of the woman? If the scene of Paradise is to be reproduced—if the struggle is to be fought again—if the watchful eye of our Creator observed narrowly every detail of Lucifer's triumph in Paradise, and spoke the word that all should be made good, that not an iota of Lucifer's work should be left unrepaired —where, I ask, is the woman? The woman fought in the first battle. It was the woman who did fight with Lucifer. The serpent never tempted the man. Satan never overcame the man. Lucifer fought with the woman and conquered her: the woman then became the ally of Lucifer, and it was the woman that prevailed over Adam. Where, then, I ask, on the new battle-ground, is the woman? What is her part? If a woman do not share in the fight, then there is one great gap unfilled. If a woman do not conquer Lucifer, there is one great deficiency on the second battle-day. If, since a woman prevailed over man by the power of her persuasive tongue, and by prevailing worked the ruin of mankind, a woman be not now seen in the new creation to prevail over the second Adam, and to prevail by her pleading and her prayer, and to prevail unto man's salvation, then there is no harmony between the scenes. There is wanting the all-wise economy. All is not made good and new. Study and weigh, brethren, with the light of faith upon you, and you will expect to find somewhere, as you search, a revelation that the woman is to take part in the fight against Satan, and in his overthrow, and that

"Adam was not seduced, but the woman being seduced was in the transgression" (1 Tim. ii. 14)

she is to have a singular and most special privilege of prevailing over the second Adam by her pleading. And do we not find this revelation? Was it not prophesied from the very beginning, in the instant of the fall of man, "I will put an enmity between the woman and the serpent, her seed and thy seed"?* Is it not decreed, from the very instant of that melancholy defeat in Paradise, that Mary shall stand on Calvary beside her Son, and be by His side as long as the battle with Lucifer lasts? Is not this the reason why men cannot let the Mother go, but must have her there to suffer every torment of her Son? And it is precisely because she must be with Jesus to bear the brunt of that battle, that she is the blessed among women. Yes, search the Scriptures; and the more you search with God's light upon you, the more clearly you see Mary stand out as the second Eve. And it is only when you penetrate this idea of her that you can properly read her story. Mark, brethren, an angel had dazzled the first woman, and entirely seduced her heart by telling her she was to be

"I will put enmities between thee and the woman."

Mary is the true Eve.

* Dr. Pusey, in his work, seeks to destroy the force of this prophecy concerning Mary, by asserting that we build our argument on the words, "she shall bruise thy head," which he pronounces to be a false reading. But supposing these words erased altogether, there still remains a clear foretelling that she is to be the Eve of the second warfare, standing beside her Son, bearing with Him the assaults of Lucifer and his adherents, and with Him making war on Lucifer. We can, therefore, do without the disputed words. Still, however, whatever critics may gather from manuscripts, the argument—that as Eve, and not Adam, was the one with whom Satan fought directly, so there ought to be given to the second Eve a special and direct victory over Satan—is a sound one, and gives support to the reading of the Latin Vulgate, "she shall crush," &c., and also to that antiphon of the Church, "thou hast single-handed destroyed all heresies."

great—great as God Himself. This was Satan's assault, and it succeeded. The first Eve fell, and betrayed her God. Now, brethren, this struggle must necessarily come on again; and therefore, when the appointed moment is come, an angel is bidden to say to Mary also that she shall be great—as great and as near to the Most High as creature can be—near as a mother to her son. Gabriel told her all this; and was she dazzled? was her heart seduced? Did she fall away from her God for love of greatness? Never—not for an instant did the eye of her soul even glance at the proffered prize. It was fixed on her God to know His pleasure. The good pleasure of her Creator was her portion. She made her choice; it was that she might be for ever the handmaid of the Lord. In that hour the victory of Lucifer over Eve was undone; and from that hour the second Eve has a right to prevail with the prayers of her lips, the cry of her heart, the pleading of her eye of mercy over the second Adam. This must be henceforth her Mother's privilege; and men must see it and know it, that at her petition and gentle bidding He shall do—for He has so decreed it—greater works of mercy than He otherwise would do alone.

Yes, she is the blessed amongst women. She is the woman long expected—the woman of the second creation. The soul that is severed from the fountain of life sees not these things and wonders why Christ Jesus calls Mary, in His solemn moments, by the name of woman; and, alas, the poisoned mind taints every holy word, and finds death where life ought to be found. The child of

light answers him, and bids him know that Mary's proper and befitting name is "woman," for she is the Eve and the Mother of the living, the Mother of God, and the Mother of man.

16. Yes, brethren, the Mother of man. Search the Holy Scriptures; and as you search, if you have eyes to see, clearer and more clear the truth comes to you that she is in very truth both the Mother of God and the Mother of man, till at last we see what St. Paul saw, that by the mysterious scheme of the Incarnation we are verily and indeed become members of Christ's body, of His flesh and of His bones.* Now, brethren, if that word can be said by an inspired Apostle without exaggeration, who will be bold enough to say that the same great mystery which makes us bone of Christ's bone and flesh of His flesh does not also necessarily make us children of His Mother? And here, once again, I argue, as I have before argued: I turn to our merciful Saviour, as He hangs on His cross, and I conjure Him to bear with me and suffer me to speak to Him, and say, "O Lord and Saviour of mankind, let Thy poor servants accuse Thee; for if it be true that we and our fathers have erred in loving Thy Mother as if she were ours, in turning our eyes to her in our necessities, and calling on her by that name of Mother, why, O Lord, why didst Thou in that precious hour, when every word of Thine was sure to be remembered by men, and never forgotten,—why didst Thou say to man, 'Behold thy Mother?'† Why didst Thou bid Thy Mother look on man, and say to her, 'Behold thy

Behold thy Mother!

* Ephes. v. 30. † John xix. 26, 27.

son'? Or if for Thy own good purposes it was necessary that a home should be found for Blessed Mary, yet why was thy Evangelist permitted to record these words, so sure to lead the minds of men astray?" I know, brethren, that the accuser interposes here, and says that we generalise too much, and make out that the words Christ spoke to one man apply to all men. But no, brethren; alas, we say not so. Would it were so! would that we could think that all men are the children of our Lady! But no; for it is further written by the commandment of the Holy Spirit that the man to whom Jesus said, "Behold thy Mother," was "the disciple whom He loved;" and these words affix a limit to our belief. We believe, as we have been taught, that it is only the man whom Jesus loves, and designs to love, that He gives to His Mother to be her child; and therefore, if by a sad chance we hear a man who belongs to those dear to us proclaim that he does not own Mary as his Mother, it is in our ears almost as if that man was sounding his own eternal death-knell; for we know that ever since Christ Jesus uttered that word to the disciple whom He loved, "Behold thy Mother," every holy child of the Church who has aspired to be a disciple whom Jesus loves, has, with many an ardent sigh and prayer, called on Mary, and besought her to be his Mother. And I ask it, brethren, if all this mind of the Saints is a fond delirium, then why, in His infinite mercy, did not our most tender Saviour forbid His inspired servant to pen that record, that He said to the disciple of His love, "Behold thy Mother"?

Mary is "the Mother of all the living."

17. Surely, brethren, the Church of Christ is justified

in all her words concerning Mary, and has ample warrant for calling her Mediatrix and joint-labourer with her Son Jesus in the work of man's redemption,—Mother of God and Mother of man. And they that are scandalised at this teaching of the Church, what are they but witnesses that the old prophecy is still true—that now, as in all time before, there is an enmity between the woman and the serpent? Alas, was it a vision of this island that John saw when it was shown to him that the dragon would, till the end, persecute the woman who brought forth the man-child, and pour out from his mouth a torrent, in the hope of carrying her away?* How is it that men have eyes and see not that the very same storm which cast down in this island the images of our Lady also overthrew the altar of His Body and His Blood, and swept away the image of Christ crucified? Does this not prove that the war must ever rage against both the woman and her seed?

"He persecuted the woman" (Apoc. xii. 13).

18. We have then searched and found that the Eternal Trinity fixed Their eyes on Mary when she was still a child of this earth, and said to her, "Hail, full of grace; the Lord is with thee. Blessed art thou amongst women." We mark this, and lay it up in our hearts, and with the light of the Church upon us, we argue thus: "If the Eternal Trinity look down from heaven to earth, and utter this hymn to Mary, does Christ's Church err in teaching us to look up from earth to heaven, and reëcho, in presence of the Mother of God, the anthem which the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost, in one sweet harmony, ad-

* Apocalypse xii. 13.

dressed to her? If this be all the charge against us at the Judgment-seat, that we have said to Mary, 'Hail, full of grace!' O, then, welcome is death, and thrice welcome the Judgment."

19. And now, brethren, having seen what our own answer is to be at the Judgment-seat of Christ, nothing remains for us to do but to hope in our hearts that our accusers also may find some plea for the work they are doing. And there is, brethren, one plea that may serve them well as yet; for haply it may be only in ignorance that they write against the Holy Mother of God. If so, their case is the case of Saul; and as our Blessed Lord stopped short the career of Saul by showing Himself to him, and saying, "I am Jesus whom thou persecutest;"* who knows? the hour may also come when, moved by the prayers of those many former friends who, having found rest, are longing to bring their old companions to the haven, the Blessed Mother of God may also stand revealed in her true character before the eyes of those who now are her persecutors, and say to them, "Why persecute you me? I am Mary whom you persecute." If that happy hour do come; O then, at the Judgment-seat of Christ, these men, who now are adversaries, will shield themselves with that plea which Christ our Saviour bequeathed from His Cross to man, "Father, forgive us; for we knew not what we were doing." And most heartily we all respond, Amen, amen!

* Acts ix. 5.

London: Robson & Son, Great Northern Printing Works, Pancras Road, N.W.

Lewis Kelly
Jan 24/66
4

THE LEADING TOPICS

OF

DR. PUSEY'S RECENT WORK

REVIEWED IN A LETTER

ADDRESSED (BY PERMISSION) TO THE

MOST REV. H. E. MANNING, D.D.

BY THE

VERY REV. FREDERICK OAKELEY, M.A.

Solliciti servare unitatem Spiritus in vinculo pacis.—EPH. iv. 3.

LONDON:
LONGMANS, GREEN, AND CO.
1866.

LONDON
PRINTED BY SPOTTISWOODE AND CO
NEW-STREET SQUARE

LETTER

TO THE

MOST REV. H. E. MANNING, D.D.

My dear Lord Archbishop,

When I read Dr. Pusey's recently published work, I felt that it ought to be answered, and that Your Grace was the person to answer it, for this as well as for other reasons,—that it was written with immediate reference to yourself. There is but one plea upon which your friends can acquiesce in your unwillingness to enter upon such a task, and that is, that your incessant labours on behalf of your flock leave you scarcely a moment for any occupation which does not come before you in the shape of an imperative duty. It is under these circumstances, and on this ground only, that I have obtained your permission to give utterance to my pressing thoughts upon the work in question, in the form of a Letter to Your Grace. In doing so, however, I wish to premise, that you have no other responsibility in the following pages than such as is implied in the fact of this permission.

Dr. Pusey calls his book an 'Eirenicon,' and I thank him for the word. I thank him yet more for the strong assurances he has since given us of his *bonâ fide* desire of peace and reconciliation.* I confess that his book seemed to me to wear a twofold aspect, not covertly, nor disingenuously, but of set purpose. I recognised, indeed, in it quite enough to justify the profession of a pacific object which appears on its titlepage; but I also fancied that I saw in parts of it symptoms of another purpose, of a controversial, not to say hostile, character; I mean the desire of frightening inquirers away from the Catholic and Roman Church, as she is, by a carefully selected series of passages on one great subject of her teaching and practice, put forward rather in the spirit of an advocate pleading a side, than of a mediator balancing difficulties with a view to negotiation. I am rejoiced to find from Dr. Pusey's explanation of his object, that neither this nor any other portion of his work was conceived in an unfriendly spirit. Under such circumstances, we must all be amply gratified by the fact of one holding so high a position, and possessing so extensive a command over the hearts and consciences of others, feeling himself able, in the face of the world, to declare that he is prepared to accept all our *de fide* doctrines in the true sense of the Church; and that union with us is the dearest object of his pursuit. This is surely a great step. It seems like a dream, that a claim bearing so great a similarity to that for the avowal of which, only twenty years

* See his Letter in the *Weekly Register* of November 25.

ago, Mr. Ward was stripped of his M.A. gown by a vote of the Oxford Convocation, and myself suspended from all ministerial functions in the province of Canterbury, by a sentence of the Supreme Ecclesiastical Court, except on condition of a full and free recantation of my 'errors,' should now be advanced by a Canon of Christchurch and a Regius Professor without reserve, yet without reproach. I think, indeed, that Dr. Pusey's claim labours under the same defect as Mr. Ward's, inasmuch as the acceptance of all our *de fide* doctrines is inconsistent with the practical rejection of the Pope's divinely ordained supremacy, which, as I shall presently show, is one of those doctrines. It is not, however, the validity of the claim which is here in question, but the spirit which it indicates, and the boldness of declaring it. Dr. Pusey's avowal, moreover, not merely involves the acceptance of that interpretation of the Thirty-nine Articles for which Mr. Newman was censured by nearly every Bishop of the Establishment, but goes beyond that interpretation in a Catholic direction, inasmuch as it comprehends the doctrine of Transubstantiation, which Mr. Newman, I believe, never thought to be included within the terms of the Articles. It also goes beyond Mr. Newman's argument in his Tract, in that it supposes the Catholic sense of the Articles to be their obvious and only true sense, instead of being merely one of the senses which is compatible with honest subscription.* And here I must say in passing, that I think Dr. Pusey somewhat unfair on Mr. Ward in attributing to him the

* See Appendix.

unpopularity of Tract XC.; since, in extending the interpretation of the Tract to our doctrine of the Blessed Eucharist, Dr. Pusey is in fact adopting Mr. Ward's construction of the Articles, and not Mr. Newman's. For as to saying that the Articles condemn such a view of the doctrine only as overthrows the distinction between the changed Substance and the unchanged Accidents, no such view was at any time in question, since it is not the view of the Catholic Church; and if my memory does not deceive me, there was no single point upon which Mr. Ward insisted more strongly than this very distinction on which Dr. Pusey also insists.

I repeat, therefore, that Dr. Pusey's work seems to me a great and important fact. Yet he must forgive me if I say that, gratifying though this fact be as a proof of his own progress in a Catholic direction, and as an augury of things to come, it does not seem to me to tell in favour of his communion; but the reverse. What many of us feel with regard to the Anglican Church, in its history during the last twenty years, is, that it has become less and less of a teaching Church. Whenever it has attempted to assume that office through its recognised tribunals, it has taught little else than errors, which have supplied its more orthodox members with repeated occasions for protests and disclaimers. I had always supposed that the great object of the Tractarian Movement was to get the Church of England to come out as a teacher of Catholic Truth; and it is because this purpose seemed to me to have been practically defeated by the fact of Mr. Newman's conversion, that I said in a passage

in my 'Historical Notes' on that Movement with which Dr. Pusey finds fault, that Mr. Newman's conversion was its ultimate resolution. I am perfectly aware, as indeed I said, that, subsequently to the epoch in question, there has been a great development of Ritual in the Anglican Communion, and, what is far better, of self-denying charity in forms and ways peculiarly Catholic. The latter is a circumstance full of hope and promise; of the former I will speak hereafter. I know also—especially from Dr. Pusey's work, as far as the shortness of the period during which it has been in circulation can enable us to judge on the point—that there is a marvellous advance in the liberty of utterance on doctrinal subjects, and in the public toleration of what are called extreme opinions. But I cannot consent to regard this fact as creditable to the Anglican Church, merely because it happens in this instance to tell on our side. It is impossible to shut one's eyes to the fact, that the Bishops allow Dr. Pusey and his friends to run out in one line, because they wish to secure an indemnity for Rationalists, Liberals, and Evangelicals in another. I think their Lordships are far wiser in their generation than their predecessors, and take a far truer view of the genius of the Church in which they hold office. That Church is essentially a national institution, and the nation to which it is accommodated is essentially an undogmatic nation. No one was better aware of this than Queen Elizabeth and her councillors, who consolidated the work of the so-called Reformation which Henry VIII. and Cranmer began. In the time of her

successors, attempts were more than once made to give to the National Church somewhat of a dogmatic character; but their effect was to divide into sections that which was intended, in its first origin, to be a national unity. Nothing is easier than to compass unity, if we choose to abandon dogma. The Anglican Bishops of the present day are seeking to bring their Church more and more into conformity with the Elizabethan model. They are opening it to Romanisers on the one side, and to Liberals and Nonconformists on the other. Their principle is, 'Hanc veniam petimusque damusque vicissim.' This is a state of things which cannot last, and sooner or later there will be a conflict and a break up; for an external and merely political union cannot assimilate sincere minds of an opposite cast. This, however, is not my present point. What I wish to note is, that a Church—so to call it—in which all opinions are tolerated except those which conflict with some national prejudice more powerful than the love of toleration, and in which there is absolutely no living voice to determine authoritatively and finally which of such opinions is right and which is wrong, is no Church at all, in any sense which consists, I will not say with the theory of Rome, but with the language of Scripture, and the teaching of the Fathers; and as such ought, I think, to be repudiated quite as much by Dr. Pusey as by ourselves. When, therefore, Your Grace said that the Established Church could be in no sense a 'bulwark' against Infidelity, I understood you to refer to this absence of any authoritative and directive power within it. I did not understand you to

deny that, as the great organ of Conservatism in this country, it has exercised a certain, though constantly diminishing, influence in controlling the excesses or checking the inroads of circumambient unbelief. But I am at a loss to understand, quite as much as yourself, how there can be any trustworthy safeguard against the extremest developments of intellectual self-will, except in a Church which teaches, not merely in her recognised formularies, but in her every practical manifestation, that there is an Objective Truth, the nature and limits of which she leaves her members without even the shadow of an excuse for misunderstanding. What we have principally to deplore in the religious condition of this country is a profound spiritual lethargy—a total insensibility to the realities of any world but the present; compared with which even the strong reaction from a lively faith into positive infidelity, which has sometimes been witnessed in Catholic countries (as in France, at the time of the Great Revolution), terrible as it is, is an evil that indicates a far less desperate malady in the moral constitution of a people. I am far from denying that positive infidelity prevails also to a very considerable extent in this country. No one who reads our popular literature with attention can doubt this fact; and I know it to be the opinion of excellent Catholics of the middle class, who hold mercantile and official situations, that, in that class of Protestants, infidelity is greatly on the increase. As mere secular education is extended, and the Established Church comes to be more and more amalgamated with sects which do not

even recognise the principle of authority, there can be little doubt that what is now a smothered fire, will break out into something like an open conflagration. Then will be found, I fear too late, the hopelessness of attempting to cope with the spirit of infidelity, excepting by means of a dogmatic and infallible Church.

The start which has been made during the last few years, in the direction of ceremonial religion, apart from any corresponding advances in sensitiveness to the necessity of an ordained provision for dogmatic teaching, appears to me to be, not only not a gain, but a distinct and conspicuous evil. It can have no other effect than to amuse with mere baubles a number of good men who mistake the form for the substance. The rites and ceremonies of religion are not only most beautiful in themselves, but react powerfully upon its truths, when they are the natural expressions of those truths, and are so understood by all who witness them; but they can no more teach religion of themselves, or be a substitute for it, than the emblazoned pall which covers the corpse of a monarch can sustain the idea of a living royalty. I do not, indeed, deny that these mimicries of Catholic ceremonial may do us a service in familiarising the minds of Englishmen with a type of worship which had been totally obliterated; but this is a very different thing from saying that they represent a reality where they are, or can be otherwise than most injurious to those who delight in them, by leading them to confound the outward show with the true spirit of Catholicity. But even this is scarcely their worst result. They cannot be practised

without entailing a system of equivocation and compromise highly prejudicial to the moral sense. The only legitimate interpreter of doubtful Rubrics is the Ordinary; and it certainly cannot be said, either that the Rubrics on which these practices are founded are clearly in their favour, or that an explanation of their ambiguities is usually sought from the living authority. Hence, a considerable body of the Clergy are constantly seeking to hoodwink their Bishops, who are themselves not very impatient of the process; and thus the Catholic principles of authority and obedience find their counterpart in a mutual relation of connivance and evasion.

But offensive controversy is always an ungracious task, and I gladly pass from it to that department of my subject which is less concerned with attacking the position of others than with defending our own. Here I am at once introduced into a wide field. Dr. Pusey, like those who have preceded him, draws a broad distinction between the dogmatic statements of the Church and her practical system. He considers, and rightly considers, that anyone who submits to the Catholic Church is at once introduced into an entirely new atmosphere of thought, habit, and association, which is not, and cannot be, fully represented by the precise and measured language of doctrinal formularies. So far he is certainly in the right. Where I humbly conceive that he is mistaken is, in supposing that the character and effects of that which he calls our practical system can be duly estimated by those tokens of it which protrude from within its limits, into the sphere

of external observation. He says, as I should have expected from one so dutiful to authority, that he could never consent to enter the Catholic Church in the spirit of an objector or a critic. I will venture to say, most confidently, that I believe if he ever did enter it, he would find not even the temptation to contravene so excellent an intention. I can fully understand the sort of nervous apprehension which any thoughtful Anglican must experience in the idea, that, on becoming a Catholic, he will have to enter upon a kind of terra incognita, of whose inhabitants and productions he knows nothing; and more than suspects that when he has reached it he will find himself in a strait between the difficulty of accommodating himself to its strange properties on the one hand, and, on the other, of retracing an irrevocable step; and, of course, the anxieties of such a prospect are increased in proportion as we grow older, and become more thoroughly acclimatised to the land of our birth. I can understand this state of mind, for I have experienced it, and remember to have described it, under the pressure of its embarrassment, about a year before I became a Catholic, in a letter which appeared in the 'English Churchman.' The apprehension which I there expressed was that, if I entered the Roman Communion, I should find my conscience and my duty to the Church continually at cross purposes; and I remember that the subject especially present to my mind was, that of certain popular devotions which I then felt that I could not adopt as a good Christian, and should not be allowed to decline as a good Catholic. But, as time went on, I

came to the conclusion that the act from which I so recoiled might be what Mr. Newman had called one of the 'ventures of faith,' and that the very quality of faith which had been honourably commemorated in the case of him who is called, by way of eminence, the 'Father of the Faithful,' was, that he followed God's leading, 'not knowing whither he went.' When I say that never for one single instant, since I entered the Holy Catholic and Roman Church, have I been able even to realise the state of mind under which I expressed the anxiety in question, I know that such a saying may be regarded as a controversial expedient, or imputed to circumstances of some special kind; yet I will say it, however it be understood, as a public expression of my thankfulness to God for giving me, amid whatever other evidences of His chastening love, no practical experience of so terrible a trial.

I am aware, however, that personal experience is not argument, and, therefore, I must address myself to two topics of a more general kind. The first, that from the very fact of the Catholic religion being a living reality, and not a mere documentary system, that religion cannot be comprehended within the limits of formularies, but must necessarily expand into a vast body of traditions, and logical deductions from its ascertained dogmas and principles, the fruit of pious minds constantly energising within it; the second, that what is called the practical system of the Catholic Church is, in fact, at once the consequence and the evidence of our religion being such a reality; and that this system is entirely consistent with the doctrinal

foundations, out of which it springs, though going beyond those foundations, as the legitimate conclusions of true premisses may be said to go beyond the premisses in which they lie hidden.

God the Holy Ghost is the Creator of the Church, and it is in Him that the Church lives and moves and has its being. When He vouchsafed to form it on the Day of Pentecost, He not only descended on the heads of the Apostles, but filled the whole room in which they were gathered together with Mary their Queen, and others of our Lord's disciples. He guided them, as the Lord had promised, 'into all truth.' All that man is required to believe unto salvation—all that ever has been, or that ever will be, drawn out into the shape of explicit dogma, was virtually and implicitly contained in that one original revelation; but together with it there was infused into the Church the principle of life, and a power, analogous to that annexed in the creation of the material world to animal and vegetable nature,—the power of continuous reproduction in forms indefinitely various in their details, but all of them founded essentially upon the original type. Hence the Church, when viewed at any period of her subsequent history, presents the appearance, not of a sterile form or stereotyped literature, but of a world teeming with spiritual animation. Here is the theologian working out the problems of his science from its elementary axioms; there is the Saint following out a train of thought on the Incarnation, and resting with holy rapture on inferences, strictly within the terms of the Faith, yet hidden from minds less purified from earthly stain, or less prac-

tised in the exercise of mental prayer; while, in addition to the fruits which are continually added to the Church's store of untechnical and traditionary knowledge, she is always gathering in fresh resources of the same kind from the attestation of miracles, the illustrations of saintly example, the growth and influence of popular devotions, the comparison of experiences, the collision with error, and many other such outward manifestations of a pervading and vigorous life. It is thus that the Church weaves around her, as it were, a network of associations out of materials within herself, which is at once the evidence of her activity, and the protection of her weakness. This is what men call her popular system; the assemblage of secondary and inferential doctrines constantly accruing from her energetic action, and gathering round her steps in multiplied profusion as she hastens down the course of ages. In this retinue of concomitant illustrations the Mediæval Church was richer than the Primitive, and the Present is richer than the Mediæval. Had not the Church been gifted with this principle of enduring life and prolific reproduction of new forms, according to an original standard, every succeeding age would have carried her further and further from the source of her purity; and this is what her enemies or critics, who do not understand her character, are apt to urge to her disadvantage, because they judge her according to the measure of mere human institutions. As it is, however, she can grow old without ceasing to be young.

Jam senior, sed cruda Deæ viridisque senectus.

Nay, it is predicted of her that her youth shall be renewed as that of the eagle; it is ever becoming more beautiful, more vigorous; for thus it must needs be, since the Saints sustain and propagate the life of the Spirit within the Church, for the Saints are of no single age, but each successive age is enriched by the experiences of those that have gone before. Dr. Pusey and others who look at us from without, always seem to argue as if what they call the popular system of the Roman Church were something which is of the 'earth earthy'—a mass of corruption—the product of human infirmity or perversity, by which the pure gold of Primitive Christianity is hidden or dimmed. What they desire is to see the Church relieved of this incubus, as they regard it; to drive her within the entrenchments of her ruled and abstract definitions. Thus Dr. Pusey would appeal from our theologians to the Church, as if the two witnesses were not consentient in their evidence. The whole practical and devotional expression of the Church's mind he seems to look upon as a kind of traditionary gloss, like that by which the Pharisees obscured the law of Moses. This is a view of the case against which we from within must strenuously protest as tantamount to a denial of a Divine Presence constantly within the Church, by which she is secured from errancy, not only in her formal decisions, but in all which relates to the spiritual government of her members, so far as it comes within the sphere of her responsibility. We can no more conceive of the Church without this great accessory system, the work of her theologians and of her Saints,

than of the material world divested of the atmosphere which surrounds and permeates it. We do not place this superstructure in the same category with the dogmatic foundations on which it rests. We do not say that heresy is necessarily implied in rejecting it in this or the other of its details; but we do say that, to tie the Church down to her formal and abstract enactments on Articles of the Faith—to deny not only that she may, but that she must, go beyond them, though never beside them, in her practical teaching—to presume that we can be competent judges as to the true relation between certain doctrines and practices approved by the Church where our judgment is at variance with that of the Church herself, who, under the direction of the Indwelling Spirit, determines such practices to be the legitimate result of such doctrines —all this is quite inconsistent with believing the Church to be abidingly ruled by the Spirit of God, and is only not heresy in the concrete, because it is the very essence of heresy itself.

Of course we do not forget that we have this treasure in earthen vessels; that God has been pleased to commit the dispensation of His grace to weak and fallible human instruments; and that, in the actual manifestations of the Church in this or that place at any given time, there may be defects, and even abuses, blended with that popular system which in itself is but the necessary result of an organic and constantly throbbing life. It is also quite possible that the Church may not always expel these spots 'and wrinkles' from her visible constitution with the promptitude which

our indignant and impatient zeal may require at her hands. In such cases it is surely the instinct of faith and loyalty to give her credit for a prudence exceeding our own. There is such a thing as fearing to pluck up wheat with the tares. The line which divides superstition from faith is as fine as a hair, and the eye of a diviner wisdom may see faith where a calculating human prudence sees only credulity. Again: Interpositions of authority are in their very nature solemn and final acts, such as all wise governments reserve for extreme cases, and especially a government on whose acts the most momentous issues are suspended. Then, again, the wickedness or the waywardness of man may turn the most wholesome laws to a selfish or an evil purpose, or break loose into excesses which no restraints of rule can control; and thus the outward aspect of the Church may be prejudiced in the eyes of those who judge her by superficial tokens. Under the former of these heads may be classed the possibly avaricious abuse of so needful and apostolic a regulation as that by which a priest is allowed to receive an alms, or, as it is commonly called, a 'retribution,' apportioned to the exigencies of his maintenance, for masses said at the request of another; a regulation literally in accordance with St. Paul's words, that they who minister at the altar should live by the altar. As an instance of the second case, we may refer to occasional popular excesses, or mistakes, in devotion, often rigidly interpreted by casual observers as indications of the formal teaching of the Church; as if every act or gesture of a class proverbially undiscrimi-

nating could be brought under the hand of a power whose course is ordered by considerations upon which it is quite impossible that individuals, and, least of all, Protestants, should be competent to decide. All that is needed is faith in the Divine authority, and constant supernatural guidance of the Church in the government of her members as a body, in regard to all which relates to their eternal welfare.

I am next to show that a Catholic is bound to no view of doctrine or practice of devotion, which is not a legitimate result of the teaching of Holy Scripture, as embodied in the doctrinal decrees of the Church. I refer here more particularly to our teaching and practice on the subject of the Blessed Virgin, both because it is this which forms the kernel of our popular system, as distinguished from all non-catholic communities, and because it is this which is the gist of Dr. Pusey's objection to the Holy Catholic and Roman Church as she is.

I distinctly and emphatically deny that there is any view of the prerogatives and office of the Blessed Virgin which assigns to her the place of dignity and extent of power implied in the scriptural representation of her, as symbolised in the Apostles' Creed, except that which is expressed in the largest and fullest development of approved Catholic devotion. The germ of that expanded flower is contained in the words 'Natus ex Mariâ Virgine.' A meditation on the narrative of the Annunciation in St. Luke's Gospel is alone sufficient to account for the most extreme of the doctrinal and devotional expressions which Dr. Pusey

has produced; yet I cannot but observe, in this place, that there is no mode of controversy less fair than that of stringing together a collection of single passages apart from their context, and of subjecting to the rules of hard and technical criticism the fervid language of bold and untechnical devotion. It is a course, I must plainly say, seemingly at variance with the profession of peace which will be apt to attract to Dr. Pusey's work readers whom its contents will grievously disappoint. Those who are unfamiliar with our doctrines will be simply shocked and perplexed by phrases or reasonings to which nothing in their previous habits of religious thought presents either parallel or clue to their interpretation; and even Catholics, unaccustomed to pursue elementary truths to their legitimate consequences, may be startled for the moment by the exhibition of those truths in a form so unusual and so abrupt. If Dr. Pusey considers such results as a gain to the cause of religious truth, he will undoubtedly have answered his purpose, at least for the time being, by the form into which he has cast his objections. But I do not think that the impression he may have created will be durable. He will at least have opened a great question to the minds of many who will scarcely be prepared to rest in his solution of it. He will lead many to the conclusion that the love and cultus of the Blessed Virgin must be either an extreme or a nullity; that, unless we be prepared to degrade her office as the Mother of our Redeemer, and the great instrument of that dispensation whence flow all blessings to the human race, we cannot stop short of ascribing to her

even the most majestic of those titles, and the most transcendant of those privileges, which have been found for her in the pious inventions of saintly love. It is quite as much for the consolation and reassurance of my own brethren as for the conviction of those who are separated from us, that I feel it my duty to justify this controversial position.

'Qui conceptus est de Spiritu Sancto, natus ex Mariâ Virgine.' These words, I repeat, contain the justification of all that theologians have concluded, or saints conceived, of the prerogatives of the Blessed Virgin, or of the honour due to her.* They open a view of her relation to the Most Holy Trinity which raises her all but infinitely above every other created being. Not only the highest of saints, but the highest of archangels, takes a rank indefinitely below her. If God the Father thus elected her from all eternity to be the Mother of His Only Begotten Son, through the immediate opera-

* I mean, of course, to confine this remark to writers of established reputation in the Church, and with due allowance for human infirmity, and varieties of character and temperament. Persons often argue as if the Church made herself responsible for every work, and every phrase in every work, which she has not expressly censured. But there are many intervening conditions between the publication of even a questionable work and the declaration of the censure which it may merit. There are, for instance, works so unimportant that to make them the subject of formal censure would be like 'crushing a butterfly on a wheel.' Again: the Holy See may judge, in its wisdom, that an extreme indulgence is due to the casual expressions of one who has done the Church good service, or of a work the general purport and tenour of which is good and edifying.

This may be a suitable opportunity of observing that Dr. Pusey has quoted largely from a writer named Oswald. I pronounce no opinion upon the merits of this writer as a theologian; but I may remark, that no Catholic I have met with, even of those versed in our theological literature, has ever heard of his name.

tion of the Holy Ghost, then is there no hyperbole but simple scriptural truth in the Catholic enumeration of her relationships to the Three Divine Persons, as Daughter of the Eternal Father, Mother of the Eternal Son, and Spouse of the Holy Ghost. Yet what Protestant is there who, if this description of our Blessed Lady were abruptly set before him, would not instinctively recoil from it as exaggerated and even blasphemous?

Then let us consider what is involved in the title, 'Mother of God,' by which the Ephesian Council symbolised the dogma of the Divine Personality of our Lord against the heresy of Nestorius; thus drawing out into explicit shape the truth, not less really, though less formally, contained in the second article of the Apostles' Creed,—'Et in Jesum Christum, Filium Ejus Unicum, Dominum nostrum, qui conceptus est de Spiritu Sancto, natus ex Mariâ Virgine.' The Blessed Virgin stands precisely in the same relation to God, her Creator and Redeemer, in which every mother stands towards the child of her love. Of two whole and perfect Natures which are united, each with its own properties distinct, in the One Person of our Incarnate God, that of His Manhood is given Him by the Blesse Virgin. In the words of that grandest of dogmatic psalms, the Athanasian symbol, 'Deus est ex substantiâ Patris ante sæcula genitus, et Homo est ex substantiâ Matris in sæculo natus.' Hence it follows necessarily, that whatever appertained to the humanity of the Son of God, except His human Soul, was of the Blessed Virgin, before He took it into union with the Godhead,

and did not cease to have been once hers by becoming His. It was through her instrumentality that He was born into the world, and born with a nature in which He could share our infirmities, appear among men in visible shape, touch and be touched, hunger, thirst, be weary, suffer, die, be buried, rise again, and carry up our common humanity to the right hand of His Eternal Father. This, and nothing less than this, is what the Blessed Virgin has done for man; this, and nothing less than this, is the part she has in the nature of the Incarnate God. And little as such an element enters into an ordinary Catholic's habitual idea of the Blessed Eucharist, it is a matter not of pious inference merely, but of simple fact, that the Precious Blood we therein receive is the blood derived from Mary, though infinitely exalted by its union with the Divinity in the Person of her Son. And this is certain, even though we admit, as we may safely do, the operation in the case of our Divine Lord of those physical changes which the human frame is considered to undergo in the progress of life. In the same sense, surely, in which we say that the blood of our parents and ancestors flows in our veins (those physical changes notwithstanding), and with the necessary limitation expressed above, we may also say, and truly say, that the blood of the Blessed Virgin was in her Son from first to last, and is, therefore, in that wondrous communication of Himself which He makes to us in the Blessed Eucharist.

Whatever is wanting to the doctrine of our Blessed Lady's privileges and claims as involved in the simple statement that God the Son was born of her, is sup-

plied by the literal and inevitable meaning of other passages in the Holy Scriptures. Let us take, for instance, the narrative of the Annunciation in St. Luke's Gospel. The position there assigned to the Blessed Virgin is surely something quite different from that of any ordinary recipient of a Divine communication. The Archangel, as it has often been said, does not lay the Holy Virgin under the obligation of instant submission, as though she were a mere subject, but treats with her as an ambassador bearing a message of love to a sovereign princess. He listens respectfully to her pleas of demur and hesitation, and disposes of them not as though they were the difficulties of incredulity, but as the suggestions of a brightly illuminated conscience. The same question, 'How shall these things be?' which in Zachary is reproved as a note of unbelief, is in her virtually commended as an instinct of humility and purity. The Blessed Virgin must be convinced before the Divine commission can be entrusted to her. She must express her free and unbiassed consent, before the human race can be redeemed in the manner foreordained of God; yet foreordained, in such sense as to consist with the freedom, and depend on the concurrence of the Blessed Virgin. Now, all this being so, I cannot see that those spiritual writers, who have gone the length of attributing to the Blessed Virgin a certain co-ordinate yet wholly subordinate office in the redemption of the world, have done more than pursue this revelation of the inspired Word of God into its legitimate logical results; nor can I see (though I admit this to be rather the pious inference of devotion,

than the logical conclusion of dogma) that any more direct share in the unapproachable office of our Redeemer is ascribed to His Blessed Mother in regarding the Passion itself as suspended upon her consent, than is implied in the intimacy thus proved by the language of Scripture itself to have existed from the first between the decrees of the Most Holy Trinity and the free-will of the Blessed Virgin.

I now come to what we regard as the scriptural germ of every doctrine, and the legitimate ground of every authorised devotion on the subject of the Blessed Virgin,—I mean the prediction of her office in the Christian Dispensation uttered by Almighty God at the time of the Fall. It is most unfair to commit the argument founded on this prediction to the uncertainties of the controversy as to the words 'Ipsa' or 'Ipsum;' since, if the clause of the prediction with respect to which that question has been raised were wholly obliterated from the sacred text, the remnant of it would be abundantly sufficient for the purposes of our argument: 'The Lord God said unto the serpent, I will put enmities between thee and the woman, and between thy seed and her seed.' That, by the woman in this passage must be intended the true Mother of the Divine Seed is a position about which, I suppose, there is no second opinion among pious believers, or indeed among careful readers of the sacred text, whatever be their religious opinions. It cannot surely be pretended, that a relation of internecine warfare was established between fallen Eve and the Tempter by whom she had fallen; whereas, if we understand by the 'woman'

to be meant the second Eve through whose instrumentality the curse of the Fall was revoked, the force of the prediction becomes lucidly apparent. There is something very remarkable in the manner in which this title of 'the Woman' seems to be throughout the Scriptures the especial property of the Blessed Virgin. This view is followed out as part of the Scripture testimony to our Lady, in an article which appeared in the 'Dublin Review' for January 1865. Here I will but observe its possible bearing upon the use of that phrase by our Lord in addressing His most Holy Mother at the marriage of Cana, and at the Crucifixion. It is also a most significant fact, that the Blessed Virgin should be spoken of in the Apocalypse, under the very same title by which she is described, in the third chapter of Genesis, as the principal antagonist of the Tempter. It would be a far more prolific theme of sacred reflection than I can possibly enter upon in this necessarily brief review of a great subject, to describe the various 'enmities' which have subsisted between the glorious Second Eve and the seducer of the First, as well as between her Divine Seed and the fell progeny of her antagonist.

The antithetic parallel between the office of the First and Second Eve lies at the root of all our teaching on the subject of the Blessed Virgin, and especially of the doctrine of her Immaculate Conception. As our Lord was the Second Adam, so was His Blessed Mother the Second Eve. As the first Eve was the parent of corruption, so is the second the authoress of the dispensation of grace; the authoress of course I mean in virtue

of her appointment to that office by Almighty God, and as qualified for the fulfilment of it through the anticipated merits of her Divine Son. What may be called the moral fitness of the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception is beautifully pointed out by Dr. Newman in the following passage:—

'The course of ages was to be reversed; the tradition of evil to be broken; a gate of light to be opened amid the darkness for the coming of the JUST; a Virgin conceived and bore Him. It was fitting for His honour and glory, that she who was the instrument of his bodily presence should first be a miracle of His grace; it was fitting that she should triumph where Eve had failed, and should "bruise the serpent's head" by the spotlessness of her sanctity. . . . As grace was infused into Adam from the first moment of his creation, so that he never had experience of his natural poverty till sin seduced him to it, so was grace given in still ampler measure to Mary, and she was a stranger to Adam's deprivation. . . . If Adam might have kept himself from sin in his first state, much more shall we expect immaculate perfection in Mary.' *

Objectors to the doctrine are fond of appealing to the testimony of St. Bernard and St. Thomas, but they uniformly forget to state that St. Bernard in direct terms, and St. Thomas of course by implication, make a reserve in favour of any subsequent definition of the Holy See. The private opinion, even of Saints, upon an open question of theology, cannot be pleaded in arrest of a later authoritative judgment of the Church, without striking at the root of her whole dogmatic system. With regard to the mode in which her infallible judgment was arrived at and expressed in the

* *Discourses to Mixed Congregations*, Discourse XVII.

case of this great dogma of the Faith, I may have something to say further on: here I will only remark in passing, that every requirement, even of the lowest theory of infallibility, is satisfied by a dogmatic decision which emanates from the Sovereign Pontiff speaking *ex cathedrâ*, and has subsequently been accepted by the collective Episcopate of the Roman obedience.

I pass now to the question of the Catholic devotion to the Blessed Virgin in its general aspect and characteristic features. And here I will say, that I think it quite impossible for any one to judge fairly of this devotion who is not himself a Catholic in the constant use of it, and of its concomitant practices. Cardinal Wiseman, somewhere, illustrates the difference between our devotional system, as viewed from without and from within, by a very apt and beautiful similitude. He says that it is like a painted window in a church, which, as seen by an external observer, presents no idea but that of an indistinct and unsightly mass; whereas, those who view it from within the church are able to appreciate the beauty of its design, and the harmony of its colouring. Much, no doubt, of the intense dislike which Protestants and Anglicans feel to the cultus of the Blessed Virgin, is founded in a just appreciation of the claims of our Blessed Lord, with which this cultus seems to them inconsistent, and ought therefore to be treated by us with great forbearance and sympathy. What we know experimentally, and they can hardly understand in the abstract, is the power of a Catholic's habitual estimate of his Lord's inalienable

and unapproachable prerogatives in supplying the interpretation, and modifying the strength, of even the most extreme forms of devotion to His Most Holy Mother. The great means of working this estimate into the texture of the Catholic mind is the daily oblation of the Sacrifice of the New Law. But it is also created by a whole series of penetrating and transforming devotions, which tend to bring out the subject of our Lord's work for sinners in a way most difficult to be understood by those who do not realise their effects by experience. Such, for instance, are the devotions to the Blessed Sacrament as a special Object of loving adoration, apart from the daily oblation of Mass. Such also, in a very especial manner, is the devotion to the Sacred Heart of Jesus,—to His Most Precious Blood, to His Five Wounds, to the very instruments of His Passion; and again that practice so popular, especially with the poor, of performing the Stations of the Cross. It may be taken as an undoubted fact, that devotion to the Blessed Virgin is never an insulated manifestation of Catholic piety. Where Catholics are not devout to our Lord, they are not devout to His Mother, and *vice versâ*; but I have never happened to meet with an instance of extraordinary devotion to the Blessed Virgin, without a corresponding expansion of piety in other directions. I know it is commonly said, that the merciful attributes of the Blessed Virgin are made by uninstructed Catholics an excuse for the commission of sin. I will not go so far as to plead my own limited experience against an equally authentic testimony in favour of such an abuse; nor, indeed, were it clearly

shown to exist, would it prove anything more than a new illustration of the poet's words, that 'Noblest things find vilest using.' Yet I will say, upon the word of a priest and confessor of nearly seventeen years' standing, that I have never met with a case of the kind. I have always found, on the contrary, that one of the first symptoms of spiritual decline is the decay of devotion to the Blessed Virgin; and that they who realise enough of her office to know that she is our true Mother of Mercy cannot, if they would, divest themselves of the salutary impression, that she is also the purest of God's creatures, and that, as such, she is abhorrent of sin in all its forms. Of course there is always a danger that sinners will be tempted to lay too great a stress on the merciful aspects of religion; but this they do, even where devotion to the Blessed Virgin is out of the question. It must be one of the duties of Christian preachers to guard that devotion from any such fearful abuse as that of being made subservient to the purposes of sin. To show that I myself am not insensible to this danger (though I repeat that I have no experimental acquaintance with it), I will quote words which I published before I knew that I should be required to defend devotion to the Blessed Virgin against this specific charge. I say in a little volume of sacred poetry which I put out last spring, speaking of the Blessed Virgin:

> But woe to them, that in thy mercy trace
> Deceitful hues of peace that ne'er shall come;
> And in the sorrowing sinner's pledge of grace,
> Forget the harden'd sinner's threat of doom.

And again :—

Bend, O ye angels, o'er the precious sight;
Return abash'd, ye sinners, from the view;
Humbled, yet thankful, that a Queen so bright,
Should yearn with all a mother's heart o'er you.

Yet, while ye claim her sweet indulgent aid,
Seek ye the grace her life to imitate.
We cannot love the spotless Mother-maid,
And love the sin which was her only hate.*

I cannot conclude this part of my subject without quoting a passage which is directly to the present point, from one of those very writers who is thought by Dr. Pusey to exceed unwarrantably in the line of Marian devotion. In a treatise on that subject, which it was one of the latest acts of Father Faber to translate literally into English, the Venerable Grignon de Montfort has the following words :—

'Presumptuous devotees are sinners abandoned to their passions, or lovers of the world, who, under the fair name of Christians and clients of our Blessed Lady, conceal pride, avarice, impurity, drunkenness, anger, swearing, detraction, injustice, or some other sin. They sleep in peace in the midst of their bad habits, without doing any violence to themselves to correct their faults, under the pretext that they are devout to the Blessed Virgin. They promise themselves that God will pardon them; that they will not be allowed to die without confession; and that they will not be lost eternally, because they say the Rosary, because they fast on Saturdays, because they belong to the Confraternity of the Holy Rosary, or wear the Scapular, or are enrolled in other congregations, or wear the little habit or little chain of our Lady. They will not believe us when we tell them that their devotion is only an illusion of the devil, and a perni-

* *Lyra Liturgica, Feast of the Immaculate Conception,* December 8.

cious presumption likely to destroy their souls. They say that God is good and merciful; that He has not made us to condemn us everlastingly; that no man is without sin; that they shall not die without confession; that one good Peccavi at the hour of death is enough; that they are devout to our Lady; that they wear the Scapular, and that they say daily, without reproach or vanity, seven Paters and Aves in her honour; and that they sometimes say the Rosary and the Office of our Lady, besides fasting, and other things. To give authority to all this, and to blind themselves still further, they quote certain stories, which they have heard or read—it does not matter to them whether they be true or false—relating how people have died in mortal sin without confession; and then, because in their lifetime they sometimes said some prayers, or went through some practices of devotion to our Lady, how they have been raised to life again, in order to go to confession, or their soul miraculously retained in their bodies till confession; or how they have obtained from God at the moment of death contrition and pardon of their sins, and so have been saved; and that they themselves expect similar favours. Nothing in Christianity is more detestable than this diabolical presumption. For how can we say truly that we love and honour our Blessed Lady when, by our sins, we are pitilessly piercing, wounding, crucifying, and outraging Jesus Christ her Son? If Mary laid down a law to herself, to save by her mercy this sort of people, she would be authorising crime and assisting to crucify and outrage her Son.' *

After so explicit a protest against the abuse of devotion to the Blessed Virgin on the part of one of its most enthusiastic advocates, let it not be said that the Church is responsible for the errors of individuals among her children.

It is also worthy of note, that devotions to the

* The Venerable Grignon de Montfort's *Treatise on the True Devotion to the Blessed Virgin.* Translated by F. W. Faber, D.D., Priest of the Oratory.

Blessed Virgin which are in most frequent use amongst us either distinctly recognise the worship of the Blessed Trinity and of our Divine Lord, or are, inclusively, devotions to Him. Thus the Litany of Loreto, like all similar litanies, opens with an address to the Three several Persons of the Blessed Trinity, and then to those Three Persons in their essential Union, while it terminates with a triple address to the Lamb of God. The form of the petitions directed to God and to the Blessed Virgin respectively is likewise varied. When we leave the Creator and pass to the creature, we substitute the Ora pro nobis for the Miserere nobis.* A very common mode of commemorating the graces and glories of the Blessed Virgin is to recite Gloria Patris in thanksgiving to God for the favours bestowed on her. But the most customary and popular of all such devotions are the Angelus and the Rosary. Now in the Angelus, which we recite three times a day, we commemorate the Incarnation ; while all the mysteries which we call to mind in saying the Rosary, with the exception of two, are either incidents in the life of Our Lord, or in that of His Blessed Mother, recorded in Scripture, and bearing directly on Him. It is on this type, rather than on that of the ' Glories of Mary,' that the ideas of our people are formed. The phrases which Dr. Pusey has exhibited in a somewhat startling severance from the doctrines which justify them, and the context which modifies them, represent rather the shape

* Too much weight, however, must not be attached to this distinction, since the Church, in the Antiphon of the Blessed Virgin for Advent, addresses to her the words ' Peccatorum miserere.'

into which men of ascetic lives and profoundly spiritual minds are accustomed to cast their thoughts on this subject, than the standard of our customary preaching or the scale of general devotion; and, in saying this, I am not depreciating devotions of such a character, but the contrary. For I think that Dr. Pusey himself can hardly have failed to remark two facts most important to our argument; the one, that they who have spoken the most rapturously of the prerogatives and merits of the Blessed Virgin have always been either canonised Saints or Catholics who have earned the right to venture upon such utterances by some especial fellowship with the sufferings of our Lord; the other, that those Saints who are the most remarkable for devotion to the Blessed Virgin are also the most devoted to the Passion of her Divine Son. If I cite, as instances, St. Bernard, St. Bonaventure, and St. Alphonsus Liguori, I shall but suggest to the Catholic reader a host of other names with which the union of these two kindred attractions is associated.

Dr. Pusey, as I understand him, would desire to limit his own practice to the simple use of the 'Ora pro nobis,' that is, of prayer for prayer. Such a limitation, however, would preclude him from the use, not merely of less authorised devotions to the Blessed Virgin, but of those which form part of the Liturgy and Breviary. He will remember frequent instances, both in the Missal and Breviary, of addresses to the Blessed Virgin to grant favours, as though they were at her own command. For example: in the Sequence of the Feast of the Seven Dolours; 'Fac ut tecum, lu-

geam,' &c.; in the hymn 'Ave maris stella, Solve vincla reis Profer lumen cæcis, Mala nostra pelle, Nos, culpa solutos, Mites fac et castos'; again in the antiphons at the end of Complin, 'Jesum benedictum fructum ventris tui, nobis post hoc exilium ostende,' 'Da mihi virtutem contra hostes tuos'; and the passage already cited, 'Sumens illud Ave, peccatorum miserere.' All such expressions are founded in something that corresponds with what in literary language, far below the truth, we call a poetical licence. Every well-instructed Catholic knows that the Blessed Virgin possesses no power to grant petitions, except such as she derives from God; but he also knows that her influence with her Divine Son, in virtue of her maternal relation, and of her transcendant sanctity, must needs be such that her will to grant is tantamount to the fact of granting, since her will is so entirely in harmony with the will of God that her petitions are of necessity all in the order of His providence. If we knew that an earthly sovereign had an almoner, to whom he had given the office of distributing his bounty, we should address ourselves to that almoner as the source from which the bounty emanates, though conscious all the while that he was merely the instrument of its bestowal. The confidence of true doctrine, in which a Catholic habitually reposes, imparts a certain freedom to his modes of expression, which, in the eyes of another, wears the appearance of heresy. He knows, or trusts, that God will not misunderstand him; and gives vent to the natural feelings of his heart, without caring to protect himself at every turn from the misapprehensions of

those to whom he is not equally responsible. Love shrinks from recourse to provisoes and qualifications. A mother, when fondling her dearest child, uses towards it a great deal of language which a harsh critic might charge with idolatry; but, were he to bring such a charge under her cognizance, she would reply in the beautiful words of the poet, 'He speaks to me that never had a child.' Far be it from me to impute any such coldness to Dr. Pusey, who, I sincerely believe, if he were one of ourselves, would be found among the most devoted and un-critical of the clients of Mary. I only use the illustration to show how unfair it is to try the phraseology of affection by too severe a rule.*

Dr. Pusey's argument on the subject of devotion to the Blessed Virgin is simply negative. He tells us rather what kind of devotion he objects to, than what kind he would approve. He does not point out how, in his judgment, the Scriptural view of the Blessed Virgin as the Mother of Our Redeemer could be duly satisfied in the practical and devotional estimate of Christians by modes of thought and expression less copious and less intense than those in use among Catholics. He has not shown how he could materially curb the actual latitude permitted by the Catholic Church without striking at the root of the devotion altogether, and thus endangering the practical reception of those more fundamental truths which that devotion seems to us to sustain and promote. If the sentiments of a writer quoted by Dr. Pusey as

* See Appendix.

neither Roman, Greek, nor Anglican, may be considered to represent the views of the Greek Church, with which at the time when he wrote he was believed to be in sympathy, the strongest expressions of our Marian writers, as they are called, would be weak in comparison with what a proselyte to that communion would be expected to believe and practise. On the other hand, Dr. Pusey would scarcely appeal to the Anglican Church at any period of its history since the Reformation, as having preserved a just medium between excess and defect in this instance. With the rejection of the Roman obedience, there seems, if I am not mistaken, to have come over the national Church an all but complete oblivion of the Mother of God. Till Mr. Keble touched so beautifully, yet so sparingly, upon her claims to reverence and love, in parts of the 'Christian Year,' and Mr. Newman foreshadowed in some of his sermons the advent of a new era, I do not ever recollect to have heard the name of the Blessed Virgin, except in the Creeds and the Holy Scriptures, unless, indeed, it were in the way of controversial objection in the University pulpit. It yet remains to be seen how those who think with Dr. Pusey will succeed in propagating true devotion to her without the safeguards of it which are furnished in the Catholic Church. I believe the attempt to be simply impossible. But does there exist any serious desire to set about making it? So far as Dr. Pusey himself may be taken as an exponent of those with whom he acts, the prospect of any just appreciation of the claims of our Blessed Lady,

except among ourselves, would seem to be most unpromising. From the beginning to the end of Dr. Pusey's work, I can find nothing to indicate that he recognises them in any due sense. Yet one would have thought that, in protesting against what he regards as the excesses of the devotion, he would have found a natural place for vindicating its legitimate use. Dr. Pusey, I take for granted, understands the 'Ecce Mater tua,' at the Crucifixion, as Catholics understand it, to mean the bestowal of the Blessed Virgin as a Mother upon all Our Lord's disciples in the person of the beloved one; or, at any rate, he believes that the Mother of Our Lord is also the Mother of those whom He deigns to call His brethren. Yet, what should we think of that sort of filial love which should exhibit itself only or chiefly in defending a mother from the effects of exaggerated praise?

The theory of some indissoluble connexion between the office of the Blessed Virgin and that of the Church, which is involved in her title as Destroyer of heresies, is remarkably borne out, both in its positive and negative aspect, by the history of the Church. It is remarkable that the Blessed Virgin should be mentioned by name as having been in the company of the Apostles when the Holy Ghost came down upon them; and the silence of Scripture as to her subsequent share in casting on the Church the light of her wisdom and intimate knowledge of the heart of her Divine Son, will be no bar to the devout Christian's conviction, that she presided over the infancy of the Church with the same intense affection with which she watched

beside the manger of Bethlehem. Nor would she seem to have ceased from this charge after her Assumption into Heaven, for all the great doctrinal decisions of the Church in after times involved some of her prerogatives, and were blessed by her aid. The unity of the Person of her Divine Son was couched in a formula which redounded to her honour, nor were her privileges less really, though less expressly, involved in the dogma of His Two Natures. It was the Body which He took from her that the Church ruled to be truly present in the Blessed Eucharist. It was by preaching devotion to her as the Mother of our Incarnate God, that St. Dominic quelled that formidable heresy which assailed the Incarnation by degrading the nature which Christ vindicated against the dominion of evil by taking it in its purest form into union with Himself. It was by inculcating special devotion to the Blessed Virgin that St. Ignatius and his followers counteracted the deadly work of Luther; and, lastly, it is by the definition of the dogma of the Immaculate Conception that Pius IX. has struck the latest blow, not so much against any particular heresy as against the root of that evil product itself. On the other hand, it is remarkable how, in our own country, the decay of devotion to the Blessed Virgin has been the harbinger of a corresponding decline in sensitiveness to orthodoxy on the subjects of the Blessed Trinity and Incarnation. In some quarters, Sabellianism has been openly taught, and the objections taken against it treated as mere captious logomachy. In others, the very principle of dogmatism itself has been assailed.

Socinianism is believed to exist to a great extent in certain professions, and only not to be avowed as a distinct form of religious opinion, because there is felt to be nothing in the position of a lay member of the Church of England which requires him to renounce it. Clergymen used to omit the Athanasian Creed, on the ground of its doctrinal statements, or of its condemnatory clauses. Even High Churchmen used to shrink, as I remember, from attributing, in sermons or otherwise, the acts done by Our Lord in virtue of His Human Nature to the Person of God. Nor do I think it any exaggeration to say that there was hardly one clergyman out of a hundred (I had almost said a thousand) who could have explained the doctrines of the Trinity and Incarnation with the same dogmatic precision as an ordinarily instructed Catholic child. Such was the fruit of putting away the devotion to the Blessed Virgin on the plea of loyalty to Christ, our Lord. It was the great Tractarian movement, in which Dr. Pusey bore so important a part, which first helped to recal us from this state of religious lethargy; and I thankfully acknowledge that there is now a promise of better things. But that movement was instrumental, among its other benefits, though still most defectively, in elevating our view of the office and claims of the Blessed Virgin, and will not, I believe (if Dr. Pusey will forgive me for saying so), have answered its providential purpose till it has landed its freight on the shore of the true Church, under the guidance of her beautiful Star of the Sea.

I am deeply satisfied that this great *crux* of

Dr. Pusey's is a phantom of the devil's creating, and one among the many evidences which history and experience furnish of his implacable hostility to her whom he knows to be the great antagonist of his power. Dr. Pusey would stipulate, as I understand him, for some exemption in favour of himself and his friends from the obligation of adopting, as the form and measure of their practical devotion to the Blessed Virgin, certain expressions to which he objects, not because, as he tells us,* he considers them necessarily to imply any disloyalty to our Blessed Lord, but because he and they think them dangerous, and, at all events, cannot personally go along with them. Were he one of ourselves, he would come to know that no fresh act of the Church is required in order to release any of her members from such an obligation; inasmuch as no such obligation rests upon them. The Church regards such devotion to our Blessed Lady as, in point of fervour and intensity, goes beyond the standard of her ordinary prescriptions, not as a duty, but as a privilege. I do not think that those who are external to us have any just idea of the room which is allowed us for the free play of personal preferences which do not clash, either in form or spirit, with the faith of the Church, or with principles plainly deducible from it. Now, one such principle would certainly be contravened by any view of the prerogatives and claims of our Blessed Lady, which would make a person intolerant of the phraseology in which great Saints,

* See his first letter to the *Weekly Register*.

eminently devoted to our Lord, have occasionally cast their pious thoughts respecting her. But nothing that I know of would involve in well-grounded suspicion of disloyalty to the Church a Catholic who, while placing no restriction on the liberty of others, should, as a matter of taste, prefer the more measured language of our liturgy and offices on the subject in question to that in which more ardent temperaments than his own might find a more congenial expression of their devotion.

But Dr. Pusey, in his most commendable anxiety for union with us, has hazarded one suggestion which requires a far more serious treatment. If I understand portions of his 'Eirenicon' aright, he would desire to apply what is called, in political jargon, the principle of 'finality' to the capacities of dogmatic expression in the Church. Alarmed, it may be not unnaturally, by hints thrown out without authority, or private wishes expressed on the part of enthusiastic writers (in one instance not even Catholic), he puts in his *caveat* against prospective and purely imaginary decisions of the Church on the subject about which he is so sensitive, and he, in the person of an individual Catholic, would say to her, 'Thus far shalt thou go, and no further.' To mention such a suggestion, as I understand it, is to condemn it in the eyes of all those who believe the Church, as a visible institution, to be habitually ruled by the Holy Ghost. How different is this from the spirit of St. Bernard, who, while freely giving his own private opinion on the subject of the Immaculate Conception, then an open question, makes

an express reserve in favour of any future dogmatic decision of the Church on the subject! It is obvious to remark that for the Church to pledge herself as to her course in respect of the particular mode of exercising her authority as a divine teacher would be tantamount to the abdication of the office delegated to her by her Lord; and that for any one of her members, or rather nominal members, to rest in the belief that she could, by possibility, express a formal judgment at variance with the Divine revelation, would be a sin against faith of the first magnitude.

I close the whole subject of devotion to the Blessed Virgin, as the adjunct of faith, with a passage so beautiful and majestic that I might well rejoice to adorn my pages with it from whatever quarter it might proceed; but it is doubly gratifying to me to enforce my argument by the language of one who, of all Catholics that could be named, is the most likely to carry conviction to the mind and heart of Dr. Pusey.

Now, as you know, it has been held from the first, and defined from an early age, that Mary is the Mother of God. She is not merely the Mother of our Lord's manhood, or of our Lord's body, but she is to be considered the Mother of the Word Himself; the Word Incarnate; GOD, in the Person of the Word, the Second Person of the All-glorious Trinity, humbled Himself to become her Son. 'Thou did'st not shrink from the Virgin's womb,' as the Church sings. He took the substance of His human flesh from her, and clothed in it He lay within her, and He bore it about with Him as a sort of badge, and witness, that He, though GOD, was her's. As time went on He ministered to her, and obeyed her; He lived with her for thirty years, in one house, with an uninterrupted intercourse, and with only the saintly Joseph to

share it with Him. She was the witness of His growth, of His joys, of His sorrows, of His prayers; she was blessed with His smile, with the touch of His hand, with the whisper of His affection, with the expression of His thoughts and His feelings, for that length of time. Now, my brethren, what *ought* she to be, what is it *becoming* that she should be, who was so favoured? Such a question was once asked by a heathen king when he would place one of his subjects in a dignity becoming the relation in which he stood towards him. That subject had saved the king's life, and what was to be done to him in return? The king asked, 'What shall be done to the man whom the king desireth to honour?' And he received the following answer, 'The man whom the king wisheth to honour ought to be clad in the king's apparel, and to be mounted on the king's saddle, and to receive the royal diadem on his head; and let the first among the king's princes and presidents hold his horse, and let him walk through the streets of the city, and say: "Thus shall be honoured whom the king had a mind to honour."' So stands the case with Mary; she gave birth to the Creator, and what recompense shall be made her? What shall be done to her, who had this relationship to the Most High? What shall be the fit accompaniment of one whom the Almighty has deigned to make, not His servant, not his friend, not His intimate, but His superior; the source of His sacred being, the nurse of His helpless infancy, the teacher of His opening years? I answer, as the king was answered: nothing is too high for her to whom GOD owes His life; no exuberance of grace, no excess of glory but is becoming, but is to be expected there, where GOD has lodged Himself; whence GOD has issued. Let her 'be clad in the King's apparel;' that is, let the fulness of the Godhead so flow into her that she may be a figure of the incommunicable sanctity, and beauty, and glory of GOD Himself: that she may be the mirror of justice, the mystical rose, the tower of ivory, the house of gold, the morning star; let her 'receive the King's diadem upon her head,' as the Queen of heaven, the mother of all living, the health of the weak, the refuge of sinners,

the comforter of the afflicted; and 'let the first amongst the King's princes walk before her,' let angels, and prophets, and apostles, and martyrs, and all Saints kiss the hem of her garment, and rejoice under the shadow of her throne. Thus it is that king Solomon has risen to meet His Mother, and bowed himself unto her, and caused a seat to be set for the King's Mother, and she sits on his right hand.*

This brings me to the last portion of the subject I have proposed to myself, which is not that of examining Dr. Pusey's argument in all its details, but that of seizing upon some of its salient points as matter of free discussion. I am now, then, in conclusion, to advert briefly to the difficulties, I will not say vast merely, but insurmountable, which seem to me to lie in the way of his proposal for a 'corporate union between the Roman and Anglican Churches.' Before doing so, however, I must make some prefatory observations; the first of them is that which befits every one of us, whatever view of this question he may take, who as a private Catholic presumes to discuss the matter at all, namely, that he speaks but as a private Catholic, without warrant either to represent the judgment of authority, or to predict the actual form which that judgment may take. On the other hand, there are certain principles of absolutely invariable application on which every judgment of the Church is founded, and upon which a private Catholic, supposing him otherwise competent as a witness on the subject, is neither disqualified nor precluded by any duty from pronouncing. He may certainly, and to any extent, misapprehend or

* Newman's *Discourses to Mixed Congregations*, Discourse XVIII.

misrepresent these principles; all I mean is, that he is not *ipso facto* incapacitated from entering upon a question to which they belong. I would say, in the next place, that I desire to speak of this matter with the utmost possible tenderness to the good men, unhappily separated from us, whose hearts are now yearning in the direction of Catholic unity; and I trust that I shall not be turned from the proper effect of such a desire by anything which, in what I may call the draft of their scheme, may seem to me impracticable and even grotesque. I well remember how vast a step in the right direction Mr. Newman and others felt it to be, when five-and-twenty years ago certain persons of our company began to be alive to the tremendous evils of that spirit of isolation in which, up to that time, many Anglicans had not only rested but rejoiced. I remember, also, how strong a sensation was created, even among High Churchmen, at the time when this note of Catholic unity was first sounded in the 'British Critic'; nor am I altogether sure that I ought to except from this number Dr. Pusey himself, though ever too generous to utter a public word which might create dissension among those in whose general aims he sympathised, while differing from some of them, even materially, as to the manner of carrying those aims into effect. But I remember also, what is a still more important fact, that there was not one of us earlier converts (unless, indeed, it were our far-sighted friend John Henry Newman) who was not, to use a familiar phrase, 'bitten' with the theory of a 'corporate re-union,' or, at least, who did not foster

the hope of something like a combined movement, before he decided upon taking an independent step. I could never say, without an act of self-condemnation, which I do not believe to be warranted, that there is any necessary absence of the spirit of humility and submission in the abstract desire of entering the Roman communion in a body, rather than as individuals. Such a mode of submitting to it, were it practicable, would undoubtedly be clear of many of the real disadvantages which attend the course of individual and insulated action; while, in a simply Catholic point of view, no one can doubt that the accession of a large body to the ranks of the Church, always supposing that it could be effected without compromise on any side, would be the subject of a heartier Te Deum than even that with which we celebrate the accession of an individual. On the other hand, I am sure that Dr. Pusey himself would be the last to deny that even a separation which cannot be bridged over without the sacrifice of conscientious conviction, painful and anomalous as it is, is an incomparably less evil than union (to put a purely hypothetical and absolutely impossible case) brought about by concessions inconsistent with Catholic doctrine and principle. I think, moreover, that Dr. Pusey must be impressed by observing how purely as a matter of conscience, a question involving the prospect of so immense a gain, in point of numbers and influence, to the side of the Roman obedience, is dealt with by Catholics, and how little they are actually induced to swerve from what appears to them the line of right by the fear of exposing themselves to the

charge of stubborn inflexibility. To my own mind, this is among the strongest of secondary evidences to the Divine authority of the Church, and exhibits her in the most marked contrast to the religious communities which are swayed to and fro by the action of the world.

But, when I pass from the hopes of re-union in the abstract to the mode by which it is proposed to carry those hopes into effect, I confess that I am lost in the mazes of a proposition of which the difficulties seem to me as inextricable as the conception is amiable, and the theory at first sight attractive. The very phrase, 'corporate re-union,' will not bear sifting. A 'corporate' re-union means, I suppose, a union of bodies; for the mere fusion of a number of individuals into a definite body is rather an absorption than a union, which seems to imply substantive existence on the part of both the bodies so uniting. In the Roman communion the presence of this condition is abundantly evident; but where shall we seek it on the other side? Where is the principle of cohesion, or the mark of organisation, in the communion with which the Holy See would be invited to enter into ecclesiastical relations? Its very name is matter of question among its members. Is its denomination the Established Church, or the Anglo-Catholic Church, or the National Church, or the Protestant Church? The first is rejected by the High Church section of its members; the second by the Low Church party; the third does not represent its character, for it takes no account of the numerous bodies of Dissenters who with it make up the aggre-

gate of the nation, religiously speaking; while the term 'Protestant' is as zealously repudiated by one party as it is jealously vindicated by another. The collective body of its Bishops represents nothing but the principle of passive disunion. Some of them lean to the latitudinarian side; one or two appeal to antiquity, but protest against Rome; several uphold private judgment on the Scriptures as sufficient for all the purposes of faith; others steer clear of extremes, and desire nothing but a quiet life. Who is to be the spokesman of such a body, the representative of such a polity, the ambassador of such a court? It is impossible even to describe such a state of things without exposing oneself to the charge of satire; but the satire is not in the spirit, but in the fact.

It must come then, at last, to this: that the union is not to take place between the Church of England as a body (for it is in no true sense a body capable of treating) and the Holy Catholic and Roman Church, but between a certain section of its members and that Church. This, obviously, changes the whole aspect of the question. The case of a communion, such as the Greek Church, with unbroken traditions, unimpaired liturgies, and a united Episcopate, cannot be paralleled with a Church whose traditions have been so rudely invaded, whose formularies so seriously tampered with, and whose government so fatally dislocated as that which claims to be the lineal descendant of the ancient English Church; and this would be true even did that Church at this time present as much appearance of organisation and union as, for instance, some of the

Dissenting bodies. But still less can the parallel be sustained between an ancient and compact communion and a mere handful of Catholic-minded Christians in one so disunited.

Even, however, supposing, merely for argument's sake, that the Anglican Church, as a body, or any of her members, could prevail upon the Holy See to admit the question of a religious treaty, the basis of such a treaty would be, beyond all possibility of doubt, that which I now find does not enter into the present contemplation of Dr. Pusey. Two views, and two only, of the conditions necessary to the exercise of the infallible authority of the Church are consistent with the position of a Catholic in communion with the Holy See. The one is that which vests the prerogative of infallibility absolutely in the person of the Holy Father, speaking *ex cathedrâ*; the other that which requires, as a condition of it, the subsequent acceptance, at least tacit, of his decrees by the collective episcopate in communion with Rome. Now, to take the case of the dogmatic decree on the Immaculate Conception, which Dr. Pusey appears to regard as involving some novel exercise of this prerogative, I must say, on the contrary, that this decree fully satisfies, and more than satisfies, the requirements even of the lowest theory of infallibility. In the instance in question, the Pope did not pronounce the definitive judgment till he had first ascertained the opinions of all the bishops of Catholic Christendom; and, through their instrumentality, the *sensus fidelium* on the subject of it. The dogmatic decree, pronounced by the Holy Father with the

utmost solemnity, and in the presence of an extraordinary concourse of Bishops from every part of his spiritual dominions, has since been accepted by the whole Church, not only without reluctance, but with the greatest possible joy and gratitude. It was the nearest approach to a General Council which the Church had witnessed for three hundred years. Dr. Pusey, indeed, lays great stress upon the circumstance of a minority of the bishops having sent in to the Holy Father the statement of their difficulties or objections. But he candidly draws attention to the fact that these difficulties and objections, in every instance, related, not to the doctrine itself, but to the time, mode, or prudence of defining it; and that all the bishops alike expressed their readiness to submit to the definition, if the Holy Father in his wisdom should see fit to proceed with it. The difference between opinions so collected and opinions expressed by word of mouth at a General Council, whatever it may be, is surely not sufficient to counterbalance the weight of such a testimony. But, even had this previous consultation of the Episcopate been waived altogether, the decree would have failed in no condition demanded even by the lowest theory of infallibility. For that theory calls for no limitation of the Pope's personal prerogative, save an *ex post facto* one; and dogmatic decrees, such as that by which the errors of Jansenius are condemned, are universally accepted as adequate expressions of the infallible voice, although promulgated without ceremonial solemnity, and without any previous formal consultation of the collective Catholic

Episcopate. Hence it follows, not only that the range of *de fide* doctrines is far more extensive than the terms of Dr. Pusey's claim would seem to embrace, but that he is at issue with us as to the necessary conditions of a *de fide* declaration of the Church. And this brings me to the main difficulty in the way of union on Dr. Pusey's terms. There is no doubt whatever that the supremacy of the See of Peter, in the sense in which Dr. Pusey at present refuses to accept it, is one of those *de fide* doctrines, to a belief in which the terms of his claim oblige him, but from the obligation of which he would exempt himself by such a limitation of those doctrines as we cannot possibly recognise. He tries to raise a difficulty in the way of this position, by observing that it must compel us to condemn the Greek Church of heresy, as well as schism.* We are perfectly aware of this consequence, and do not shrink from it. We base the position, that the supremacy of the See of Peter is an article of faith, implicitly received from the beginning, upon the declaration of the Council of Florence:—

Sanctam Apostolicam sedem, et Romanum Pontificem in universum orbem tenere principatum et ipsum Pontificem Romanum successorem esse Beati Principis Apostolorum, et verum Christi Vicarium, totiusque Ecclesiæ caput, et omnium Christianorum Patrem et Doctorem existere; et ipsi in Beato Petro pascendi, regendi, et gubernandi Universalem Ecclesiam, a Domino Nostro Jesu Christo plenam potestatem traditam fuisse.

This most explicit declaration is thus recognised as a

* See Dr. Pusey's second letter to the *Weekly Register*.

Catholic dogma in the Constitutions of Pope Pius VI. in the year 1786 :—

Super soliditate Petræ fundatam a Christo Ecclesiam, Petrumque singulari Christi munere præ cœteris electum, qui vicaria potestate Apostolici Chori Princeps existeret totiusque adeo gregis pascendi, Fratres confirmandi totoque orbe ligandi ac solvendi summam curam auctoritatemque in Successores omni ævo propagandam susciperet, Dogma Catholicum est, quod ore Christi acceptum, perenni Patrum predicatione traditum ac defensum, Ecclesia Universa omni ætate sanctissimi retinuit, sæpiusque adversus Novatorum errores Summorum Pontificum, Conciliorumque decretis confirmavit.*—Constitutio Pii VI., 28 Nov. 1786.

Here Dr. Pusey is met by a serious practical difficulty. If the Pope is to exercise in a re-united England the power which he claims all over the world, of controlling the appointments to the Episcopate, it is quite certain that the bishops so nominated, or, at least, accepted by him, will, with the priests who are their subjects, be the instruments of flooding England with the devotions to which Dr. Pusey conscientiously objects. Dr. Pusey, if I understand him aright, would suggest, as the remedy of what he considers so great an evil, that the Pope should recognise England as part of his spiritual dominions, yet waive in her case the right which he exercises elsewhere of determining who shall be the bishops to preside over the several dioceses. He would have England bear the relation to the Holy See of an outlying colony, with its own independent government and institutions. To name such a proposal, if I do

* These extracts will be found in Dr. Patrick Murray's *Theological Essays,* which the reader is strongly recommended to consult.

not misconceive it, is surely to condemn it in the eyes of every good Catholic. It would not, I am convinced, be a union on terms like these, or, indeed, any union of which I can even imagine a satisfactory basis, that would tend to promote the great and most desirable object which enters so largely and so laudably into the mind and heart of Dr. Pusey, as a motive for aiming at a reconciliation with Rome; the combination, namely, of those elements of strength against the infidel and rationalistic spirit of the day which are at present disunited by religious differences. There are not wanting evidences that even this spirit itself would be more than tolerant of such an union as might break down what it considers the intolerance of the Church and her stern resistance to the spirit of the age. Dr. Pusey has spoken with approval of the dictum of some Italian nobleman, who is reported to have said, that a point of contact for union might be found between the Catholic *minimum* and Anglican *maximum*.* I hardly think that, if he had a clear idea of a Catholic *minimum*, he would feel it to be a possible basis of such a union as he could approve. To suppose that a substantial religious compound could be formed out of the weakest elements of Catholic and the strongest of Anglican truth is to overlook the ethical bearings of doctrine, and to reduce the subject to the unreal form of a mere question of intellectual assent to certain barren articlesof faith. We ought rather to look at the matter in the concrete,

* See his first letter in the *Weekly Register*.

and to imagine, if it be possible, the character of a *minimum* Catholic engrafted on that of a *maximum* Anglican. My own belief is that the theory would vanish, like the logical riddle of Achilles and the tortoise, under the stern operation of a practical experiment; and that a mere nondescript being would be the product of an attempt to fuse into union such heterogeneous constituents. My idea of the character of a *minimum* Catholic will be best conveyed by a rough sketch of what I conceive to be its leading features, with allowance for circumstantial varieties which do not affect the essence of the picture. What may be the *minimum* Catholic of Italy or France I have no better means of determining than are also at Dr. Pusey's command. But I think I know in what shape this sort of Catholic would come out in England. He is one, then, who considers belief to be a burden, not a privilege, and who, therefore, believes no more than he can help. In ecclesiastical politics he scarcely rises to the Gallican level. He has more fellow-feeling with his non-Catholic countrymen than with Catholics, however excellent, of other countries; that is to say, he prefers his country to the Church. He is, therefore, more sensitive to the rights of the Queen and constitution than of the Pope; not, of course, that he should disregard the former, but that he should especially prize the latter. He dislikes our popular devotions, not only those which relate to the Blessed Virgin, but others also, considering them superfluous and rather sentimental. He wishes priests to be 'men of the world'; not in the sense of being experimentally alive to its delusions,

or of meeting it half way in its own line with a view to subduing it, but of copying its ways, mingling indiscriminately with its societies, and entering with undue zest into its peculiar interests. I half suspect that he is secretly disinclined to clerical celibacy; but upon this subject the feeling is happily too strong to allow of his giving public expression to a sentiment so unpopular. However, he has no scruple about advocating marriages between Catholics and Protestants, as tending to break down invidious distinctions. He prefers mixed to exclusive education; he sets more store by the social than by the especially supernatural virtues, and is half inclined to doubt whether the latter have any real existence, except in the pages of saintly biography, or in the exhortations of enthusiastic preachers. He doubts the advantage of Religious Orders, excepting, perhaps, those of the female sex which attend the hospitals. He abhors the Irish as a dreamy unpractical people, taking little or no account of their faith and piety. He is inclined to think that objective Truth is a chimera, and a dogmatic religion the most indefensible of tyrannies; he considers that religious differences are all capable of being cleared up by mutual explanation; and that, at last, if a man be a good citizen and a good neighbour, his creed is of the less importance, since the poet has said—

> He can't be wrong whose life is in the right.

The formal recognition of a low standard of Catholic doctrine as a basis of union will have no other effect

than that of multiplying such sorry specimens of the religious character as I have just described. Is it to effect a result such as this, that Dr. Pusey would employ the latest energies of a life, laboriously and honourably spent in the inculcation and exemplification of principles the very reverse of those on which such a character is founded; and this, too, at the moment when he is striving to borrow from Rome the light and help which may enable him to realise more perfectly the ideal of Catholic loyalty and Catholic sanctity, to which he finds the resources at his command avowedly unequal?

Lastly, let us pause for one moment to consider the results of such an union with reference to the battle against infidelity and atheism. It would be like attempting to conquer a well-disciplined phalanx with a disloyal and treacherous soldiery. Anglicans, as a body, are no match for the rationalism of the age, because their Church does not support them in the maintenance of objective religion, even, when personally they prize it; and the allies they require in their necessity are surely such Catholics as combine a devoted allegiance to the principles and an intimate perception of the spirit of the Church, with a cordial appreciation, and not a bare acceptance merely, of her essential doctrines.

I have now performed my task, and am fully conscious how little I have done justice to the subject. The work which I have reviewed so imperfectly is large in bulk, and still larger in the range of matter over which it extends. It would not be easy to deal

with its contents even in a volume, far less in a pamphlet. It is therefore a satisfaction to me to know that various portions of its contents are likely to receive notice from those who are fully competent to handle them.* My own work is of a character intermediate between a complete treatise and a discussion of single topics entering into Dr. Pusey's plan, and is intended rather as a popular review of his general argument than a minute examination of the various questions involved in it. I submit it most respectfully to Your Grace's judgment; and, through you, to the judgment of the Holy See; desiring that all its contents may be understood in the true sense of the Church, and withdrawing every word of them which may be found to be at variance with her mind.

One word in conclusion. I bring this little work to a close on the Festival, and place it under the especial patronage of that glorious Apostle and Evangelist who is the representative and preacher, in his life, of the tenderest affection to our dearest Lord, and of the most ardent love of the brethren; in his writings, of heavenly wisdom, and theological science; and in his office, delegated to him from the Cross itself, of the most loyal fidelity and filial devotion to the Mother of God. These are precisely the interests which it has been my object in these pages to promote and to harmonise; and I regard it as a providential coincidence, and hail it as an omen of promise, that my work

* While these sheets are passing through the press, a most able and elaborate article on Dr. Pusey's work has appeared in the *Dublin Review* for January 1866.

should go forth to the world in the strength of so mighty a name, and under the shelter of so auspicious an invocation.

I am, my dear Lord Archbishop,

Yours affectionately,

FREDERICK OAKELEY.

St. John's, Islington:
Feast of St. John the Evangelist, 1865.

APPENDIX.

Note at page 5.

The controversy upon the interpretation of the Thirty-nine Articles does not enter into my proposed subject. But I take advantage of a brief allusion to it in the text to give *in extenso*, as an appendix to my pamphlet, an admirable letter on the subject from the pen of Canon Estcourt, which appeared in the 'Weekly Register' of December 9, and of which he has kindly allowed me to avail myself. The publication of Dr. Pusey's new edition of Tract XC., with a preface, likewise gives me an occasion of explaining very briefly a passage in my pamphlet which conflicts with a statement of his both in the Eirenicon and in his later publication. He there repeats, what he said in his book, that Mr. Ward's method of explaining Mr. Newman's Tract, with his own additional comments, was the principal cause of the outcry with which that Tract was received. He founds this opinion partly upon the circumstance of Mr. Ward having adopted into his view of Roman doctrine those traditionary glosses, as he considers them, against which Mr. Newman understood the Articles to protest; and partly upon the use of the term 'non-natural,' by which Mr. Ward described the Catholic sense of the Articles, and which Dr. Pusey seems to think that people had good grounds for regarding as a synonyme with 'dishonest.'

Now, it is certainly true that in 1844–5 Mr. Ward had arrived at the conclusion that the grave errors against which he supposed the

Articles to be directed, had no real existence in the authorised teaching, any more than in the formal doctrines of the Roman Church, but were mere creations of the imagination which the framers of the Articles took up at second hand. But it is equally true that, in 1841, Mr. Ward neither expressed, nor even held, any other opinion on this matter than such as was entirely coincident with the view taken by Mr. Newman in the Tract. The outcry against the Tract and its author intervened between these two periods, and had reached its height before the arrival of the second; so that I do not see how Mr. Newman's case was prejudiced in the eyes of the world, in this instance at least, by Mr. Ward's alleged perversion or exaggeration of his meaning. The outcry against *Mr. Ward* did not take its rise, or at all events assume a very definite character, till the appearance of the 'Ideal,' in the summer of the year 1844. The protest of the Four Tutors of the Hebdomidal Board, the Charges of sundry Bishops, and a volley of smaller shot, had been directed against Mr. Newman, and driven him into retirement long before that time.

I am aware that Mr. Ward brought down on himself, and all who were any way connected with him in the movement, an immense deal of obloquy by the use of the word 'non-natural' to express the peculiar interpretation of the Articles for which he and others contended. But this obloquy was so perfectly groundless, and even absurd, that I wonder how any sensible person can seriously defend it. The word 'non-natural' does not mean the same with 'unnatural,' but, on the contrary, is carefully framed with the view of excluding such a sense. It simply denies that the sense in question is the 'natural' sense, without going the length of saying that it is positively contrary to that sense. The sense of 'non' in such compounds is privative rather than positive. Surely Dr. Pusey does not deny that the Articles and Prayer Book are construed in a 'non-natural sense' by the Evangelicals,—for otherwise he must consider that their natural sense is opposed to certain doctrines to which he attaches a just importance. Yet, on the other hand, he will not say that they who subscribe them in that 'non-natural sense' are dishonest. Now, then, let us take an instance. Does Dr. Pusey mean that the interpretation which extracts the Catholic

doctrine of Transubstantiation from the following language of the XXVIII. Article is natural or non-natural?

'Transubstantiation, or the change of the substance of the bread and wine in the Supper of the Lord, cannot be proved by Holy Writ; but is repugnant to the plain words of Scripture, overthroweth the nature of a sacrament, and hath given occasion to many superstitions.'

Mr. Newman said that such an interpretation of this Article as brought it into harmony with our received doctrine was impossible. Mr. Ward said that it was possible, but not natural. Dr. Pusey says that it is not only possible, but quite natural. Let the reader choose between these different views. If he do not adopt the second, I see no alternative in common sense except in the first.

It is certain, at any rate, that Mr. Ward's epithet of 'non-natural' could have nothing to do with the unpopularity of Tract XC., since it was first used in the 'Ideal,' which did not appear for nearly four years after the publication of that Tract. Dr. Pusey's statements are strangely deficient in historical accuracy. I now proceed to give Mr. Estcourt's letter to the *Weekly Register*.

To the Editor of the Weekly Register.

Sir,—Reading in Dr. Pusey's letter the following passage—'I have long been convinced that there is nothing in the Council of Trent which could not be explained satisfactorily to us, if it were explained *authoritatively*, i.e. by the Roman Church itself, not by individual theologians only. This involves the conviction on my side, that there is nothing in our Articles which cannot be explained rightly, as not contradicting any things held to be *de fide* in the Roman Church'—I cannot but fear that he is deceiving himself in assuming such a position. It is no doubt a great grace to be prepared so far to accept the Catholic Faith as declared in the Council of Trent,—and all Catholics will recognise with joy such an admission. But if it is supposed that the Decrees and Canons of the Holy Council may be submitted to the same mental process as that which the Thirty-nine Articles have to undergo, I fear that in the dispositions, apparently so hopeful, there is only a distant approach to the Catholic spirit.

The Articles are not intended, nor supposed, to bind the consciences of those who subscribe them, and they are therefore susceptible of the utmost latitude of interpretation. It is possible that a person subscribing them may not, by that act, be precluded from accepting the whole Council of Trent. But the converse of this proposition is an impossibility. No one who accepts that Council as the voice of the Church, and the guide of his faith, could, with a safe conscience, subscribe to the Thirty-nine Articles.

The decisions of the Church, as they embody the Faith, demand not only an exterior assent, but an interior conviction. The divine gift of faith infused into the soul of every Catholic finds in them its food and guidance, and its very life. We have to believe everything the Church believes and teaches, and to condemn everything she condemns. This involves the duty, not only of detesting every open substantial heresy, but also of refusing our assent, whether by word, or act, or sign that might imply assent, to any proposition that even in the form of expression contains error, or that sounds wrong, or that seems offensive, or may cause scandal to Catholics in general, even though the proposition assented to might, in a certain sense, receive an innocent explanation.

An illustration of this readily occurs. The Oath of Supremacy has been often explained, and is generally understood to mean that the Pope has no power in this country that can be enforced by law. This is no more than the plain fact, and if he has no power by law, it is equally the fact that according to English law he ought not to have it. Thus the Oath of Supremacy is capable of an interpretation in which Catholics and Protestants would all agree. But what Catholic would think of taking such an oath; being in its original intention, and in express form, a renunciation of the authority of the Holy See, and when his so doing would generally appear as an act of apostacy?

It may then be worth while to examine the possibility of reconciling the Anglican formularies with the Council. Whether the Articles were directed against the Council, or the Decrees of the Council against the Articles, may be matter of historical enquiry. Perhaps in some parts the censure is intentional on each side; for the Articles were first published in 1552, and confirmed in their present form in 1562; thus coming in between the first part of the Council, which lasted from 1545 to 1552, and the concluding sessions from 1562 to '63. There is evidence that the state of religion in England was frequently referred to in the later sessions.

But this is of no consequence as regards the question of doctrine.

That question depends simply on the language used in either case—viz., whether one contradicts the other. I will therefore place in parallel columns propositions extracted from each—the Thirty-nine Articles and Common Prayer Book on one side, and the Canons and Decrees of the Council on the other, as follows—using Waterworth's Translation of the Council, and beginning with those in which the heresy is directly stated and apparent.

Articles.	Council of Trent.
IX. This infection of nature doth remain, yea in them that are regenerated; whereby the lust of the flesh . . . is not subject to the law of God. And although there is no condemnation for them that believe and are baptized, yet the Apostle doth confess that concupiscence and lust hath of itself the nature of sin.	Session V. The holy Synod confesses and is sensible that in the baptized there remains concupiscence or an incentive to sin; which whereas it is left for our exercise, cannot injure those who consent not, but resist manfully by the grace of Jesus Christ: yea, he who shall have *striven lawfully shall be crowned*. This concupiscence, which the Apostle sometimes calls sin, the holy Synod declares that the Catholic Church has never understood to be called sin, as being truly and properly sin in those *born again*, but because it is of sin, and inclines to sin. And if any one is of a contrary sentiment, let him be anathema.
XIII. *Of Works before Justification.* Works done before the grace of Christ and the inspiration of His spirit are not pleasant to God, forasmuch as they spring not of faith in Jesus Christ; . . . . yea, rather for that they are not done as God hath willed and commanded them to be done, we doubt not but that they have the nature of sin.	Session VI. Canon 7.—If any one saith, that all works done before justification, in whatsoever way they be done, are truly sins, or merit the hatred of God; . . . let him be anathema.

XXII. The Romish doctrine concerning Purgatory, Pardons, Worshipping and Adoration, as well of Images as of Reliques, and also Invocation of Saints, is a fond thing vainly invented, and grounded upon no warranty of Scripture, but rather repugnant to the word of God.

Session XXV.

There is a Purgatory, and the souls there detained are helped by the suffrages of the faithful.

They think impiously, who deny that the Saints, who enjoy eternal happiness in Heaven, are to be invocated; or who assert either that they do not pray for men; or that the invocation of them to pray for each of us even in particular is idolatry; or that it is repugnant to the word of God, and opposed to the honour of the one mediator of God and men, Christ Jesus; or that it is foolish to supplicate, vocally or mentally, those who reign in Heaven.

They who affirm that veneration and honour are not due to the relics of Saints, and that these and other sacred monuments are uselessly honoured by the faithful . . . are wholly to be condemned, as the Church has already long since condemned, and now also condemns them.

The images of Christ, of the Virgin Mother of God, and of the other Saints, are to be had and retained particularly in temples, and due honour and veneration are to be given them.

If any one shall teach or entertain sentiments contrary to these decrees; let him be anathema.

Session XXV.

The Holy Synod teaches and enjoins that the use of Indulgences, for the Christian people

most salutary, and approved of by the authority of sacred Councils, is to be retained in the Church; and it condemns with anathema those who either assert that they are useless, or who deny that there is in the Church the power of granting them.

XXV.—There are two Sacraments ordained of Christ Our Lord in the Gospel, that is to say, Baptism, and the Supper of the Lord.

Those five, commonly called Sacraments, that is to say, Confirmation, &c., are not to be counted for Sacraments of the Gospel . . . . (they) have not like nature of Sacraments with Baptism and the Lord's Supper.

SESSION VII.

Canon 1.—If any one saith, that the Sacraments of the New Law were not all instituted by Jesus Christ Our Lord; or that they are more or less than seven, to wit, Baptism, &c.; or even that any one of these seven is not truly and properly a Sacrament, let him be anathema.

XXVIII.—Transubstantiation, or the change of the substance of bread and wine in the Supper of the Lord, cannot be proved by Holy Writ; but is repugnant to the plain words of Scripture, overthroweth the nature of a Sacrament, and hath given occasion to many superstitions.

SESSION XIII.

Canon 2.—If any one saith, that in the sacred and Holy Sacrament of the Eucharist, the substance of the bread and wine remains conjointly with the Body and Blood of Our Lord Jesus Christ, and denieth that wonderful and singular conversion of the whole substance of the bread into the Body, and of the whole substance of the wine into the Blood—the species only of the bread and wine remaining—which conversion indeed the Catholic Church most aptly calls Transubstantiation; let him be anathema.

The Body of Christ is given, taken, and eaten, in the Supper,

Canon 8.—If any one saith, that Christ, given (*exhibitum*) in

only after an heavenly and spiritual manner.

The Sacrament of the Lord's Supper was not by Christ's ordinance reserved, carried about, lifted up, or worshipped.

Rubric. It is declared that (by kneeling) no adoration is intended or ought to be done, either unto the Sacramental Bread or Wine there bodily received, or unto any corporal presence of Christ's natural Flesh and Blood. For the Sacramental Bread and Wine remain still in their very natural substances, and therefore may not be adored (for that were Idolatry, to be abhorred of all faithful Christians); and the natural Body and Blood of Our Saviour Christ are in Heaven, and not here; it being against the truth of Christ's natural Body to be at one time in more places than one.

XXX.—The cup of the Lord is not to be denied to the lay people; for both the parts of the Lord's Sacrament, by Christ's Ordinance and commandment, ought to be ministered to all Christian men alike.

the Eucharist, is eaten spiritually only, and not also sacramentally and really; let him be anathema.

Canon 6.—If any one saith, that in the Holy Sacrament of the Eucharist, Christ the only begotten Son of God is not to be adored with the worship even external of *latria*; and is consequently neither to be venerated with a special festive solemnity nor to be solemnly borne about in processions, according to the laudable and universal rite and custom of Holy Church; or is not to be proposed publicly to the people to be adored, and that the adorers thereof are idolaters; let him be anathema.

SESSION XXI.

Canon 1.—If any one saith, that, by the precept of God or by necessity of salvation, all and each of the faithful of Christ ought to receive both species of the most Holy Sacrament of the Eucharist; let him be anathema.

Canon 2.—If any one saith, that the Holy Catholic Church was not induced, by just causes and reasons, to communicate, under the species of bread only, laymen, and also clerics when

not consecrating; let him be anathema.

Article VI., 'Of the Holy Scriptures,' and Article XXIV., 'Of speaking in the congregation in a tongue understood,' are also subject to the anathemas of the Council.

We now come to other expressions in which the heresy is less open and direct. In some of these the language is in a certain sense true, but is used in an heretical sense, having been adopted with the intention of denying some other truth taught by the Church. Such are the following:—

Art. XI.—'We are accounted righteous before God, only for the merit of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ by Faith, and not for our own works or deservings; wherefore, that we are justified by Faith only is a most wholesome doctrine and very full of comfort.' . . . . . .

[Erroneous, in the phrases 'accounted righteous,' 'by Faith and not for our own works and deservings,' and 'by Faith only;' being intended to deny the Catholic doctrine of the gift of inherent justice, and of justification by good works.]

Session VI.

Canon 11.—If any one saith, that men are justified, either by the sole imputation of the justice of Christ, or by the sole remission of sins, to the exclusion of the grace and *the charity which is poured forth in their hearts by the Holy Ghost*, and is inherent in them; or even that the grace whereby we are justified is only the favour of God; let him be anathema.

XII.—'Albeit that good works, which are the fruits of Faith and follow after justification, cannot put away our sins and endure the severity of God's judgment, yet are they pleasing and acceptable to God in Christ, and do spring out necessarily of a true and lively Faith; insomuch that by them a lively Faith may be as evidently known as a tree discerned by the fruit.'

[Ambiguous, whether or not intended to mean that good

Canon 24.—If any one saith, that the justice received is not preserved and also increased before God through good works, but that the said works are merely the fruits and signs of justification obtained, but not a cause of the increase thereof; let him be anathema.

28.—If any one saith, that, grace being lost through sin, Faith also is always lost with it; or that the Faith which remains, though it be not a lively Faith, is

works are only the fruits and consequence of justification, and not also a cause of its increase; and erroneous, because Faith may be true, though not living, without good works.]

Prayer in the Communion.

. . 'We most heartily thank Thee, for that Thou dost vouchsafe to feed us, &c. . . and dost assure us thereby of Thy favour and goodness towards us.'

Prayer in Confirmation.'

. . 'Thy servants, on whom . . . we have now laid our hands, to certify them by this sign of Thy favour and gracious goodness towards them.' . . .

[Erroneous; being intended to deny that grace is more than the external favour of God, and not an interior gift and power.]

Art. XXV.—'Sacraments . . . be certain sure witnesses, and effectual signs of grace, and God's good will towards us, by the which He doth work invisibly in us, and doth not only quicken, but also strengthen and confirm our Faith in Him.'

[Ambiguous; being intended in the same meaning, and the error not being removed by the words 'effectual' and 'work invisibly in us.']

Art. XIX.—'The visible Church of Christ is a congregation of faithful men, in the which the pure Word of God is preached, and the Sacraments be duly ministered according to Christ's ordinance in all those things that not a true Faith; or that he who has Faith without charity is not a Christian; let him be anathema.

Session VI.

Canon 11.—If any one saith, . . . that the grace, whereby we are justified, is only the favour of God, let him be anathema.

of necessity are requisite to the same.'

'As the Church of Jerusalem, Alexandria, and Antioch have erred, so also the Church of Rome hath erred, not only in their living and manner of ceremonies, but also in matters of faith.'

[False and scandalous; being intended to mean that in the Catholic Church the pure Word of God is not preached, and the Sacraments not rightly administered; and that the Church is in error in matters of Faith.]

'The Absolution to be pronounced by the Priest.'

'Almighty God . . . who hath given power and commandment to His Ministers to declare and pronounce to His people, being penitent, the Absolution and Remission of their sins: He pardoneth and absolveth all them that truly repent, and unfeignedly believe His Holy Gospel.'

[Erroneous; because intended to mean that the power of Absolution is nothing more than a declaration of remission.]

'The Order of Confirmation.' . . . 'None shall be confirmed but such as can say the Creed, &c., and answer the short Catechism . . . . to the end that, children, being come to years of discretion, and having learned what their godfathers and godmothers promised for them in Baptism, they may themselves,

Session XIV.

Canon 9.—If any one saith, that the Sacramental Absolution of the Priest is not a judicial act, but a bare ministry of pronouncing and declaring sins to be forgiven to him who confesses; provided only he believe himself to be absolved, or even though the Priest absolve not in earnest, but in joke; or saith, that the confession of the penitent is not required in order that the Priest may be able to absolve him; let him be anathema.

Session VII.

Canon 1.—If any one saith, that the confirmation of those who have been baptized is an idle ceremony, and not rather a true and proper Sacrament; or that of old it was nothing more than a kind of Catechism, whereby they who were near adolescence gave an account of their Faith

with their own mouth and consent, openly before the Church, ratify and confirm the same.'

[Erroneous; because it is intended to mean that Confirmation is nothing more than this ratification of baptismal promises; with which view the rite has been altered from the ancient Catholic rite, and every expression implying a sacramental gift of grace has been eliminated. Thus the Anglican form of Confirmation is rendered altogether invalid.]

Prayers in 'the Communion.'

. . 'Who made (upon the cross) by His one oblation of Himself once offered, a full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction for the sins of the whole world; and did institute, and in His holy Gospel command us to continue a perpetual memory of that His precious death until His coming again.'

. . We desire Thy fatherly goodness . . . . to accept this our sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving.'

[Erroneous; because intended to mean that the Eucharist is no more than a commemoration, and only a sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving. This appears, because the prayers are taken partly from the Canon of the Mass, and these expressions have been substituted for those that imply the real and proper sacrifice.]

Art. XXXI.—'The Offering in the face of the Church; let him be anathema.

Session XXII.

Canon 3.—If any one saith, that the Sacrifice of the Mass is only a sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving; or that it is a bare commemoration of the sacrifice consummated on the Cross, but not a propitiatory sacrifice; or that it profits him only who receives; and that it ought not to be offered for the living and the dead for sins, pains, satisfactions, and other necessities; let him be anathema.

Canon 4.—If any one saith, that by the Sacrifice of the Mass, a blasphemy is cast upon the most holy sacrifice of Christ consummated on the Cross; or that it is thereby derogated from; let him be anathema.

of Christ once made is that perfect redemption, propitiation, and satisfaction for the sins of the whole world, both original and actual; and there is none other satisfaction for sin, but that alone. Wherefore the sacrifices of Masses, in the which it was commonly said that the Priest did offer Christ for the quick and dead, to have remission of pain or guilt, were blasphemous fables, and dangerous deceits.'

[False and impious; nor can it be defended on the ground of the phrase 'Sacrifices of Masses' being in the plural number, because the term 'Sacrificia Missarum' is equally correct, and has the same meaning with 'Sacrificium Missæ.' Thus in the *Missa pro Defunctis*, 'anima famuli tui his sacrificiis purgata, et a peccatis expedita.' This Article is therefore nothing else than a charge of blasphemy and imposture on the Most Holy Sacrifice of the Eucharist.]

There are various other points in which the Book of Common Prayer and the Thirty-nine Articles are at variance with the Council; but these are sufficient to show that in each of those formularies the errors and heresies condemned by the Church are formally stated and maintained. It is difficult, therefore, to see any other basis for the reconciliation of Anglicans to the Catholic Church than their renouncing the Prayer Book and Articles, and receiving the Council of Trent.

I remain, yours faithfully,

Birmingham, Dec. 2. E. E. Estcourt.

Note at page 36.

A great part of the objection to the language of Catholic devotion arises from the practice of confining certain words to their conventional sense, instead of interpreting them according to the intention of the writer or speaker; or, on the other hand, of restricting to a secondary and technical use those which are employed in a more general sense. Thus there is really no difference in fact between the terms 'worship' and 'veneration'; yet, while mere human qualities are popularly considered to warrant veneration, Catholics are charged with idolatry who speak of the Blessed Virgin as an object of worship; a charge the more impertinent when we remember that in the words of the marriage rite, common to Catholics with Protestants, this term is actually employed in the sense of 'service' or 'devotion.' The word 'adoration,' again, has come to be restricted, like that of 'prayer,' to the homage claimed by God only; though the first, according to its etymology, need mean no more than 'invocation,' and the second, though refused to the saints, is used without scruple in petitions to Parliament. All such words mean only what they are meant to imply. They are to be interpreted by our intention, and not our intention by them. 'Mediation,' again, has been gifted in Protestant controversy with a special sense which is not borne out by its received use. The word is employed freely and unsuspiciously to denote the friendly intervention of an ambassador or peacemaker; but in religious language we are expected to apply it exclusively to the office of our Blessed Lord. All this is very intelligible on the part of those who do not believe that the saints in heaven render us any assistance in the work of salvation, but it should clearly be understood that the objection to such expressions originates in an objection to that doctrine. Those indeed who attribute to the intercession or mediation of the Blessed Virgin any kind of interference with the office of our Lord would seem to imagine

that we suppose our Lord to mediate or intercede with the Eternal Father in the same sense in which we believe the Blessed Virgin to mediate or intercede with Him. One hardly likes to hint such a charge; but the objection is certainly one which might be expected to proceed from an Arian. The Church regards the intercession of our Lord with the Eternal Father as something not only in degree higher, but in kind other, than that of the Blessed Virgin with her Son. The advocacy of the Blessed Virgin with her Divine Son is incomparably the highest and most effectual that a mere created being can exercise; but it is characteristically different from that according to which God the Son pleads continually, in the bosom of the most Holy Trinity, the priceless satisfaction of His Cross and Passion, which is, in truth, the sole meritorious cause of all the graces and prerogatives of His most blessed Mother.

The light in which our Lady's privilege first presented itself to her own mind was as a motive to magnify God. 'Magnificat anima mea Dominum; et exultavit spiritus meus in *Deo salutari meo*,' and her children speak freely of her greatness, and of her gifts, because they feel that all exaltation of her is implicitly, and, by consequence, an exaltation of Him who willed that she should be the created model of divine excellence in willing that she should be His Mother.

LONDON
PRINTED BY SPOTTISWOODE AND CO.
NEW-STREET SQUARE

Lewis Kell
5 Jan 3/66

THE

CATHOLIC EIRENICON,

IN FRIENDLY RESPONSE TO DR. PUSEY,

OR

"ROMAN CATHOLIC PRINCIPLES IN REFERENCE TO GOD AND THE KING:"

BY THE LOYAL PROFESSION OF WHICH
OUR ROMAN CATHOLIC ANCESTORS ACHIEVED EMANCIPATION
FOR THEMSELVES AND US.

REPRINTED FROM THE EDITION OF 1815.

"*Ne transgrediaris terminos antiquos, quos posuerunt Patres tui.*"—
PROV. xxii. 28.

LONDON:
J. T. HAYES, LYALL PLACE, EATON SQUARE.

1865.

Price Sixpence.

LONDON:
PRINTED AT THE REGENT PRESS, 55, KING STREET,
REGENT STREET, W.

TO

THE ROMAN CATHOLIC HIERARCHY OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND,

THIS REPRINT OF THE PRINCIPLES

SO OFTEN PUBLICKLY SANCTIONED AND APPEALED TO,

DURING THE LAST 150 YEARS,

BY THEIR PREDECESSORS,

IS RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED

BY THE EDITOR.

PREFACE.

This extraordinary little tract has been upon a small scale to the Catholics of Great Britain and Ireland, for the last 150 years or more, what the renowned "Book of the Sentences" by Peter Lombard, or the "Theological Sum" of S. Thomas Aquinas was to the Schoolmen. It has been at once their "sum" of principles, and their text-book for commentaries. The last edition of it in a separate form appears to have been that of the Rev. John Kirk, in 1815: and it is to his researches, and to Mr. Charles Butler, who has condensed and added to them, that we are indebted for its history down to that date.

Its author, in all probability, was the Rev. James Croker, Abbot of the Benedictine Abbey of Lambspring, in Germany. It came out in 1680. Six editions of it were printed before 1684. Lord Stafford referred to it on his memorable trial in 1680. In the following year appeared "Stafford's Memoirs: or a Brief and Impartial Account of the Trial, Principles, and Final End of William, late Lord Viscount Stafford;" and in the folio edition of that work it is given at length. Up to the time of the last edition in 1815, no less than twenty-four different editions of it had been discovered. A partial edition of it was published in 1749 by the Rev. John Hornyhold, afterwards Vicar Apostolic of the Midland District, in his "Catechism for the Adult." It was printed at Dublin by Mr. O'Connor, of Belanagare. Dr. Leland, the Historian, on perusing that edition of it, is said to have declared that "if such were the principles of Catholics, no Government had any right to quarrel with them." Dr. Coppinger, Roman Catholic Bishop of Cloyne, appended it to his popular manual entitled "True Piety: or the Day Well-spent," which, in 1815, was in its ninth edition. The Rev. Joseph Berington appended it to his "Reflections Addressed to the Rev. John Hawkins" in 1785, when it elicited the warm approbation of Dr. Walmesley, Vicar Apostolic of the Midland District. It was now put forward, not merely for private instruction, as it had been previously, but upon public grounds. In 1788—the very year in which Prince Charles Edward died at Rome—it was sent by the Committee of English Catholics to Mr. Pitt, as first Minister of the Crown, accompanied by a letter dated May 9th,

in which they called it "a printed summary of their tenets, which they were persuaded every Catholic would readily sign." And that letter was signed by Lords Stourton and Petre; Sirs H. Englefield, W. Jerningham, J. Throckmorton; Messrs. W. Fermor, J. Townley, T. Hornyhold. The tract itself bore the signature, in his own handwriting, of the Hon. James Talbot, Vicar Apostolic of the London District, on its title-page. The object of its presentation was to secure for Roman Catholics in this country the removal of their civil disabilities: and as their plea for that purpose it was accepted, and answered by the great Catholic Relief Bill of 1791.

We now come to its history as a text book for commentaries, like the work of Peter Lombard for the schools. In 1813, the Rev. J. Berington and the Rev. J. Kirk published a work, entitled, "The Faith of Catholics, confirmed by Scripture, and attested by the Fathers of the first five centuries of the Church." They dedicated their work "to the Catholics of the United Kingdom, as a monument of the Antiquity and Perpetuity of their Faith;" and from the letter of Mr. Berington to "Dr. Poynter, Vicar Apostolic of the London district," it would appear that with the trifling exceptions there specified and explained, their work had received the entire approval of that eminent prelate. Its nature shall be given from the Introduction, p. 3, and in the words of its principal author. "First, I state, in distinct propositions, the articles of belief, as briefly, but as comprehensively as may be: and these propositions I *generally* take from a small tract, entitled 'Roman Catholic Principles,' published anonymously towards the close of the reign of Charles II. This I did because those Principles—*a few clauses excepted*—are drawn up with great precision, and because in stating points of religious belief, I feel a predilection for whatever bears the stamp of age—Antiquity is the badge of our faith." . . . "Secondly, the Proposition is followed by such passages from the Scriptures as seem to support it with the clearest evidence." . . . "Thirdly, to the authorities from Scripture, succeed those from the Fathers of the first five centuries of the Church." . . . On examination, it will be found that in the work called "The Faith of Catholics," some few of the propositions contained in our Tract have been omitted; some modified, or differently expressed or arranged; while here and there new propositions have been added to give completeness and fulness to the whole. But in no case is there the least hint dropped that any of the propositions omitted or amended had been thought unsound. In

conclusion they say jointly: "We submit without reserve the work in all its parts to the judgment and correction of our Ecclesiastical Superiors, and the other Pastors of the Church, who are the appointed guardians of her faith and discipline." (p. 4.) This edition was before the public for seventeen years before another appeared. In 1830 a second edition was published by the second of its former authors, the Rev. John Kirk. In his Preface to the Reader, he states that the Tract in question was written by the Rev. J. Croker; and his remarks upon it, and on the work which had been founded on it, are as follows:—

"As this tract was written long before certain doctrines of the present day were broached, or had much currency in this country, it cannot be a matter of surprise, that it was not in every instance *so correctly worded* as to be sufficiently guarded against those doctrines. It is, however, to be regretted that the explanations given by my late friend Rev. J. Berington, in his letter to the Rev. Dr. Poynter, were not introduced into those propositions, which have been thought to require some explanation. But the fact is, that, not being aware that any great inaccuracies had been committed, or that any material objections could be made to the work, Mr. Berington did not submit the work to Dr. Poynter before it came from the press. It was then too late to make any alterations in the body of the work. Such alterations have now been made as seemed to be called for, either to obviate objections, or to render the meaning clearer." (p. vi.)

He proceeds then to say that he has improved upon the former translations: and made the references in it, as far as possible, more exact. He has also added a distinct proposition "to prove the exercise of the Primacy by the successors of S. Peter from the earliest ages of Christianity:" has "treated largely of the Discipline of the Secret:" has extracted copiously "from the Liturgies, on the subject of the Eucharist, of prayers to the Saints, and of prayers for the Dead." He acknowledges his obligations on all these heads "to the works of Drs. Poynter and Trevern in the full conviction, *that as these Venerable Prelates have made use of 'The Faith of Catholics'* . . . they would not object to his taking advantage of their labours" . . . (p. vii.), a remark which shows how favorably its first edition had been received. The new proposition added by him on the Primacy, runs thus:—

"The Bishops of Rome have ever been acknowledged, from the earliest ages of Christianity, as the supreme Rulers on earth of the whole Church of Christ: and have exercised an

acknowledged primacy of spiritual jurisdiction, as of Divine right, over all other particular Churches." (p. 157.)

The definition of the Council of Florence is given at length on that score, by way of preface to it: and of the fact contained in it, there cannot be the slightest doubt in the minds of any, who have studied ecclesiastical history without prejudice. This is the only real addition to the second edition worth notice.

The third edition came out in a very enlarged form in 1846, 3 vols. 8vo., by the Rev. J. Waterworth. The new matter is mainly due to the wish of the editor "to present a digest of the evidence of the first five centuries, rather than a mere selection of passages from the writings of that period." . . . (Preface, p. i.) Further on, he says, "he wishes it to be understood that he is not responsible for the 'Propositions' which head each section. Those propositions are taken from a well-known tract of considerable merit, and have appeared in each of the previous editions. Whatsoever they contain *in addition* to the doctrinal decisions found in the extracts from the Council of Trent, usually appended to each question, is not an article of Catholic faith, and where they come short of the decrees of that council, the deficiency must be supplied by carefully attending to the words and declarations of that Synod." (p. iv.) On examination it will appear that there is no one point of importance on which the editor has recorded his dissent from those propositions, or the commentaries upon them of his predecessors. This edition was dedicated to Bishop Walsh.

But we must not lose sight of our little tract, in the thick and gradually increasing volumes that have been written upon most of what it contains. It stands out as a landmark in the history of British Catholicism since the Reformation, and marks its upward progress from the lowest depths of humiliation and prostration. It, more than any other known work, has reconciled our countrymen, so far, to the faith of their ancestors, that they have been content to re-admit us to full citizenship, on the faith of those sober and truly Christian principles which it sets forth. By their loyal profession of those principles our forefathers effected a reconciliation between themselves and their and our country in State; let us endeavour, by our equally loyal adherence to them, in God's name, to reconcile this our country to us in Church. Our privileges in State were restored to us on those terms: and our privileges in State may be forfeited again once more, if we seek to recede from those terms, or to invent new.

ROMAN CATHOLIC PRINCIPLES

IN

REFERENCE TO GOD AND THE KING.

Section I.

Of the Catholic Faith, and Church in general.

1. The fruition of God, and the remission of sin are not attainable by man, otherwise than *in and by the merits of Jesus Christ*, Who *gratuitously* purchased them for us.

2. These merits of Christ, though infinite in themselves, are not applied to us, otherwise than by a *right faith* in Him.

3. This faith is but *one* entire, and conformable to its object, which is *divine revelation:* and to which *faith* gives an undoubting assent.

4. This *revelation* contains many *mysteries*, transcending the natural reach of human understanding. Wherefore,

5. It became the divine *wisdom* and *goodness* to provide some *way* or *means*, whereby man might arrive to the *knowledge* of these *mysteries;* means *visible* and *apparent* to all; means *proportioned* to the capacities of all; means *sure* and certain to all.

6. This way or means, is not the *reading of scripture*, interpreted according to the *private judgment* of each disjunctive person, or nation in particular; But,

7. It is an *attention* and *submission* to the voice of the *Catholic* or *Universal Church*, established by Christ for the instruction of all; spread for that end through all *nations*, and *visibly* continued in the succession of pastors, and people through all *ages*.—From this Church, *guided in truth*, and

secured from *error* in matters of *faith*, by the *promised assistance of the Holy Ghost*, every one may *learn* the right sense of the *scriptures*, and such Christian *mysteries* and *duties* as are necessary to salvation.

8. This Church, thus established, thus spread, thus continued, thus guided, in *one uniform faith*, and *subordination* of government, is that which is termed the *Roman Catholic Church:* the qualities just mentioned, *unity*, *indeficiency*, *visibility*, *succession*, and *universality*, being evidently applicable to her.

9. From the *testimony* and *authority* of this Church, it is, that we receive the *scriptures*, and believe them to be the *word of God:* and as she can *assuredly* tell us what particular book is the *word of God*, so can she with the like *assurance* tell us also, the true *sense* and *meaning* of it, in controverted points of *faith;* the same *Spirit* that wrote the scriptures, *directing* her to understand both them, and all matters necessary to salvation.—From these grounds it follows:—

10. Only *truths revealed* by Almighty God, and *proposed* by the Church, to be believed *as such*, are, and ought to be esteemed, *articles* of Catholic faith.

11. As an *obstinate separation* from the *unity* of the Church, in *known* matters of faith, is *heresy;* so a *wilful separation* from the *visible* unity of the same Church, in matters of *subordination* and *government*, is *schism*.

12. The Church proposes unto us matters of faith, first and chiefly by the Holy Scripture, in points plain and intelligible in it; secondly, by definitions of general councils, in points not sufficiently plain in Scripture; thirdly, by apostolical traditions derived from Christ and his Apostles to all succeeding ages; fourthly, by her practice, worship, and ceremonies *confirming her doctrine*.

Section II.

Of spiritual and temporal Authority.

1. The *Pastors* of the Church—who are the body *representative*—either dispersed or convened in *council*, have received no commission from Christ to frame *new articles of faith*—these being solely *divine revelations*—but only to *explain* and to *define* to the faithful what anciently was, and is received and retained, as of *faith* in the Church, when *debates* and *controversies* arise about them. These *definitions* in *matters of faith* only, and proposed *as such*, oblige all the faithful to a *submission of judgment*. But,

2. It is no article of faith, that the Church cannot *err*, either in matters of *fact* or *discipline*, alterable by circumstances of time and place, or in matters of *speculation* or *civil policy*, depending on mere human judgment or testimony. These things are no revelations *deposited* in the Catholic Church in regard of which alone, she has the *promised assistance* of the Holy Spirit.—Hence, it is deduced,

3. If a *general council*, much less a *papal consistory*, should presume to *depose a king* and to *absolve his subjects* from their *allegiance*, no *Catholic* could be bound to *submit* to such a *decree*.—Hence also it follows, that,

4. The subjects of the king of England lawfully may, without the least breach of any *Catholic principle*, renounce, upon oath, the teaching or practising the *doctrine of deposing kings* excommunicated for heresy, by any authority whatsoever, as repugnant to the *fundamental laws* of the nation, as injurious *to sovereign power*, as destructive to *peace and government*, and consequently in his majesty's subjects, as *impious and damnable*.

5. Catholics believe that the Bishop of *Rome*, successor of *St. Peter*, is the *head of the whole Catholic Church;* in which sense, this Church may therefore fitly be styled *Roman Catholic*, being an *universal body*, united under *one visible head*. Nevertheless,

6. It is *no matter of faith* to believe that the *Pope* is in himself *infallible*, separated from the Church, even in *expounding the faith:* by consequence, *papal definitions* or *decrees*, in

whatever form pronounced, taken exclusively from a *general council*, or *universal acceptance of the Church*, oblige none, under *pain of heresy*, to an interior assent.

7. Nor do Catholics, as *Catholics*, believe that the *Pope* has any direct or indirect *authority* over the *temporal power* and jurisdiction of *princes*. Hence, if the *Pope* should pretend to *absolve* or *dispense* with his majesty's subjects from their *allegiance*, on account of *heresy* or *schism*, such *dispensation* would be *vain* and *null:* and all Catholic subjects, notwithstanding such *dispensation* or *absolution*, would be still bound in conscience to defend their king and country, at the hazard of their lives and fortunes (as far as Protestants would be bound), even *against the Pope* himself, in case he should invade the nation.

8. As for the *problematical disputes*, or errors of particular divines, in this or any other matter whatsoever, we are no wise *responsible* for them; nor are Catholics, as *Catholics*, justly *punishable* on their account. But,

9. As for the *king-killing doctrine*, or murder of princes excommunicated for heresy, it is universally admitted in the Catholic Church, and expressly so declared by the council of *Constance*, that such doctrine is *impious* and *execrable*, being contrary to the known *laws* of God and nature.

10. *Personal misdemeanors*, of what nature soever, ought not to be *imputed* to the Catholic Church, when not justifiable by the *tenets* of her faith and doctrine. For which reason, though the stories of the *Irish cruelties* or *powder plot*, had been exactly true (which yet, for the most part, are notoriously misrelated) nevertheless Catholics, as such, ought not to suffer for such *offences*, any more than the eleven Apostles ought to have suffered for the *treachery* of *Judas*.

11. It is a *fundamental truth* in our religion, that no *power* on earth can *license* men to *lie*, to *forswear*, or *perjure* themselves, to *massacre* their neighbours, or *destroy* their native country, on pretence *of promoting the Catholic cause or religion:* furthermore, *all pardons* or *dispensations* granted, or pretended to be granted, in order to any such *ends* or designs, could have no other validity or effect than to add *sacrilege* and *blasphemy* to the above-mentioned crimes.

12. The doctrine of *equivocation* or mental reservation, however wrongfully imputed to the Church, was never taught or approved by her, as any part of her belief: On the contrary, *simplicity* and *godly sincerity* are constantly inculcated by her as truly *Christian virtues* necessary to the conservation of *justice*, *truth* and *common security*.

Section III.

Of other Points of Catholic Faith.

1. We believe, that there are seven *Sacraments*, or sacred ceremonies, instituted by our Saviour Christ, whereby the *merits* of his Passion are *applied* to the soul of the worthy receiver.

2. We *believe*, that when a sinner repents of his sins from the *bottom* of his *heart*, and *acknowledges* his transgressions to *God* and his *Ministers*, *the dispensers of the mysteries of Christ*, resolving to turn from his evil ways, *and bring forth fruits worthy of penance;* there is, then, and *no otherwise*, an authority left by Christ to *absolve* such a *penitent sinner* from his sins: which authority, we believe, Christ gave to his *Apostles* and their *successors*, the *Bishops* and *Priests* of his church, in those words, when He said, *Receive ye the Holy Ghost; whose sins you shall forgive, they are forgiven unto them, &c.*

3. Though no creature whatsoever can make condign *satisfaction*, either for the *guilt* of sin, or the *pain eternal* due to it, this *satisfaction* being proper to Christ our Saviour only; yet *penitent sinners*, redeemed by Christ, may, as *members* of Christ, in some measure *satisfy* by prayer, fasting, alms-deeds, and other works of piety, for the *temporal pain*, which in the order of divine justice sometimes remains due, after the *guilt* of sin and *pains eternal* have been remitted. Such *penitential works* are, notwithstanding, no otherwise *satisfactory* than as *joined* and applied to that *satisfaction*, which Jesus made upon the cross, in virtue of which *alone* all our good works find a grateful acceptance in the sight of God.

4. The *guilt of sin*, or *pain eternal* due to it, is *never* remitted by what Catholics call *indulgences;* but only such *temporal punishments* as remain due after the guilt is remitted :—these *indulgences* being nothing else than a *mitigation* or *relaxation*,

upon just causes, of *canonical penances*, enjoined by the pastors of the church on penitent sinners, according to their several degrees of demerit.—And if abuses or mistakes have been sometimes committed, in point either of granting or gaining *indulgences*, through the remissness or ignorance of particular persons, contrary to the ancient custom and discipline of the church; such abuses or mistakes cannot rationally be charged on the church, or rendered matters of derision, in prejudice to her faith and discipline.

5. Catholics hold there is a *purgatory;* that is to say, a place, or state, where souls departing this life, with remission of their sins, as to the eternal guilt or pain, but yet *obnoxious* to some temporal *punishment*, of which we have spoken, still remaining due, or not perfectly freed from the blemish of some *defects* or deordinations, are *purged* before their admittance into heaven, where nothing that is *defiled* can enter. Furthermore,

6. Catholics also hold, that such souls so detained in *purgatory*, being the *living members* of Christ Jesus, are *relieved* by the *prayers* and *suffrages* of their *fellow-members* here on earth: But where this place is; of what nature or quality the pains are; how long souls may be there detained; in what manner the *suffrages* made in their behalf are applied; whether by way of *satisfaction* or *intercession*, &c. are questions superfluous and impertinent as to faith.

7. No man, though *just*, can merit either an increase of sanctity in this life, or eternal glory in the next, independently on the merits and passion of Christ Jesus: But the *good works* of a just man proceeding from *grace* and *charity*, are so far *acceptable* to God through His goodness and sacred *promises*, as to be truly *meritorious* of eternal life.

8. It is an article of Catholic belief, that in the most holy sacrament of the *Eucharist*, there is truly and really contained the *Body* of Christ, *which was delivered for us; and his Blood, which was shed for the remission of sins:* the substance of *bread* and *wine* being, by the powerful words of Christ, *changed* into the *substance* of his blessed Body and Blood; the *species* or appearances of *bread* and *wine*, by the will of God, remaining as they were. But,

9. Christ is not present in this Sacrament, according to his *natural* way of existence, or rather as *bodies* naturally exist, but in a manner proper to the character of his exalted and *glorified* Body: His Presence then is *real* and *substantial*, but *sacramental;* not exposed to the external senses, or obnoxious to corporal contingencies.

10. Neither is the Body of Christ, in this holy Sacrament, *separated* from his Blood, or his Blood from his Body, or either of them disjoined from his Soul and Divinity; but all and whole *living Jesus* is *entirely* contained under *either* species: so that whosoever receives under *one kind* is truly partaker of the *whole* Sacrament; he is not deprived either of the Body or the Blood of Christ. True it is,

11. Our Saviour left unto us his Body and Blood, under two *distinct species*, or kinds; in doing of which He instituted not only a *Sacrament*, but also a *Sacrifice;* a *commemorative Sacrifice*, distinctly *shewing* his Death and bloody Passion, *until He come*. For as the *Sacrifice of the Cross* was performed by a distinct *effusion of blood;* so is that sacrifice commemorated in that of the *Altar*, by a *distinction of the symbols*. Jesus therefore is here *given*, not only *to us*, but *for us;* and the Church thereby is enriched with a true, proper, and propitiatory sacrifice usually termed the *Mass*.

12. Catholics renounce all *divine worship* and adoration of *images* and *pictures;* God alone we *worship and adore;* nevertheless we place pictures in our churches, to reduce our wandering thoughts and to enliven our memories towards *heavenly things*. Further, we shew a *respect* to the images of Christ and his Saints, beyond what is due to every profane figure; nor that we can believe any *divinity* or virtue to reside in them, for which they ought to be honoured, but because the honour given to pictures is referred to the *prototype*, or thing represented. In like manner,

13. There is a kind of honour and respect due to the *Bible*, to the *Cross*, to the Name of *Jesus*, to *Churches*, to the *Sacraments*, &c., as things peculiarly appertaining to God; and to *Kings*, *Magistrates*, and *Superiors* on earth; to whom honour is due, honour may be given, without any derogation to the majesty of God, or that divine worship which is appropriate to Him. Moreover,

14. Catholics believe, that the blessed Saints in heaven, replenished with charity, *pray* for us their *fellow-members* here on earth; that they rejoice at our *conversion:* that seeing God, they *see* and *know in Him* all things suitable to their happy state: But God may be inclinable to hear their *requests* made in our behalf, and for their sakes may grant us many favours; therefore we believe that it is *good* and *profitable* to *desire* their *intercession*. Can this manner of *invocation* be more injurious to Christ our *mediator*, than it is for one Christian to beg the prayers of another here on earth? However, Catholics are not taught so to rely on the *prayers* of

others, as to neglect their own *duty* to God; in *imploring* his *divine mercy* and *goodness;* in mortifying the *deeds of the flesh*; in *despising* the world; in *loving* and *serving* God and their neighbour; in following the *footsteps* of Christ our Lord, Who is the *Way*, the *Truth*, and the *Life:* to Whom be honour, and glory for ever and ever. Amen.

THE END.

London: Printed at the Regent Press, 55, King Street, Regent Street, W.

A REVIEW

OF

DR. PUSEY'S EIRENICON,

REPRINTED FROM

THE "WEEKLY REGISTER,"

WITH

TWO LETTERS TO THE EDITOR FROM DR. PUSEY

ON HIS HOPES OF THE

REUNION OF

The Church of England with the Catholic Church:

ALSO, LETTERS FROM

DR. NEWMAN AND CANON OAKELEY.

LONDON:

PRINTED BY GEORGE CHEEK AT 1A, SAVOY STREET, STRAND;
AND PUBLISHED BY HIM AT 32, BRYDGES STREET, COVENT GARDEN.
And sold by all Booksellers.

PRINTED BY GEORGE CHEEK, 1A SAVOY STREET, STRAND.

TO

JOHN HENRY NEWMAN, D.D

AND

E. B. PUSEY, D.D.

TWO VENERABLE AND BELOVED NAMES,

THAT ONE LOVES IN THOUGHT TO ASSOCIATE TOGETHER.

DR. PUSEY'S EIRENICON.

The Church of England a Portion of Christ's Holy Catholic Church, and a means of Restoring Visible Unity: an Eirenicon. In a letter to the Author of "The Christian Year." By E. B. Pusey, D.D., Regius Professor of Hebrew, and Canon of Christ Church, Oxford. Oxford: Parker, 1865.

We can quite imagine two Catholic readers rising from a perusal of this book with totally opposite views as to its character and aim. To one it might seem what its name implies: an olive-branch of peace; to the other a firebrand. To the one a hopeful move in the direction of faith and unity; to the other a work calculated to strengthen and perpetuate the wall of separation between Anglicans and the Catholic Church. For the work has a two-fold object indicated by its double title. It is, on the one hand, a controversial defence of the Church of England as a portion of the visible Church; and yet it is, on the other hand, a most distinct admission throughout of the shortcomings of Anglicanism, of its abnormal condition as separated from the centre of unity, and is, perhaps, the most unequivocal advance that has ever been made towards negotiation for healing the schism of the sixteenth century. For our own part, whilst we deplore a good deal of the controversial portion, and think that more intercourse with Catholics would have saved Dr. Pusey from much misunderstanding of Catholic doctrine, yet on the whole we incline to think that the book ought to be accepted by Catholics as an Eirenicon, according to its author's expressed intention. We make every allowance for an envoy who comes to us from the hostile camp, bearing an olive-branch in one hand, even though he carries a sword in the other; and we do not roughly repel him, even though he claims to speak only in the name of one division of the enemy, and though his proposals are not of unconditional surrender, but of conference and negotiation.

No doubt we might take another line, and urge the inconsistency of the Anglican position, and the special inconsistency of Dr. Pusey in remaining in the Church of England, after his delarations in 1850 and the events which have since occurred. We are indeed, quite unable to understand how Dr. Pusey can speak of the Anglican Church, as having any authoritative voice, or being in any way a Divine teacher, or having any mind or moral personality at all. We think that the best that can be

said of it even by its best defenders is (we quote the words of a contemporary), "that if it tolerates heresy, it also tolerates orthodoxy, and that its prayer-book and formularies admit an orthodox sense.' Catholics, in fact, can see in it nothing but a mere compromise between two contending parties, bound over before the civil magistrate under heavy penalties to keep the peace and live together. This and a great deal more we fully admit; nevertheless, when all has been said, there remains the fact that numbers of learned and apparently earnest men do not see their inconsistency now in 1865 any more than their predecessors, the leaders of the movement twenty years ago, who are now Catholics, saw their inconsistency in 1840.

Old Catholics who have watched both movements cannot see less reason for confidence now than formerly. They cannot see that the celebrated Gorham judgment, or any of the later decisions in the law courts have changed the status of the Church of England. Those who could believe in the Church of England, in spite of the original establishment of the royal supremacy, are not necessarily insincere or more unreasonable, if they believe in it, in spite of the acts of that supremacy. In 1840 it was maintained by the leaders of the movement that the Church of England, though well nigh disabled by the incubus of the supremacy, was still alive, in 1865 their successors only maintain the same. Nor is it as the case would be, if from the time when Newman, Manning, and other leaders of the Anglican School left the English Church, the Catholic movement had come to an end, or become insignificant. On the contrary, the appearance of such a work as Dr. Pusey's, and from one in his eminent position, is only one amongst a hundred evidences, that the movement, far from having come to an end, has become broader and deeper. It cannot be denied that almost every Catholic doctrine is now preached in hundreds of Anglican pulpits; not after the tentative manner of the original Tractarian movement, but boldly and distinctly, indicating unmistakeably that the leaders are conscious that they are speaking to a laity sufficiently imbued with Catholic ideas, to understand and sympathise with their teachers. In nothing is this change, from the reserve then necessary to the explicitness now possible, more marked than in the restoration in so many churches of the Catholic vestments, as a natural embodiment of the unequivocal teaching of the Eucharistic Sacrifice.

We have heard it objected to Dr. Pusey's book that its aim is not so much the restoration of unity, as the prevention of individual conversion. It certainly may have this effect in certain cases, and we quite admit that this must have been in part Dr. Pusey's object, but we can hardly blame him for doing, what he would not be sincere if

he did not. The same was done by Dr. Manning and Dr. Newman, so long as they believed in the Anglican position, and would be done by any one honestly in error. Once let us admit that Dr. Pusey believes, strange and unaccountable as it may seem to us, that the Anglican position is tenable, and we shall see that he could not act differently. But what hope, it may be said, can there be of this reunion, while Anglicans sincerely hold what they do, since the Church cannot change her essential doctrine? What result can be hoped for, what course is there but that of individual conversion from error to truth, and how can corporate reunion be possible except by the conversion of each individual of the separated body? Our reply is to admit at once that we are not prepared in a short review, to answer all the difficulties that may be raised on this matter of corporate reunion; yet that corporate reunion cannot be impossible, since it has been realized by the Church, at the Council of Florence, as well as in various other transactions with separated bodies. We make no doubt that in such negotiations for reunion, on the part of separatists there must always have been much that was unsatisfactory and anomalous, much previous inconsistency of statement on the part of the separatists, much of indecision, and uncertainty of action. The history of the Council of Florence affords an instance of this. What must have been the inconsistency of many of the Oriental Bishops, who had acted for years out of communion with Rome, and defended their position even in the Council itself, and yet afterwards submitted to all that Rome required as terms of communion? Of course we are not comparing the present informal movement in the Anglican Church with any of these, but only observing that inconsistency on the part of separatists, is perhaps almost involved in the idea of negotiation for corporate reunion, and yet this has not prevented the Church from admitting such inchoate measures in the direction of unity. The failure of the Council of Florence to effect a permanent reunion is of course no argument against the principle, or it would prove too much, namely, that the Church erred in attempting it. But if the Church attempted it, it is certain that the principle is sound, that it failed of success is to be attributed to the evil will of man, which has so often marred the fair purpose of God. Besides, other corporate reunions have been attempted, before and since, and have succeeded; such as that of the Armenians under Eugenius IV., and of other Oriental sects, some of which have taken place even in our own day.

We now turn to the work itself. Dr. Pusey begins his book with what he calls a personal explanation; he had wished to abstain from controversy for the remainder of his life, but his friends considered that he was in some measure bound to reply to Archbishop Manning's

published letter; and this required something controversal in his answer. He goes on to defend himself from a charge made by the Archbishop, that in fraternising with the Lower Church party in certain protests against the Rationalistic school in the Church of England, he had been "drifting back from the old moorings." He says: "Ever since I knew them, which was not in my earliest years, I have loved those who are called Evangelicals, I loved them because they loved our Lord, I loved them for their zeal for souls. I often thought them narrow, yet I was drawn to individuals amongst them, more than to others who held truths in common with myself which the Evangelicals did not hold, at least explicitly. When occasion came, as in some of our troubles at Oxford, we acted together.

"I have united with the Evangelicals now as I did before, whenever they would join with me in defence of our common faith. I have not united with them in any of those things which were not in accordance with my own principles. . . . . And this perhaps may be an occasion to mention what relates to a very sacred season of my life when death seemed day by day nearer. Had it so pleased God that I should then die, I should have worded the confession of my faith in words like these: 'I believe *explicitly* all which I know God to have revealed to His Church, and *implicitly* anything if He has revealed it, which I know not; in simple words I believe all which the Church believes: this is my habit of mind now, this I confess when I say to God, 'I believe one Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church.'"

Dr. Pusey goes on to comment on Dr. Manning's letter, of which he says the real point is to assert the contradictory of the statement that "the Church of England is in God's hands the great bulwark against infidelity in this land." To defend this proposition is a principal object of Dr. Pusey throughout his book. He explains, however, the sense in which he understood the proposition to have been originally enunciated by Dr. Newman. He says, "This saying was not mine, but that of one of the deepest thinkers and observers in the Roman Communion. It relates plainly only to a present fact; it does not aver that the Church of England is the best possible bulwark, but only as a matter of fact that it is at this moment, in God's Providence, a real and chief bulwark against infidelity. Of course any Roman Catholic must think that the Roman Communion, if it were of the same extent in this land as the English Church is now, would be a much stronger bulwark, but this is not the question." He goes on to show what has been the estimate of the Church of England in its relation to Catholic doctrine and the hopes of reunion, by illustrious Catholics in other days. "We are not in most things," says Dupin to Archbishop Wake, "so far removed from one another that we may

not be mutually reconciled." "This union," says Dr. Doyle (Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin, the celebrated "J. K. L."), "is not so difficult as appears to many. It is not difficult, for in the discussions which were held on this subject, in which Archbishop Wake was engaged, as in others which were carried on between Bossuet and Leibnitz, it appeared that the points of agreement between the Churches were numerous, those on which the parties hesitated few, and apparently not the most important. The effort which was then made was not attended with success, but its failure was owing to Princes than to Priests, more to State policy than to a difference of belief."

The next thirty or forty pages contain an elaborate proof, drawn chiefly from the celebrated Tract 90 of Dr. Newman, that the Articles of the Church of England and the Decrees of Trent may be reconciled, and that there is nothing in the Decrees of Trent which may not be so interpreted as to form the basis of negotiation for the reunion of Anglicans to the Catholic Church. "We have been wont," he says, "to dwell with pleasure on the amount of faith which we confess in common with the Roman Church. In the three creeds we confess together, the whole doctrine as to the Holy Trinity and the Incarnation of our Blessed Lord, we teach alike, the one end of man, the resurrection of the body, the judgment according to works, the life everlasting, and the everlasting fire."

He goes on to maintain that the Anglican Church teaches with the Catholic Church, regeneration in baptism, confession and absolution, the Real Presence and the Eucharistic Sacrifice, and has the same doctrine on grace and justification. The substance of a great deal which follows is, that according to the view of the learned writer, there is nothing in the formal statements of the Church of England, in her Prayer-book, articles, and homilies, which cannot be reconciled with the formal statements of the Catholic Church.

On the question of the Church's unity Dr. Pusey would hold an opinion differing, on important points, from the doctrine universally held by Catholics; *and here we fear would be the chief difficulty in discovering a common basis for negotiation.* He would look upon the Church as indissolubly one, by reason of a Sacramental bond of union, established between our Lord and all those who hold a right faith concerning Him, through the instrumentality of a rightly-ordained Priesthood. We think we understand him to hold, that visible unity under one Head, and that Head the Bishop of Rome, is not only desirable, but according to the will and intention of our Lord; that any breach of this unity could not take place without sin, but that there may be such a thing as justifiable or material schism; and he would consider the separation of England from the Chair of Peter to

be something of this nature. He writes: "This unity, derived from Our Blessed Lord as Head of the Church, is imparted primarily through the Sacraments." "All that were baptised into Christ have put on Christ, and having put Him on are one in Christ; and in the Holy Eucharist are one bread and one body who are partakers of that one Bread." "Unknown in face, in place separate, different in language, opposed, alas! in some things to one another, still before the throne of God they are One Holy Apostolic Church." "This," he continues, "is sometimes called objective unity;" and this Divine gift requires, as a corresponding duty, what has been called subjective unity, or a unison of wills; and of this, intercommunion, is the natural expression. But is all unity forfeited where the unity of intercommunion is suspended? No one in the face of Church history can or does maintain, that all interruptions of intercommunion destroy unity. In the second century, "the East," says Epiphanius, "differing from the West, they received not from each other tokens of peace." In the next century was a temporary severance between Rome and both Asiatic and African Churches, through the Bishop of Rome, concerning whom St. Firmilian says: "While thinking that all may be excommunicated by him, he excommunicated himself alone from all." St. Meletius, of Antioch, though out of communion with Rome, presided at the second General Council, and after his death was owned to be a Saint by those who, in his lifetime, owned him not to be a Bishop. The fifth General Council was the occasion of a schism which rent the West, Africa, Upper Italy, from East to West, and even Ireland; nor was the schism wholly healed for a hundred and fifty years."

Such appears to be a very fair statement of the Anglican theory of the Church's unity. We have given it, without comment, as a clear expression of what learned Anglicans think they have to say for their position. And for the same reason, we would recommend a careful perusal of the whole work, to those whose duty it may be to be ready to answer difficulties. We do not recommend it to any but learned Catholics. As the work of one who has made Church history and the writings of the Holy Fathers the study of a lifetime, the controversial portion, based chiefly on the *writer's view* of the Patristic teaching, may easily present difficulties which the unlearned reader may not be able to answer. The Catholic theologian, who studies the Holy Fathers and historians of the early centuries, has a clue to guide him, in the perpetual unbroken tradition of the living Church, which is altogether wanting to the Anglican student, however learned. The Anglican studies the Fathers much as the ordinary Protestant studies the Holy Scriptures; without the clue he wanders hither and thither

through a labyrinth, disappointed and baffled at every turn; or, if he thinks to have found the road out, he may chance to discover, that the shortest course is to retrace his steps and begin again.

The historical difficulties started by Dr. Pusey, are well known to all who have at all studied the relation of the See of Rome to the other Churches. Such anomalies, even if more than apparent, make no way, against the whole current of Patristic teaching running in the other direction; but in all probability, if we could get at all the facts of the case, the difficulty in each instance would disappear. The case of Meletius, for example, presents a very different view from that given by Dr. Pusey, as we find it stated by Socrates, who wrote in the next century, and whose account must be familiar to Dr. Pusey. It seems that the case of St. Meletius was one of a disputed succession such as occurred at different times in the line of the Roman Pontiffs, depending chiefly on some disputed question of fact, when Catholics and even Saints took opposite sides. Meletius had been chosen Bishop by the Arian majority in Antioch. After his election he gradually declared himself Catholic, a large body of Arians conformed to the Catholic faith adhering to Meletius, while the Arian party rejected him. Paulinus was soon after chosen and consecrated Bishop by the old Catholic party, who would have nothing to do with Meletius because he had been elected by the votes of the Arians. Rome and the West, on such evidence as reached them, adhered to the side of Paulinus, and did not acknowledge Meletius. Socrates, however, informs us, that a mutual understanding was come to between the two parties that both Bishops should rule, each over his own congregation, and that on the death of either the survivor should be recognised as sole Bishop. He tells us that this put an end to the dispute, and there was no longer any division amongst the people. (Soc. Book V., Ch. V.) This happened a year or more before the Council of Constantinople, at which Meletius presided, and during the sitting of which he died. We do not then see on what grounds Dr. Pusey makes the assertion that Meletius, being out of communion with Rome, presided at the Council and died out of communion; whereas Socrates tells us that the dispute or schism was at an end at least a year before the Council. We do not know that there is any evidence which makes it clear that he was out of communion with Rome at all. On the other hand, it is certain that Meletius communicated with Bishops with whom Rome was in full communion, such as St. Basil, St. Cyril, St. Gregory Nazianzen, St. Chrysostom, as well as the whole Council of Constantinople; and this could not have been, had he been considered by them, or by Rome as out of communion, since it is notorious that to communicate with those

who were out of communion, was always held as *ipso facto* involving excommunication. (Note A.)

The next proposition sounds strangely paradoxical. "The English Church has not rejected a visible head, and is not more independent of Rome than Africa was in the time of St. Augustine."

We should be very glad to hear this, if we could see any sense in which it could be true, but we look in vain for proof of it. We should think it will astonish most of Dr. Pusey's Anglican readers even more than it surprises us. He shows indeed clearly enough that St. Augustine denounced in very strong language, the carrying appeals to Rome, in cases which by the Canons were to be decided before local synods. "If presbyters, deacons, and other inferior Clergy (he quotes from St. Augustine) shall in any cause which they have, complain of the judgment of their own Bishops, let the neighbouring Bishops hear and determine the matter between them, being called in by them, with consent of their own Bishops. But if they think that they should appeal from these too, let them not appeal to courts beyond the seas, but either to the Primates of their Province, or to a General Council of Africa, as has often been enacted about Bishops also. But if any one choose to appeal to the parts beyond the seas, let him be received to communion by no one in Africa."

Dr. Pusey adds, "the English Church in the 15th century acquiesced in, or consented to the suppression of appeals to Rome. The African Church in the 5th century not only forbade them but excommunicated any one who should so appeal." Yet Dr. Pusey would not deny, that St. Augustine in his writings, furnishes a link of that long chain of tradition which runs through all Patristic teaching, in regard to the prerogatives of the Apostolic See, and the Chair of Peter. St. Augustine himself, in the case of Pelagius sends to the Pope the decrees of two African Synods, by which he had been condemned. Pope Innocent, in reply, affirms the rights of his See in the strongest language. St. Augustine in his letter on the subject writes of the Pope, "He hath answered to all as was right, and as it became the Prelate of the Apostolic See. Already the decrees of two Councils on this matter have been sent to the Apostolic See, from whence the rescripts have been received. The cause is terminated." Again, in his 43rd Epistle, he speaks of the "Roman Church in which hath always flourished the Primacy of the Apostolic Chair, 'Apostolicæ Cathedræ Principatus.'" Dr. Pusey speaks as if the question of appeals covered the whole case of the Papal claims. It is clear that St. Augustine was of a different opinion, and did not intend while protesting against certain abuses in matters of appeal, to detract from that authority to which he himself appealed as to the highest and

last tribunal in matters of doctrine; for certainly this seems to be the natural sense of the memorable words "Apostolicæ Cathedræ Principatus," and "inde recepta sunt rescripta causa finita est." And certainly this restraining of uncanonical appeals to Rome is a very different thing, from the formal declaration required from all the Anglican Clergy, that "the Pope hath no jurisdiction in this realm of England."

Dr. Pusey quotes a devout and loyal Catholic like Gerson, speaking strong words against abuses of Papal authority; but we may be sure Gerson, who had been the great light at the Councils of Basle and Constance, would have died rather than have impugned, that Primacy of jurisdiction in the See of Peter, which a few years later the Council of Florence declared to be of Divine institution. Gerson's words are, as quoted by Dr. Pusey: "A General Council, representing the Universal Church, if it aim to see complete union, to repress and put an end to schisms, and to exalt the Church, must before all things, after the manner of the Holy Fathers before us, limit and bound the co-active and usurped power of the Pope, which at successive times many supreme Pontiffs obtained to themselves, contrary to God and justice, depriving inferior Bishops of the power and authority given them by God and the Church." Nothing that Dr. Pusey brings forward is much stronger against abuse of authority by the See of Rome, than the words he quotes of Pope Nicholas V., who certainly did not intend to repudiate that jurisdiction of the Holy See which is of Divine right, but only to admit that Popes being human may abuse and have abused the authority committed to them by God for edification. The words of Pope Nicholas, as related by Dr. Pusey, are: "The Roman Pontiffs, it seems to me, extended their skirts too far, in that they left no jurisdiction to the other Bishops, those of Basle abridged too much the power of the Apostolic See; but so it happens, whoso doth things unworthy must endure things unjust, those who would set erect a tree inclined on one side, draw it on the other. Our mind is, not to despoil of their rights the Bishops who are called to a part of our charge, for so we hope to preserve our own jurisdiction, if we do not usurp what belongs to others." If Anglicans will accept that Primacy of jurisdiction given by Our Lord to Peter, which St. Augustine recognised in his successor, such as was afterwards defined and accepted by East and West at the Council of Florence, the limits of that jurisdiction can easily be settled, and the line drawn between what is Divine and what of ecclesiastical institution, in the actual jurisdiction of the Roman Pontiffs. The separation between England and the Church took place and is perpetuated, not merely because appeals to Rome were abolished, but because all that

was of Divine and all that was of human origin, in the jurisdiction of the Pope was rejected together, and is rejected still in the oath of supremacy ; and also because essential changes, of a character no less heretical than schismatic, were introduced or accepted by the Church of England. Such, for instance, was the repudiation of the Sacrament of Extreme Unction from the Service Book, and that tampering with the Liturgy which has obscured, to say the least, if it has not absolutely excluded, the doctrine of the Eucharistic Sacrifice. To these and other such acts the Church of England stands committed, so long as she retains her present Service Book, and until such acts are repented and retracted, it seems almost idle to speak of hopes for reunion. But where so much advance has been made in the right direction, we must hope that the remainder of the way will ere long be traversed.

The greater part of the remainder of the volume is taken up with proving what most Catholics would be quite ready to admit, that many exaggerated things have been said by Catholic writers of name, concerning the Pope's personal infallibility, on the prerogatives of the Blessed Virgin, and on many other subjects. No doubt, viewed from without, there is much matter for perplexity in this whole subject. We know that many persons now Catholics, have been for years kept back from seeing the Church's claims on their absolute allegiance, because of the hold these exaggerated statements had obtained on their imagination, and the repugnance they felt in themselves, to the aspect of doctrine thus presented. This we think, has arisen partly from their having attributed to such statements an authority which they did not really possess, and from their not distinguishing between matters of faith and matters of pious opinion ; partly also because they did not make allowance for the exaggeration of rhetorical statements and the use of words in the second intention. Catholics, on the other hand, especially those who have been always Catholics, are not much troubled at these things. They know that the Church while requiring *unitas in necessariis* is most free in conceding *libertas in dubiis*. That there are Schools of opinion in the Church, that great latitude is permitted in the unauthoritative expression of devotional sentiment, and that almost any amount of bad taste is tolerated. In a word, that the Church does not aim at creating a dead and soulless level of uniformity, but tolerates great liberty of opinion in matters of opinion, provided her children accept her, as their Mother and Mistress in Divine Truth, and are ready at any time to submit to her decision, should she, through her legitimate mouthpiece, think fit to pronounce a judgment. Thus she secures to her children the habit of faith and obedience, and the right exercise of their reason and free will. And

so Catholics learn from the Church a large spirit of forbearance and toleration, and put up with the views of others which do not involve a difference of faith, and expect a like forbearance in return.

As for exaggeration of statement, it is the tendency of the human mind to exaggerate ; because our judgments are influenced, at least as much by the sensitive as by the intellectual part of our being. We speak from what we feel, quite as much as from what we know. And so, when we have to oppose error or defend truth, the more we feel the greatness of the truth, the more difficult do we find it not to overstate what we mean. Moreover, feeling the inadequacy of human language, to express all we feel and all we know, we almost inevitably fall into exaggerations, trusting to other statements, made elsewhere or on other occasions, to qualify our expressions and prevent a misconception of our meaning. Thus, for example, no one has made more of the intercession of Mary than St. Bernard, yet no one has shown more clearly, than the sainted author of the "Jesu dulcis memoriæ," that Jesus was his all in all, or could have said more absolutely

> Simply to His Grace, and wholly,
> Life and light and strength belong,
> And I love supremely, solely
> Him the Holy, Him the strong.
>
> Newman's "Gerontius."

Much the same may be said in behalf of St. Liguori.

If Dr. Pusey were a Catholic, or were well acquainted with the practical working of the Catholic religion, in the lives of pious Catholics, he might not, indeed, approve of all that was done or said amongst them, but he would acquit them of taking from Our Lord, any of the love they gave to His Mother, and provided he accepted the statement of the Council of Trent that "the Saints reigning with Christ intercede for us, and that it is good for us to invoke them," he would find himself left pretty free, as to the devotional expression of this belief.

But it is a wonderful advance on the usual forms of Protestant controversy, when we find these subjects treated, not with the exaggeration of the vulgar controversialist, but with the calmness and precision of the theologian, however much his position outside the Church may necessarily distort his view ; as a painting can never be seen properly except from the right point of sight. It is a great consolation, and opens a new phase of the controversy, to find a writer in the position of Dr. Pusey, after expressing himself most strongly against what he calls exaggerations in "the practical Roman system," concluding that "the breach with Rome has been widened unduly," and again "Rome

need not make such things terms of communion, nor need she insist that the Church of England, if united with her, should receive them, but provision might be made formally, on both sides, that she need not.

Again, "I doubt not that the Roman Church and ourselves are kept apart much more by that vast practical system which lies beyond the letter of the Council of Trent, things which are taught with a *quasi* authority in the Roman Church, than by what is actually defined." He then goes on, strangely enough, to draw a distinction between those who are born Roman Catholics, "who have a liberty," and converts, who, he says, "in the nature of things," cannot have the liberty, of choosing what opinions and practices to adopt on open questions, and says: "For myself I have always felt that had the English Church, by accepting heresy, driven me out, I could have gone in no other way, than that of closing my eyes and accepting whatever was put before me; but a liberty which individuals could not use, and explanations which, so long as they remained individual, must be unauthoritative, might be formally made by the Church of Rome to the Church of England, as the basis of reunion." Further on he says: "If Englishmen speak against Papal authority it is not in itself (which would be a matter of indifference), but as an authority, which, if they submitted to it, would enforce upon them that practical system. Probably, too, there is an hereditary dread of the renewal of the fires of Smithfield, the sinfulness of which has never been disowned." Speaking of his hopes for the unity of Christendom, he says: "Years ago we seemed to be in the position of the Heaven controlled seer: 'I see him, but not nigh; I behold him, but not now.' And meanwhile our office was within ourselves; we could not propose union, while we ourselves were so disunited. I hoped that the passing storm of unbelief, which I have seen in the distance these forty years, would drive together those who loved Jesus. I hoped that as we became united in the truth, and in the characteristic principles of our Church, those other great portions of the Church, East and West, would see that God is in us of a truth. Why should not the Church again be united in that faith, which she held before a miserable quarrel first caused disunion? . . . . . Apart from other evils, the strength is wasted against each other, which should be concentrated against the common foe of Jesus, and of all who are His. The organic reunion of Christendom, and of the Protestant bodies too, has been held to be possible even by the Ultramontanes in the Roman Church. Cardinal Wiseman quoted, nearly a quarter of a century ago, the expressions of the profound and pious Mohler. After observing,' he says, 'that no Catholic can refuse to acknowledge with humiliation the corruptions of past ages, that the

proof of this lies in the very existence of Protestantism, which could not have existed without them,' he thus concludes, 'Behold the ground on which the two Churches will one day meet and clasp hands. In the consciousness of our common fault let us cry out to one another, one and all, 'We have all erred; the Church alone could not fail. We have all sinned; the Church alone is pure from stain.'"
Again he qnotes the words of the Count de Maistre. The extract is from Gladstone's remarks on the Royal Supremacy, and this Catholic writer is quoted by him as belonging to "the strictest sect of the Ultramontane school." "If ever Christians are to be brought together, as everything invites them, it seems that the movement should take its beginning from the Church of England . . . the Church of England, which touches us with one hand, touches with the other those whom we cannot touch. And though, in a certain point of view . . . it presents the ridiculous spectacle of a revolt preaching obedience, yet in another aspect, it is *most precious*, and may be considered, like some chemical medium, capable of uniting together elements which, of their owu nature, cannot amalgamate."
"It is now sixty years," Mr. Gladstone continues, in the extract given by Dr. Pusey, "since thus, a stranger and an alien, a stickler to the extremest point for the prerogative of his Church, and nursed in every prepossession against us, turning his eye across the channel, although he could then only see the English Church iu the lethargy of her organization and the dull twilight of her learning, could nevertheless discern, that there was a very special work written of God for her in Heaven, and that she was very *precious* to the Christian world. O, how serious a rebuke to those who, not strangers but suckled at her breast, seeing her at the present day can write as men that were hired to make a case against her, aud by an adverse instinct in the selection of evidence, and a severity of construction such as no history of the deeds of man can bear, have too often in these last years put her to an open shame."

Dr. Pusey refers to the Association for the Unity of Christendom in great hopefulness. "And now," he says, "God seems again to be awakening the yearning to be visibly one, and He who alone the Author of Peace and Lover of Concord, must have put it into men's minds to pray for the unity of Christendom, will in His time, we trust, fulfil the prayer which He Himself has taught."

Dr. Pusey's conclusion is a strong protest against what he terms "the present theory of Papal infallibility. The Ultramontanes in the Roman Communion seem to be drifting off further from the principles of the early and undivided Church." . . . . . .

"The shores of Italy seem ever to be receding." . . . In the

Gallican Church a century and a half ago there seemed to be a dawn of reunion. Now things seem to be taking an opposite direction. . . . "To those who would hold the opinions of Bossuet," he says, he and those who act with him, "stretch forth their hands. The strife with unbelief stretches and strains the powers of the Church everywhere; Satan's armies are united, at least, in their warfare against the truth as it is in Jesus. Are those who would maintain the faith in Him alone to be at variance? On the terms which Bossuet, we hope, would have sanctioned, we long to see the Church united; to all who in East or West desire to see intercommunion restored among those who hold the faith of the undivided Church, we say, this is not our longing only, this is impressed on our Liturgy by those who were before us: for this, whenever we celebrate the Holy Eucharist we are bound to pray, that 'God would inspire continually the Universal Church with the spirit of truth, unity, and concord.' For this I pray daily. For this I would gladly die. 'O, Lord, tarry not.'"

Such is the conclusion of this remarkable book. Our object in reviewing it, has been to let the author as far as possible speak for himself: to present his mind to our readers, not to refute, still less to accept his arguments. The book certainly requires an answer; but we cannot help our strong impression, that the best answer to it will come one day from Dr. Pusey himself. We mean, of course, in as far as it impugns any Catholic dogma—for on all the rest Dr. Pusey might retain his opinions, if he and those who think with him were members of the Roman obedience. We think a great aid towards this consummation, would be a disposition on our side to explain, and to receive explanations, in a conciliatory spirit. The book unquestionably is a most clearly pronounced endeavour to find a basis for reunion, on the principles debated between Archbishop Wake and the Gallican divines two centuries ago. And here two questions arise. First, how far is Dr. Pusey authorised to speak in the name of the Church of England; or is backed by any large body of the clergy and laity, headed by any minority however small of the Bishops? The second question is.—How far the authorities of the Catholic Church would be ready at this day to accept such advances if they were really made? To the first of these questions we do not propose to offer any answer. The only satisfactory reply must soon appear, in the mode in which the book is received in the Church of England. To the second we desire to reply with great diffidence. We think, however, that we are not going beyond what we have been accustomed to read in approved theologians, and to receive from the lips and pen of our own Bishops, if we answer, that such advances if made by any large bodies of separatists, would be met by our

authorities in a conciliatory spirit; and that for the healing of a schism, any lawful concessions would be gladly made. Even though we might ourselves hold, that what are commonly called the Ultramontane opinions, are the more logical, the legitimate deduction from Scripture, the true development of Patristic teaching; and however much we might wish for a union of all Christians on this basis, we should nevertheless, hold most strongly until otherwise taught, that a *reunion on the principles of Bossuet would be better than perpetuated schism.* Whether such negotiations may ever actually take place, or how it may please God to direct the issue, no man can pretend to foresee. It may not be God's way of mercy for England, but we may not dare to say that it cannot be. For ourselves, we feel constrained to look hopefully on any movement tending in that direction. To all Anglicans who hold with Dr. Pusey, and would that we had reason to think that he represents the great body of his Church, we would say from our hearts—God speed. And because the mighty changes in minds and wills, that must take before such a consummation can be possible, must be simply the effect of grace, and the fruit of prayer; therefore placing our whole confidence in sincere and united prayer, do we hail it as the most hopeful sign of all, that Anglicans are themselves praying for unity. To the members of their Association we desire specially to address ourselves; promising our prayers and inviting them to join in the same petition, that all the Baptized may be brought within the Fold of Visible Unity under the Successor of Peter whom Christ the Good Shepherd hath set over His whole Flock. It is this which we mean when we pray for the Unity of Christendom. This is the object of the constant prayer of every devout Catholic; he may ask for it specifically, as a member of some special organisation for this purpose; and no doubt it would be a great encouragement to sustained and united prayer if we should see established amongst Catholics, with the sanction of authority, an Association of prayer for the reunion of all the Baptised within the Visible Fold of Christ. Such Associations have indeed from time to time been set up by zealous and fervent servants of God, like the late Father Ignatius Spenser and others, but we fear they have too generally languished after a time, and need now to be resuscitated, by an apostolic zeal directed by authority. But without any such organisation the prayer for unity, goes up continualty to the throne of God; it is implied each time that we say "Thy Kingdom come" in the "Our Father," and is prayed for expressly by each Priest when standing daily before the Altar, he recites the prayer before Communion for the Peace and Unity of the One and Indivisible Church of God.

LETTER OF DR. NEWMAN TO THE EDITOR OF THE "WEEKLY REGISTER."

SIR, I beg leave to call your attention to a passage in your admirable Review last week of Dr. Pusey's recent work. It is there asserted by implication that "the statement that the Church of England is, in God's hands, the great bulwark against infidelity in this land," was "originally enunciated by Dr. Newman."

I have written in my life-time a great deal more than I can remember, but I neither know where I have made this particular statement, nor can I conceive I ever made it, whether in print, in private letter, or in conversation. And I am sure I should not have made it deliberately. Certainly, it does not express my real judgment concerning the Church of England. Nor have I any reason to think that Dr. Pusey ascribes it to me.

What I said in my *Apologia* was this; "Doubtless the National Church has hitherto been a serviceable breakwater against doctrinal errors more fundamental than its own."

The words "serviceable" and "breakwater," both convey the idea of something accidental and *de facto;* whereas a bulwark is an essential part of the thing defended. Moreover, in saying "against doctrinal errors more fundamental than its own," I simply meant, that, while it happens to serve Catholic truth in one respect, nevertheless in another it has doctrinal errors, and those fundamental.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

JOHN H. NEWMAN.

The Oratory, Birmingham, Nov. 19, 1865.

[We must always feel an honest pride in meeting with Dr. Newman's approbation, and we are much obliged by the kind letter which we have received from him. We are hardly sorry for the inaccuracy to which Dr. Newman gives correction since it has called forth one of those clear and pithy expressions of his mind, which, whenever they appear, are no less important than they are welcome to the Catholic public.---Ed. *W. R.*]

LETTER OF DR. PUSEY TO THE EDITOR OF THE "WEEKLY REGISTER."

SIR,---I thank you with all my heart for your kind-hearted and appreciative view of my Eirenicon. I am thankful that you have brought out the main drift and object of it, what, in my mind, underlies the whole, to show that, in my conviction, there is no insurmountable obstacle to the union of (you will forgive the terms, though you must reject them) the Roman, Greek, and Anglican communions. I have long been convinced that there is nothing in the Council of Trent which could not be explained satisfactorily to us, if it were explained *authoritatively*, *i.e.*, by the Roman

Church itself, not by individual theologians only. This involves the conviction on my side, that there is nothing in our Articles which cannot be explained rightly, as not contradicting any thing held to be *de fide* in the Roman Church. The great body of the faith is held alike by both ; on those subjects refered to in our Art XXII., I believe (to use the language of a very eminent Italian nobleman), "your [our] *maximum* and our [your] *minimum* might be found to harmonise."

In regard to details of explanation, it was not my office, as being a Priest only, invested with no authority, to draw them out. But I wished to indicate their possibility. You are relatively under the same circumstances. But I believe that the hope which you have held out, that the authorities in the Roman communion *might* hold that "a reunion on the principles of Bossuet would be better than a perpetuated schism," will unlock many a pent-up longing, pent-up on the ground of apparent hopelessness, that Rome would accord to the English Church any terms which it could accept.

May I add, that nothing was further from my wish, than to write anything which should be painful to those in your Communion ? A defence, indeed, of necessity involves some blame ; since, in a quarrel, the blame must be wholly on the one side or on the other, or divided ; and a defence implies that it is not wholly on the side defended. But having smoothed down, as I believe, honestly, every difficulty I could, to my own people, I thought that it would not be right towards them, not to state, where I conceive the real difficulty to lie. Nor could your authorities meet our difficulties, unless they knew them. You will think it superfluous, that I desired that none of this system, which is now matter of "pious opinion," should, like the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception, be made *de fide*. But in the view of a hoped for reunion, every thing which you do, affects us. Let me say, too, that I did not write as a reformer, but on the defensive. It is not for us to prescribe to Italians or Spaniards, what they shall hold, or how they shall express their pious opinions. All which we wish is to have it made certain by authority, that we should not, in case of reunion, be obliged to hold them ourselves. Least of all did I think of imputing to any of the writers, whom I quoted, that they "took from Our Lord any of the love which they gave to His Mother." I was intent only on describing the system which I believe is the great obstacle to reunion. I had not the least thought of criticising holy men who held it.

As it is of moment, that I should not be misunderstood by my own people, let me add, that I have not intended to express any opinion about a visible head of the Church. We readily recognise the Primacy of the Bishop of Rome ; the bearings of that Primacy upon other local Churches, we believe to be matter of ecclesiastical, not of Divine law ; but neither is there anything in the Supremacy in itself to which we should object. Our only fear is, that it should, through the appointment of our Bishops, involve the reception of that practical *quasi*-authoritative system,

which is, I believe, alike the cause, and (forgive me) the justification in our eyes of our remaining apart.

But although I intended to be on the defensive, I thank you most warmly for that tenderness, which enabled you to see my aim and objects throughout a long and necessarily miscellaneous work. And I believe that the way in which you have treated this our *bona fide* "endeavour to find a basis for reunion on the principles debated between Archbishop Wake and the Gallican Divines two centuries ago" will, by rekindling hope, give a strong impulse towards that reunion. Despair is still. If hope is revived in the English mind, that Christendom may again be united, rekindled hope will ascend in more fervent prayer to Him who "maketh men to be of one mind in a house," and our prayers will not return unheard for want of love.

Your obedient servant,

E. B. PUSEY.

LETTER OF CANON OAKELEY TO THE EDITOR OF THE "WEEKLY REGISTER."

Sir,---Little as I felt myself able to follow the line taken in your interesting and kindly notice of Dr. Pusey's recent work, I can hardly bring myself to regret, what has been the occasion of drawing forth so very remarkable and important a letter, as that which he has addressed to you on the subject of it. One of two results must follow upon the publication of such a letter, from such a man. Either it must produce a powerful sensation in the country, and direct men's minds into a new channel of thought, or it will be ignored as a fact too serious to confront. If the former, it may be the inauguration of a new era in our religious history; if the latter, it will at any rate prove a change in public opinion, upon the questions which have hitherto divided us from the great mass of the people of this country, which must ultimately issue, though by a more gradual process, in the same result.

For only observe, what Dr. Pusey declares in the face of the world. He expresses his belief that all *de fide* doctrines, as explained in the sense of the Church, are capable of being reconciled with the language of the Thirty-nine Articles; nay, that such a construction of the Articles as brings them into harmony with those doctrines, is not merely not a strained and unnatural construction of them, but that which is the more literal and obvious. This is, in substance, precisely the claim for which, twenty years ago, Mr. Ward was degraded at Oxford, and I suspended from all Ministerial functions in the province of Canterbury; except only that it goes beyond that claim, in asserting that to be the sense of the Articles, which Mr. Ward only contended, to be one of the senses of which they were capable.

This remarkable admission, Dr. Pusey had already made in his book. But his letter published by you last week is a most valuable commentary upon his work, in relieving it from its controversial intention, and representing peace, as the object underlying all that it contains. Now the book is prejudiced in the eyes of all good Catholics, by its exhibition of a number of passages, strung together with the seeming intention of proving, that we give to the Blessed Virgin an honour inconsistent with the honour of our Divine Lord. Some of these passages are of a most extreme character; so extreme, indeed, that I know many excellent Catholics, who, while regarding them as doctrinally defensible, would hesitate to adopt them, asthe rule of their language and habits of thought, on the subject of Our Blessed Lady. It is, therefore, no small gratificato find Dr. Pusey saying in his letter to you that he had no intention of imputing to holy men using such expressions any want of loyalty to our Lord; and that he did not quote them as necessarily implying an inscription of honour to the Blessed Virgin derogatory to the claims of her Divine Son. It is also a great fact, that Dr. Pusey should say he does not approach the Church in the spirit of a Reformer, though, in truth, no one who knows his humility, his spirit of self-renunciation, and his disposition to accept with an unquestioning faith all that is put before him by what he regards as competent authority, could ever have been inclined to impute to him an *animus* so inconsistent with the meek and childlike character of a Christian.

These ungrudging and generous admissions seem to me so important as to throw into the shade the very difficult and, I must think, dangerous question of a union, based on any other principle than that of unreserved submission. Upon this subject I shall content myself with one or two remarks. The first is, that I am persuaded that those qualities of the Catholic character which Dr. Pusey most appreciates, high spirituality and superiority to the influences of the world, are intimately connected, not with a *minimised*, but a *maximised* Catholicism; and that, between those views of Church authority which he espouses, and the rationalistic spirit of the age, there is a more subtle affinity than he is aware. My second remark is this, that the principles, even of Bossuet, which Dr. Pusey proposes as the basis of Union, would require him to accept the Supremacy of the See of Peter as of Divine authority, and would consequently inculpate his actual position of schism, at least material. This is a very serious question for him, since there is surely a fear lest his apparent admission of the truth, or at all events, the great probability, of those principles, should impair the *bona fides*, by which I, for one, am most willing to hope that his position, as a separaist from Catholic Unity, is protected from the character and consequences of a formal act.

Your obedient servant,

FREDERICK OAKELEY.

Nov. 23.

DR. PUSEY'S EIRENICON AND THE DIFFICULTIES OF REUNION.

An Eirenicon, in a Letter to the Author of the Christian Year, by E. B. PUSEY, D.D., Regius Prof. of Hebrew, and Canon of Christ Church Oxford. Parker: Oxford. 1865.

Letter from Dr Pusey to the WEEKLY REGISTER, Nov. 25, 1865.

Difficulties of Reunion. By L. (Sermon ix. in the New Series of) Sermons on the Reunion of Christendom. Hayes: London. 1865.

[SECOND NOTICE.]

In our former notice of Dr. Pusey's already celebrated "Eirenicon," after admitting that it was quite fairly open to Catholic readers, to form a different estimate of the work, we indicated that our own view was favourable to it, as a whole, and that we understood its main drift to be a seeking after unity, and not after pretexts for division; that it seemed to us "the most unequivocal advance that has ever been made towards negociations for healing the schism of the sixteenth century;" and again, that it is "a most clearly pronounced endeavour to find a basis for reunion on the principles debated between Archbishop Wake and the Gallican divines two centuries ago." In our last week's impression, we were enabled to give to our readers, a letter from Dr. Newman to the Editor of this paper; this letter we need hardly say we were most grateful to receive, and it was all the more welcome because it came unlooked for, since while writing our review we were not without fear, that we might be thought by many, and perhaps by Dr. Newman, to have been guilty of rashness and presumption, and might be blamed in the words of the old line, "Fools rush in where angels fear to tread." We cannot help feeling that our position stands higher in this respect, than when we wrote last, since one who so well understands the meaning of words as Dr. Newman has felt himself able to designate what we had written as "*an admirable review of Dr. Pusey's recent work.*" Of course we do not take this single word of praise, as meaning more on the part of Dr. Newman, than a general approval of the line we have taken, as not an unfair one, though not as necessarily identifying him with our interpretation of the author's meaning. A great confirmation of our estimate of the work is contained in the Letter from Dr. Pusey himself, written expressly for publication in our columns, and which appeared side by side with the letter of Dr. Newman. If it be true that an honest man is the best interpreter of his own meaning, and we do not think that many of our readers will deny that Dr. Pusey is an *honest* man, then it is clear from this letter that we have in our review seized on the true meaning of the author. He writes, "I thank you with all my heart for your kind-hearted and appreciative review of my Eirenicon, I am thankful that you have brought out the main drift and object of it, that which in my mind underlies the whole, to show that in my conviction there is no insurmountable

obstacle to the union of the Roman, Greek, and Anglican communions. I have long been convinced that *there is nothing in the Council of Trent which could not be explained satisfactorily to us* if it were explained *authoritatively, i.e.*, by the Roman Church herself, not by individual theologians only ;" and again, "I thank you for that tenderness which enabled you to see my aim and objects throughout a long and necessarily miscellaneous work." He then goes on to say that whatever there was controversial in his book he had said only on "the defensive, not as a reformer ;" and again, "I do not presume to prescribe to Italians or Spaniards what they shall hold, or how they shall express their *pious opinions*, and least of all did I think of imputing to any of the writers whom I quoted" (such as St. Bernard, St. Liguori, Faber, and others) "that they took from Our Lord any of the love which they gave to His Mother. I was intent only on describing the system which I believe is the great obstacle to reunion. I had not the least thought of criticising holy men who held it."

On the subject of the prerogatives of the Sovereign Pontiff, Dr. Pusey expresses, not indeed the Catholic doctrine, but puts forth as his own, an opinion so much beyond what we have been accustomed to hear even from advanced Anglicans, that we feel sure it will be read by most Catholics with unmixed surprise and satisfaction. "I have not intended," he says, "to express any opinion about a visible head of the Church. We readily recognise the Primacy of the Bishop of Rome ; the bearings of that Primacy upon other local Churches, we believe to be matter of ecclesiastical, not of Divine law. But neither is there anything in the Supremacy in itself, to which we should object."

In another part of his letter he writes, "I believe that the hopes which you have held out that the authorities of the Roman Communion *might* hold, 'that re-union on the principles of Bossuet would be better than perpetuated schism,' will unlock many a pent-up longing, pent-up on the ground of its apparent hopelessness." The concluding words of this beautiful and consoling letter are : "If hope is revived in the English mind that Christendom may again be united, re-kindled hope will ascend in more fervent prayer to Him 'who maketh men to be of one mind in a house,' and our prayers will not return unheard for want of love."

We think then, that it will be admitted that we were right, in saying that Dr. Pusey's principal object was to seek, if a reunion of Anglicans with the Catholic Church was possible, on what are commonly called Gallican principles, and that he accepts the issue proposed by us, when we said, simply on our own authority and under correction, "that a reunion on the principles of Bossuet would be better than perpetuated schism." The gist of the whole work then may be fairly reduced to this single issue, and so we intend to treat it. We feel moreover bound, to enter somewhat more deeply into the matter in its practical bearings, and therefore to look in the face some of the principal difficulties which meet us at the outset, and state candidly what we think of them. We set about

this with great diffidence, feeling moreover that it is an ungracious thing to suggest difficulties, and yet that we should not be acting loyally by our Anglican readers, if we did not tell them the thoughts of our mind. To speak only of the hopes, and say nothing of the difficulties of reunion, would be like inviting people to an aerial tour through the tranquil heavens, with charming prospects of earth and sea and sky above and around, without warning them that the course of the wind must inevitably bring them up short, against the Peak of Teneriffe. We do not say, since "all things are possible to God" that such difficulties are insuperable, only that they must be steadily looked in the face.

1. In the first place, then, what are actually the principles of Bossuet, taking him as a fair sample, theologically, of the Gallican school? For these we have not far to go, for we find them stated very concisely, in Bossuet's well known work entitled "Exposition de la Doctrine de l'Eglise Catholique," and we may as well premise, that probably few books have ever received a greater number of approbations, from Bishops, Cardinals, Roman Congregations, and from the Pope himself.

Thirty pages of the volume from which we quote are taken up with these approbations only, including two Briefs of Pope Innocent the Eleventh addressed to the author. In these the Pope says: "We judge the work not only worthy to be praised and approved by us, but also to be read and esteemed by all the world. We hope that this work, by the grace of God, will produce much fruit. We trust that it will be found useful and may aid in propagating the orthodox faith." In the second Brief it is called "a wise and pious exposition of the Catholic Faith, and an admirable work." We need not say more, to commend Bossuet's Exposition of the Faith to the attention of our Anglican readers, as an authorised exposition of Catholic doctrine; most educated Catholics are of course acquainted with the work. We pass over the chapters on the worship of God, the invocation of Saints, the religious uses of images and relics, on justification and the merits of good works, purgatory and indulgences, the Real Presence and the Sacrifice of the Mass. We come then to the chapters treating of the Church and its Head. After having spoken of the Holy Ghost, the Spirit of Truth, he goes on in the next paragraph to speak in order, of the Church the visible and perpetual organ and mouth-piece or oracle of the same Holy Spirit. "It is thus," he says, "that the children of God acquiesce in the judgment of the Church, believing that they receive from its mouth the oracle of the Holy Spirit, therefore it is that after we have said in the Creed, 'I believe in the Holy Ghost,' we add immediately, 'the Holy Catholic Church,' whereby we bind ourselves to recognise one truth infallible and perpetual in the Universal Church, since that Church, which we believe has existed in all ages, would have ceased to be the Church if it had ceased to teach the revealed truth of God." The last chapter of the work is on "The Authority of the Holy See and of the Episcopate." "As the Son of God willed that His Church should be one, and solidly founded on unity

He established and instituted the Primacy of St. Peter in order to maintain and cement this unity. Wherefore we recognise this very Primacy in the successors of the Prince of the Apostles, to whom, for this reason, we owe that submission and obedience, which the Holy Councils and the Holy Fathers have always enjoined on the faithful.

"As to those points which are known to be disputed by the Schools, although often quoted by the reformed ministers, in order to cast odium on the authority of the Holy See, it is unnecessary to allude to them here, as they are not of Catholic faith. It is sufficient to recognise a Head established by God to conduct the whole Flock in His ways; to this all those who love fraternal concord and ecclesiastical unanimity will readily agree.

"Certainly if the authors of the pretended Reformation had loved unity, they would not have abolished the episcopal government, which was established by Jesus Christ Himself, and was in full force in the apostolic age, nor would they have despised the authority of St. Peter's Chair, which has such a sure foundation in the Gospel, and so manifest a sequel in tradition, but rather, they would have carefully preserved the authority of the Episcopate, which maintains unity in particular Churches, and the Primacy of St. Peter's Chair, which is the common centre of Catholic unity."

Such is a short exposition of the principles of Bossuet, concerning the Visible Church, which is further developed in the larger works of theologians like De la Hogue, or in the more recent works of Bouvier and others of the same school. The Gallicans held the perpetual visibility and infallibility of the Church, that it was One, Holy, Catholic, Apostolic, and also Roman, because it was a visible, living body, through an essential union with a visible Head, and they taught that the Bishop of Rome was, as successor of Peter, the divinely-appointed Head of the Church, its centre and mouth-piece, apart from whom the Church was not. All this they taught, basing their doctrine on the decrees of the Council of Florence and of Trent, concerning the Supreme Pontiff, and his prerogatives in the Church of Christ. Now, are Anglicans prepared to accept this doctrine concerning the Visible Church and its Head? Dr. Pusey, in the name of his School, has already answered in the affirmative, though the statement of these doctrines in his book, and even in his letter falls short of an acceptance of Bossuet's doctrine. If however this is his meaning, already we say, the ground has been laid down authoritatively, and the judgment of the Holy See expressed in a Pontifical Brief, in favour of the soundness of the Gallican principles of Bossuet, on the Visible Church and its Head, to serve as the basis for re-union, for any number of individuals, or of Churches.

II. But here we confess comes in our chief difficulty, since we think there are very few even of advanced Anglicans, who would define the Visible Church and its Head, with Dr. Pusey, supposing him to accept, unreservedly the principles of Bossuet, of which we do not yet feel certain.

This we had already indicated in our previous article, framing our opinion solely from the statements of his book. We there said, "On the question of the Church's unity, Dr. Pusey would hold an opinion differing on important points, from the doctrine universally held by Catholics, and, *here, we fear, would be the chief difficulty in discovering a common basis for negotiation.*" For the Church cannot recede a single step, from the teaching already laid down in the Council of Trent, concerning the Visible Church and its Head ; and the Council of Trent did not, on this point, go beyond what had been already decreed by East and West at the Council of Florence. The words of that Council are as follows:---'Moreover we define that the Holy Apostolic See and the Bishop of Rome is successor to the Blessed Peter, Chief of the Apostles, true Vicar of Christ, Head of the whole Church, and Father and Teacher of all Christians ; that to him was given in the person of Blessed Peter the full power to conduct, to rule, and to govern the whole Catholic Church, according to that mode which is contained in the Acts of Œcumeninical Councils, and the Holy Canons." (Note C). It is clear, therefore, that there is on way of conciliating, what is commonly called the *branch theory* of the Visible Church, with the definitions of Florence and of Trent, and with the opinions of Bossuet, and the Gallican school, which were based on these definitions ; and hence, on Gallican principles, the Anglicans have been all along outside the Visible Church. But is there then no possible basis of negotiation for reunion, without a full previous admission on the part of separated bodies, that they are out of the Visible Church ? Our reply is, that the history of the Council of Florence seems to us to furnish an analogy applicable, at least, in great part, to the case of the Anglicans. We quote from the learned work on the Oriental Church, by Pitzipios, printed in Rome ten years ago at the Propaganda Press. Whatever may be the doctrine of the Greeks at the present day concerning the Visible Church, it seems clear that at the time of the Council of Florence, they must have held some such theory as Anglicans now hold; yet we nowhere find that they were required, either before or after the act of union, to admit that they had been in *formal schism.* The only way, as it seems to us, of accounting for the mode in which the Oriental Bishops were treated at Ferrara and Florence, is by supposing that the authorities of the Catholic Church laid down and acted on, a broad distinction between *material* and *formal* schism. The Patriarch of Constantinople and his train of Bishops, though they were considered by the Pope as actual schismatics, were not treated as rebels. In the great Church of St. George at Ferrara, seats of honour were placed for the Pope and the Western Bishops, on the left side of the High Altar, while a similar position to the right of the High Altar, was assigned to the Patriarch of Constantinople and the Oriental Bishops, a Royal throne being placed on either side for the Emperor of Germany, who was absent, and the Emperor of Constantinople, while in the midst, on a magnificent throne in front of the

Altar, was exposed the Book of the Holy Gospels. The Pope opened the Sacred Synod by intoning the *Benedictus*, "Blessed be the Lord God of Israel, for He hath visited and redeemed His people," and all joined together in psalms and canticles. Then was read from the Ambon the invitation to the Council and excommunication of all who should not assent to its decrees; first on the part of the Patriarch of Constantinople, and afterwards on that of the Pope, declaring the convocation and opening of thCouncil. This distinction between material and formal schism may also account for the fact, that the Greeks were not required to repudiate the Saints of their Communion, who had been canonized during the Schim. (See Palmer's Orthodox Communion. Note D.) In the same way in the great Western Schism of the Anti-Popes, there were Saints of both obediences, and yet it is certain that there was only one true Pope, and therefore the adherents of one side or the other were at least in material Schism. Of course, the case of the Anti-Popes is only an analogy, as far as it goes; and so also is the case of the Council of Florence. Neither in any way covers the case of the Anglicans; if for no other reason, because the orders of the Oriental Church were universally recognised; while those of Anglicans, up to this moment, have never been admitted either by East or West. Nevertheless, we cannot but think that the mode in which the Oriental Bishops were treated, was not simply owing to the respect due to their orders, which would not make them a whit less schismatical, but was based on the broad and solid distinction between material and formal Schism. And this principle would hold good with certain differences, if any body of baptised Christians, such as the Lutherans of Germany, or the Presbyterians of Scotland, should make advances for negotiations with the Catholic Church, for admission into visible unity. For argument's sake, and to prevent, misconception of our meaning, which might confuse the real question, with that of Anglican orders, on which we do not intend to enter; we prefer considering the case of Anglicans in respect of material or formal schism on no higher grounds, and to judge of their relation to the Church, and the relation of the Church to them, from this point only; as if, for instance, it were the case of the Lutherans, debated between Bossuet and Liebnitz. We come then to the conclusion that admission of fundamental error, is not necessarily to be required of separated bodies, as a previous condition of negotiations, for reunion or submission.

III. But we will suppose that not only Dr. Pusey, but a large body who are willing to be represented by him, are prepared for *bona fide* negociations for reunion, on the principles which we have shown to be those of Bossuet; and we will suppose the authorities of the Catholic Church, to have formally accepted negociations on this basis; but here occurs a difficulty, so great as to be almost overwhelming. Dr. Pusey represents, as yet, only a School of opinion. Not one English Bishop has publicly identified himself with this School, and few of the Anglican Bishops ever lose an opportunity of publishing their energetic dissent from many

of the doctrines, which Dr. Pusey and those who think with him, hold us integral portions of the Faith. The Sermon which we have placed third on our list, at the head of this article, states this same difficulty, far better than we can, whilst it offers some solution of it. The author quotes from the *Christian Remembrancer:* "Within the English Church there exists a large School, who look upon the desire to unite with Rome in any form as sinful, and who must *pari passu* be conciliated, unless the unity of Christendom, is to determine the break-up of the Church of England." The writer of the Sermon comments thus on the words quoted, "We have no desire to make light of this very serious consideration, and no honest discussion of our present subject can escape its force and urgency. There are, it may be, some among us who would make short work with it. They would regard the expulsion of the so-termed Evangelicals from the Church, as a blessing only inferior, to the reunion of Catholic-minded Churchmen with the Latin and Greek communions. We cannot agree with them in this judgment. . . . . But no one who is really acquainted with the actual tone and working of the Church of England, can deny that the 'Evangelical' clergy, on the whole, are steadily advancing towards a higher measure of truth, than they had attained in past years. 'Evangelicalism,' indeed, is as the womb of Rebecca: it contains a Jacob and an Esau. To some souls its attraction lies in the fact that it rationalistically ignores or denies Sacramental Truth. To others, a fundamentally different class of minds, its charm consists in that love of, and devotion to, the Person of Our Blessed Redeemer which has undeniably characterised its general history. And as those who are attracted by its negative aspects are continually sinking, and become, as opportunity arises, the easy prey of Rationalism; so those who are drawn by its positive Faith and Love are, under the guidance of the Blessed Spirit, as perpetually rising, and they furnish its best recruits to the cause of Catholicism. Indeed, the advance of Rationalism, fraught as it is with the utmost danger to the salvation of many precious souls, does incidentally help to reduce, as in the long run it may probably destroy altogether, the difficulty before us. It acts as a solvent upon the popular Evangelicalism. It precipitates the anti-sacramental negative element towards the pure Rationalism with which, under the common name of Free Thought, it has the strongest and most radical affinities. It drives the adoring and believing element upward to take shelter from its devasting and unspiritual action, in a sincere allegiance to the principle of Church authority. This disintegration of Evangelicalism is going on rapidly beneath our eyes, and every attack upon the books of Holy Scripture; nay, more, every serious inquiry into the historical origin and authority of the Sacred Canon, is, a certain, although unnoticed, step in its gradual progress. And we rejoice to believe that while, alas, only too many in that great party are day by day forfeiting, at the bidding of Rationalistic principles, the light and warmth which has heretofore streamed upon their souls from the Sun of Kighteousness,

the great majority are truer to the loftier instincts of their spiritual nature, than to the logical exigencies of their theory, and are moving, amid whatever defections and relapses, towards the full acceptance of the Faith.

"If this be so we may trust that in the kindly Providence of our Gracious Lord, the restored unity of Christendom if it be granted to us, will not determine in the break up of the Church of England.' It may coincide, in point of time with the final retirement from our communion, of those who bend in reality before no Truth whatever, as revealed and certain ; and to whom the language of the Prayer Book, from the daily Morning Absolution down to the Visitation of the Sick, is, when they steadily reflect upon its import, a standing cause of offence. But among these, too, there are generous souls : and God may have for them and for us, a future in store of which we cannot yet discern the bearings. Enough, at any rate, has been said to show that short of active conciliation of the 'Evangelical' party, a most sacred duty be it remarked, so far as loyalty to truth permits, there are causes at work, which may re-assure us, when we consider the very formidable objection, to any practical scheme for reunion among Catholic Christians of the Greek, and Roman, and Anglican Churches, the objection which is based on the position and numbers of the 'Evangelical' party in the latter communion." Having spoken of the causes which he sees in operation amongst the various sections of his own Church, in which he thinks he discerns afar off the principles of unity and truth working themselves to order out of chaos, he speaks also of the relations in which his Church stands "to the great Churches of Christendom." "It would be at once disingenuous and unpractical to ignore the fact that the 'secondary matters' which divide the great Churches of Christendom are of graver import than any questions of Liturgical form. . . . . .

"More points of difference might be named,---some of them serious ones. But our present purpose is not to enumerate, still less to exaggerate them. It is our duty to recognise them. There they are, patent and painful facts ; nor will any scheme of reunion have a chance of success which postulates simple submission from one side, and claims Œcumenicity for the other. The questions which divide the Churches must be regarded, *pro tanto*, as open questions ; 'open,' that is, not absolutely, but to the revision of an Œcumenical Council, when such may be had. And if any should say or think that to anticipate the assembling of such a representation of Christendom in our own day is a visionary imagination ; or that, if assembled, it could ever introduce the reign of harmony into the realms of ecclesiastical discord, let us reflect that God has taught His people their deepest lessons, by the pressure of suffering inflicted from without. None can mark the upgrowth and power of the infidel spirit in Europe, without seeing that we are drifting rapidly towards a time more like that of the first three centuries of the Church's life than any subsequent period has been. The religion of

Jesus Christ has experienced in turn all the relations towards the worldly power which are abstractedly possible. It has survived persecution ; it has survived, more marvellously still, ages of wealth and power ; it has lived on under a cold neutrality ; and it might seem as if the cycle thus completed might, ere long, begin over again. In the infidel literature of Europe there are ominous threats and undisguised passions, which remind us that the spirit which cried of old, 'Christianos ad leones,' is not extinct. That spirit will re-appear in England with those fuller developments of Rationalism, which are apparently inevitable, and we may hope that suffering in a common cause, if such be the will of Our Divine Lord, will teach those who should be brothers to understand each other. Meanwhile, existing differences may be lawfully minimized ; and, even if we do not see our way in the tangled maze, towards a practical solution of the difficulties which they undeniably present, we may cultivate a habit of hopeful, peaceful, trustful expectancy, relying firmly on the revealed will of Our Divine Lord, and looking forward to the time 'when Ephraim shall not envy Judah, and Judah shall not vex Ephraim.' 'To recognise difficulties is one thing, to despair of overcoming them is another.'

We need hardly observe on the grasp of his subject, and the masterly treatment of the difficulty, by this writer, and we do not need the initial letters of his name to indicate to us, perhaps the most leading mind and greatest preacher that Oxford has produced since the days of Dr. Newman, and one who if we mistake not is likely to do more than any other man, towards forming the mind of the University in its younger members.

IV. And here may be the place to speak of another great difficulty, which we have felt all along under-lying the whole subject ; we mean the question of individual responsibility, and of individual submission. It is obvious that "the disintegration of the Low Church section of Anglicans," spoken of by the author of the Sermon just quoted, can only be the work of time ; difficulties and delays may obstruct the project of a General Council, to whose decision the various sections of Anglicans might agree to submit their differences with one another, and their differences with the Catholic Church. Meantime, the national Church, as a body, can make no advances which could be accepted by the Catholic authorities, or even by the Oriental or Russian Communions, because it can have no authoritative voice, or common principle, or moral personalty, there would be no one to treat or to be treated with. It must continue a heterogeneous body so long as it does not put from it one of the two great Schools which have always held divided sway. How then, meantime, will that school in the Anglican Church, supposing it to be able legally to hold its ground, be able to do so conscientiously, should its members have advanced so far individually, as to be ready to seek for corporate reunion, on the principles of Bossuet and the Gallican divines ?

We have seen that these admit with the Council of Florence, a dogma on the nature of the visible Church which cannot be reconciled with the Anglican *branch* theory. This theory therefore, and that dogma cannot stand together ; and although we have admitted the obvious distinction between material and formal schism, yet it is no less obvious that material schism becomes formal, when consciousness of the fact of schism begins. Human events may defer indefinitely projects of corporate reunion, but truth, when we know it, rests on us with an eternal obligation, independent of all conceivable circumstances and events. *Fiat justitia ruat cælum.* If then the truth be once made clear to us, we know of no voice upon earth which can dare to say, "Stay and work for unity," when the voice of illuminated conscience says, "Go and follow out the exigence of truth." It was on this principle that Newman and Manning quitted years ago a vantage ground, which no one has since occupied. Far be it from us to judge any man. Each several soul before his own Master standeth or falleth. For our own part, as regards the case of individuals, we know not where to set limits to the possibility of invincible ignorance and material schism ; still we could not have answered it to our conscience, to have treated this subject at all in the manner we have done, without guarding ourselves against the possibility of leaving a single soul to suppose that anything could justify the sacrifice of the *justum* to the *utile*, of *truth* to *expediency*, even though that expediency might seem to be to "the greater glory of God." We know not whether this present Catholic movement in the Anglican Church may have any immediate issue other than that of the former movement twenty years ago. We pray heartily that its ultimate result may be a great corporate reunion of the National Church with the ancient Mother and Mistress of all the Churches. Or if this be not in the designs of God, and perhaps we are all too weak in faith, in charity, and in prayer to obtain so great a grace ; we cannot doubt that it will issue in important results; perhaps at first like the former movement, only in the submission as individuals of many precious souls ; perhaps in something of which we seem to discover not a few indications, a movement of all that is truest and noblest in Anglicanism in the direction of a *Free Church*, independent of State control. Should this turn out to be the more immediate issue, such an event we should hail, as the sure precursor of a very speedy act on the part of such seceding body, of corporate submission to the Divine authority of the Visible Church and of Christ's Vicar upon earth. If Anglicanism were liberated from State control, the Catholic element being set free, would fly as it were of its own nature, to the Centre of Unity.

Then, if ever, would be the time when a large seceding body, such as might not unfitly be termed a free Church of England, might be in a position to make such propositions on submission to the Catholic Church, as its members might agree upon and deem expedient. We can conceive that it might ask, and the Roman authorities might grant, various explanations on points of doctrine, or concessions on points of discipline, if it

could be shown that by so doing, some of those difficulties might be removed or lessened, which are presented by the aspect of the Catholic religion, viewed from without, to a nation which, like the English, has been separated by a chasm of three centuries, from the traditions of Catholic Christendom. And so perhaps the way might be made more plain for the return of England, as a nation, to the Ancient Faith.

But if, as is quite possible, neither of these great movements should take place in our day; though we refuse at present to contemplate such an alternative; may Our Lord continue the good work which He has begun, in His own time, and in His own way; and may we cultivate amongst ourselves, and towards those without, a great spirit of charity an forbearance---that charity which hopeth all things---that so all our prayers and good works may ascend "like incense before God," in never-ceasing intrucession for the peace and unity of our Jerusalem, for the conversion of pagans, infidels, and sinners; and for the Reunion of all the Baptised who have once been made Members of the Mystical Body of Christ; to the Visible Communion of the world-wide Catholic Church!

SECOND LETTER OF DR. PUSEY TO THE EDITOR OF THE "WEEKLY REGISTER."

Sir,---Will you allow me a few words in explanation, in consequence of Canon Oakeleys's remarks on my letter to you, which breathe the kindness of never-forgotten years, but in which, perhaps on that very account, he has read my meaning rather in the light of his own wishes for me?

1. In regard to the Council of Trent, my statement was, "I have long been convinced that there is nothing in the Council of Trent which *could* not be explained satisfactorily to us, if it were explained authoritatively."

I meant by this, that in regard to some of the declarations of the Council of Trent, which, unexplained, present difficulties to us, some of your own theologians, who have spoken with authority, especially in later times, have stated that certain beliefs are sufficient to satisfy the meaning of the Council on these subjects. If the Church of Rome could formally declare that those beliefs were alone *de fide*, I believe that the great difficulty to reunion on our side would be removed. I could not call this "holding all Roman doctrine;" for this would, in my mind involve (1) holding the doctrine in the way in which it is commonly and popularly held among you, whether *de fide* or no; (2) holding the doctrine on the authority of Rome, which, not being a member of the Roman Communion, I, of course, do not. Rather, it is holding a faith, which I received (at a time when we never read a Roman book), through writers of our Church, from early tradition, as expounding authoritatively Holy Scripture. On comparing my belief with that expressed by the Council of Trent, I thought that its terms, as explained by some individual doctors, yet of authority among you, did not condemn what I believed, and did not require me to believe what I did not believe. I thought that the Council of Trent *so* explained for the Church of England, might be a basis of union. If I may sum up briefly, I think that

not only on the whole range of doctrine, on the Holy Trinity, and the Incarnation, but also on Original Sin and Justification, and all the doctrines of Grace, there is nothing to be explained; that on the Canon of Scripture, the Holy Eucharist, and the anointing of the sick, there is what has to be mutually explained; that on what I suppose you will account points of lesser magnitude, as those alluded to in our XXII Article, there will be need not only of explanation, but of limitation, what is to be *de fide*.

2. In regard to the Supremacy of the Pope, I do not know what it involves, nor am I aware that its limits have been laid down among you. The Council of Florence, at least according the Greek copies, in Archbishop De Marca's words (De Conc. Sacred et Imp. iii., 8 fin.), declared that "the privileges of the Pope are to be explained and exercised according to the Canons and according to the Acts of Œcumenical Councils, *i.e.*, of the eight Councils, which consisted of the Western and Eastern Church." But this would leave much to be defined. I conclude however that the Roman Church cannot hold the Supremacy to be *de fide*, since it has ever called the Greeks, who reject it, schismatics, not heretics. In what I wrote I was thinking of a practical question (as we English do), what, in the case of a reunion, would be its effects upon us. You must, any how, think the application of the Supremacy to vary in different times, since you must believe, that whatever it be or in whatever it consist, it does not necessarily involve either (1) the appointment of the Bishops of a Church in communion with the See of Rome, by the Pope, nor (2) that the sanction of the Roman Court must be had, in order to the *validity* of its Canons, within itself, nor (3) suppose that *all* appeals should be carried to Rome. For the two first were unknown to the Church in St. Augustine's time; and the third, the African Bishops in Council refused. And I meant that what we English, as a practical nation, should feel, would be not an abstract relation in itself (which might be modified by Concordats, and would probably, in Henry VIII.'s time, had that been a time of Concordats), but such authority as would, by the appointment of our teachers, soon bring in that whole practical system, which is the ground of our remaining as we are.

I have ventured to address this line to you, because I believe, full explicitness and openness is essential to all attempts at a better mutual understanding. Difficulties there are, like mountains; but the prayer of faith can remove mountains; and He, whose coming in the Flesh we now rejoice in, with the same devotion, can bid "every valley be exalted and every mountain and hill to be made low, and the crooked places to become straight and the rough places plain, that the glory of God may be revealed, and all flesh see it together." Your obedient servant,

Christ Church, Oxford, Dec. 6, 1865. E. B. PUSEY.

APPENDIX.

I have to thank a learned friend for the substance of some of the following notes:

NOTE A.---When St. Athanasius returned from exile, A.D. 362, he was joined by Eusebius, of Vercelli, who had likewise been exiled together with Lucifer of Cagliari, on account of the Orthodox Faith. Lucifer, on his return from exile, went to Antioch, and there ordained Paulinus Bishop of that See, Meletius having been previously elected Bishop, as we have seen, by the votes of the Arians, though he himself had declared for the Catholic Faith. Lucifer despatches two of his Deacons, and two more from Paulinus, to the Synod, then being held at Alexandria by St. Athanasius, at which Eusebius was likewise present. Thus Paulinus became immediately identified with the orthodox party. From that Synod Eusebius went direct to Antioch, when he found the Church divided into two parties; for the followers of Meletius still adhered to him, and communicated in the Mother-Church in the old part of the city. Meletius himself had actually been banished by the Arians for having abjured their creed, and he returned just as Eusebius arrived. Eusebius, finding things in this state, could not be brought to approve the manner in which Paulinus had been consecrated by Lucifer, though at the same time he had, with the Alexandrian Synod, approved of that act, ignorant of the merits of the case. After fruitless efforts to reconcile the parties he left for Italy, refusing to communicate with either side. Eusebius, therefore, going back into the West, would naturally report how things really stood. Lucifer, on the other hand, irritated with his conduct, was even disposed to quarrel with the Synod of Alexandria, and went home to Sardinia, where he died the following year, being the founder of a sect called after him, which made a schism in the Church. We have, therefore, these two facts. Paulinus had been consecrated by Lucifer, but his consecration had been blamed by Eusebius, the acknowledged leader of the orthodox party, who took the news into the West. His consecrator, on his return to the West, immediately afterwards becomes the founder of a sect and dies in schism. All this must have prejudiced Paulinus in the eyes of the West. On the other hand, Meletius, though elected by the Arian party had afterwards been banished by them for his profession of orthodoxy, and this fact likewise Eusebius, who had met him at Antioch on his return from exile, would naturally report to the West. Thus, Meletius would be going up in opinion; and, just in proportion Paulinus would be going down. The balance would be still more in favour of Meletius, when he was called upon by an Emperor of the known orthodoxy of Theodosius to preside at the Second General Council. Thus there had been a virtual suspension of Communion on the part of the West, not only in respect of Meletius, but also of Paulinus; yet the cause of Meletius was gaining ground. It is clearly an anomalous case, which must not be judged by modern precedents, and cannot be relied on in proof of any system, since important links are probably wanting, and so much has to be made up by inference.

NOTE B.---The prayers for the Conversion of England were, we believe, established at Oscott at the time when the late Cardinal, then Bishop Wiseman, was President of the College, and we believe

they are still in use, there and in many other places, and by many individuals. In the celebrated letter of Cardinal Wiseman to Lord Shrewsbury, the idea of corporate reunion is entertained throughout. After speaking in terms of great hopefulness of the prayers for unity which had lately been established amongst Anglicans, he continues "That the feelings which have been expressed in favour of unity in the Anglican Church, are every day widely spreading and deeply sinking; no one who has the means of judging, I think, can doubt." Again, he considers this movement "as an approximation not merely towards individual Catholic practices or doctrines, but towards Catholic Union." But the letter is so important in its bearing on the present movement that it should be read by all.

NOTE C.---Since my review of Dr. Pusey's book was in type my attention has been called to the fact that on a clause in the Council of Florence of which I have given there a version, a controversy is at this moment on foot between two writers who translate the passage differently, and that my translation agrees with neither. As I make no pretence to accurate Greek scholarship, I feel that I am probably wrong; but as these two writers disagree, I can only give both their translations, leaving those of my readers who are Greek scholars to select which of the three versions they think the truest.

A writer in the *Dublin Review* translates this clause "as is the accepted doctrine in the acts of Councils and in the Holy Canons."

Another writer, in a letter to the *Union*, has translated it "in the way determined both in the acts of the Œcumenical Councils and in the Holy Canons." In the Greek original, the controverted clause is *καθ' ὃν τρόπον . . . . διαλαμβάνεται.* The Latin version, said to have been made 150 years after the Council, is "Quemadmodum etiam in gestis Œcumenicorum conciliorum et in sacris canonibus continetur."

The writer in the *Dublin* blames the translation of the word *διαλαμβάνεται*; he says: "Who ever heard of this word as signifying "determined, appointed, prescribed. It signifies of course, 'received,' 'appointed.'"

The other writer replies, "among the ordinary senses of the word, I find in *Stephen's* 'comprehendo, constituo, statuo, censeo, dijudico, expono, tracto;' which Hederic and Scapula repeat almost in the same words, and which Liddell and Scott translate, 'to grasp with both hands, to weigh, debate and so determine, to resolve, to set out or state clearly and distinctly,' neither Suicer nor Du Fresne notice any senses of that verb peculiar to the middle ages. No lexicon that I am aware of has rendered it by the Latin 'contineo,' or 'contineo' by the English, accept."

NOTE D.---Mr. Palmer's words are: "According to the terms of the Council of Florence, the Greeks would have continued to honour all their Saints who had lived since these paration." Mr. Palmer does not give references, but we presume that so learned and careful a writer may be depended on as an authority; however, we learn from the Bullarium of Benedict XIV. that the rituals of the Greeks and their menæa or martyrology containing the offices of their Saints, were allowed to be retained by them, at the reunion effected at the Council of Florence.

DOCTOR PUSEY'S

EIRENICON:

A Review.

[REPUBLISHED FROM THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.]

BY

GERALD MOLLOY, D.D.,

PROFESSOR OF THEOLOGY IN THE ROYAL COLLEGE OF SAINT PATRICK, MAYNOOTH.

"Et alias oves habeo, quæ non sunt ex hoc ovili : et illas oportet me adducere, et vocem meam audient, et fiet unum ovile et unus pastor."

JOAN. X. 16.

LONDON:

LONGMANS, GREEN, READER, AND DYER.

DUBLIN: McGLASHAN AND GILL.

1866.

DUBLIN:
Printed at the University Press,
BY M. H. GILL.

PREFACE.

THE following Review appeared in the May number of "The Irish Ecclesiastical Record." It was intended, not for the few who are deeply versed in polemical literature, but rather for the many who have little leisure to read long treatises, and who yet would gladly learn something about the "Eirenicon," and the controversy to which it has given rise. To such a class of readers, minute details and learned discussions are distasteful, and sometimes even repulsive. Hence, the writer judged it expedient to abstain from elaborate argument, and to content himself with setting forth sound Catholic views, in clear and simple language. It was his chief aim to be at the same time brief and comprehensive; and, with this end in view, he endeavoured first to sketch in outline the more striking features of Doctor Pusey's Volume, and afterwards to consider them by the light of Catholic doctrine.

The reader, therefore, must not expect to find in

these pages an answer in detail to the arguments which Doctor Pusey has advanced so earnestly, or an explanation of the facts which he has set forth so plausibly; but rather a general survey of the controversy from a Catholic point of view. It may be observed, however, that what is here left undone has been already accomplished by abler hands. The Archbishop of Westminster, and the Bishop of Birmingham, have discussed the proposal of Union, with all the authority which belongs to their high position, and with all the gravity and learning which a matter of so great importance demands. Mr. Allies has taken up the question of Papal Supremacy, and, bringing us face to face with the Primitive Church, has clearly shown, that we cannot find there the counterpart of Doctor Pusey and his party, except it be among those early heretics whom all Anglicans admit to have been withered branches, cut off from the True Vine, which is Christ. Others, too, of Doctor Pusey's old associates, have spoken out in friendly words of argument and expostulation. Even the ancient captain of his band, the great master of dialectic fence, the ever bold, the ever graceful, the ever powerful, John Henry Newman, has stood forth to measure swords with his former com-

panion and ally. With true Christian chivalry he was the first to enter the lists in the cause of our Heavenly Queen; and with more than knightly skill and valour, but yet with more than knightly courtesy, has he done battle for her honour, and won the plaudits even of her enemies.

Some, perhaps, will deem it a useless, if not a presumptuous thing, to issue another pamphlet on a subject that has been so ably handled by so many eminent writers. But in the accomplishment of a great work, even the lowliest instrument is often found to have its use. There are noble and majestic rivers to carry the treasures of distant lands into the heart of mighty cities; and yet there is many a stream unknown to fame, that safely bears its more humble, but not less welcome freight to the simple inhabitants of some secluded village. If further excuse were needed, it might be found in the well known words of Saint Augustine: "Utile est plures a pluribus fieri libros, diverso stylo, non diversa fide, etiam de quæstionibus eisdem, ut ad plurimos res ipsa perveniat, ad alios sic, ad alios autem sic."

St. Patrick's College, Maynooth.
In Festo Sanctæ Dympnæ, 1866.

DOCTOR PUSEY'S EIRENICON.*

Doctor Pusey's book has been a puzzle alike to his friends and to his foes. Indeed, it is a part of the puzzle to tell who *are* his friends, and who *are* his foes. He stands almost alone on a lofty eminence between the Church of England, which he has practically quitted, and the Roman Catholic Church, which he hesitates to enter. To the one he is drawn by the force of early associations and long-cherished sympathies: to the other he is attracted by the unseen influence of grace, and the voices of many friends who have gone before him. The one is the Church of his birth, which won the warm affections of his youthful heart, and to whose service he has devoted the energies of his riper years. The other, as he seems already to admit, is the Church of the Apostles, the Church of the Fathers, the Church which alone can offer a tranquil home to a mind long "tossed

*"The Church of England a Portion of Christ's One Holy Catholic Church, and a Means of restoring Visible Unity. An Eirenicon, in a Letter to the Author of The Christian Year. By E. B. Pusey, D. D., Regius Professor of Hebrew, and Canon of Christ Church, Oxford."

to and fro, and carried about with every wind of doctrine."* The voice of conscience and the call of God are ringing in his ears. But he still clings with a certain tenderness to the few remaining ties that bind him to his Oxford home, and to the Church which he has laboured in vain to defend.

In this state of suspense and perplexity, his mind fondly grasps at the idea of Union. He would fain bring himself into communion with the Church of Rome, and yet not altogether abandon the Church of England. Is it not possible, he asks, to restore a Visible Unity? If there are some points of doctrine on which the two Churches are at issue, there are yet many on which they agree. Nay, these last are the more numerous, as well as the more important. At first sight, no doubt, there is a manifest and a striking conflict, as well in doctrine as in discipline. But, on a closer examination, it will be found that this conflict is often more apparent than real, and that it does not arise so much from the "formal teaching" of each Church, as from the "popular system" of religion, which is superadded to this teaching. If we take the Thirty-nine Articles according to the strict meaning of the words, and compare them with the decrees of the Council of Trent, we shall find that the antagonism between the two is by no means so great as is commonly supposed. May not we hope, then, that with mutual concessions and ex-

* Eph. iv. 14.

planations, it would be possible to effect a firm and lasting Union?

Such were the ideas that seem to have been floating in the mind of Doctor Pusey, when he set about writing a letter to the author of "The Christian Year." And, with these ideas in his mind, he chose the title of his book, and called it "an Eirenicon," that is, a message of peace. But we must candidly say, there is much in his Volume which is at variance with this title. The author often loses sight of his original purpose, and enters upon the common topics of controversy, not with the impartiality and delicate consideration for the feelings of others, which should distinguish a peacemaker, but with much of the prejudice, and somewhat too of the bitterness, that mark the character of a partisan. Having come to treat of peace and Union, he has scarcely opened the negotiation, when, in the ardour of his zeal, he suddenly draws his sword, as if to alarm us by the exhibition of his power, and to irritate us by the display of hostile feeling.

It seems to us, then, that in the tone and spirit of the Eirenicon there is something wavering and inconsistent. At one moment it is a profession of peace, at another a declaration of war. Now we are told that the prospects of Union are hopeful; again, we are assured that Union is impossible. Nevertheless a careful reader will not fail to trace the general current of thought, which we would represent as follows:—The restoration of Visible Unity be-

tween the various Churches into which Christendom is divided, is an object that must be dear to us all. Not only would it promote directly the cause of charity, and the sanctification of souls, but it would enable us to contend with increased power against the rapid progress of Infidelity. Now, as regards the Church of England and the Church of Rome, there is a vast body of doctrine which both in common teach; and though, in some points, the Council of Trent is at variance with the Thirty-nine Articles, these points are of minor importance, and the difference is often much less than it seems. From this point of view, therefore, the prospects of Union are hopeful. But when we pass from the "formal teaching" of the Roman Catholic Church to that great "practical system" of belief and devotion which lies beyond, we come upon many things that seem to offer, in the way of Union, obstacles well nigh insurmountable. Amongst these, the most striking are the existing devotion towards the Blessed Virgin Mary, and the doctrine of Papal Infallibility. The author then proceeds to explain to his readers the "practical system" that prevails amongst Catholics, on these two important questions; and he strives to persuade them, that what we hold about the Pope is contradicted by history, and what we teach about the Mother of God is repugnant to the first principles of Christianity.

Thus Doctor Pusey appears before us in a twofold character. He descends into the arena of contro-

versy bearing in his hand the olive branch of peace ; but before he departs from the scene, he rends it in pieces before our eyes, and scatters the fragments to the winds. His Volume opens with a project for the Union of the Churches; it closes with an attack—for we can scarcely call it by any milder name—upon Catholic doctrine. As regards the first point, we propose, briefly to explain the terms on which alone an Union is possible ; and in reference to the second, we shall offer a few remarks on the manner in which our author has conducted his argument.

With a view to establish a basis of Union, Doctor Pusey compares the "formal teaching" of the Church of England with the "formal teaching" of the Church of Rome ; and he labours to prove, with great learning and ingenuity, that there is much in which they agree, and little in which they differ. Yet we believe that, notwithstanding his argument, the mass of Anglican Protestants would be very unwilling to accept the Council of Trent as a fair exponent of their doctrine ; and we are quite sure, that all Catholics will still continue to regard the Thirty-nine Articles as deeply tainted with heresy. This, however, is a subject we do not mean to discuss. It is beside the real question at issue. Even if the harmony for which Doctor Pusey contends, did exist in point of fact, between the dogmatic decrees of Rome and the formularies of the Anglican Church, that

harmony could never become the basis of Union. Here are the two simple questions on which the success of Doctor Pusey's project must ever depend: Does the Church of England hold that the Roman Catholic Church, as the true Church of Christ, is Infallible? Again, Does it hold that Pope Pius the Ninth, as the successor of Saint Peter, is, by Divine right, the supreme head and ruler of Christ's kingdom upon earth? If it do not accept these two doctrines, then Union is not only hopeless, but absolutely impossible. For the Catholic Church can never sacrifice one jot or one tittle of the sacred deposit of Faith, which it received from our Divine Lord; and these doctrines belong to that sacred trust. But if our questions be answered in the affirmative, then all further negotiation is unnecessary. If the Church of England believe the Roman Catholic Church to be Infallible, it must, of necessity, adopt the whole body of Catholic Faith without exception or limitation. And if it believe the Roman Pontiff to be, by Divine right, the supreme ruler of the true Church, it must, of necessity, submit to his authority.

In dealing, therefore, with the Roman Catholic Church, it is vain to talk of compromise and mutual concessions. To agree to any compromise in matters of doctrine, to grant any concession, would be to abandon the truth; and we believe that this would be not only unlawful, but, through God's special providence, impossible. Hence, the only

Union between Catholics and Protestants, which can be the legitimate object of our hopes and our prayers, must consist simply in this, that Protestants cease to be Protestants, and become Catholics. It seems to us, however, that this Union is to be brought about, not so much by formal negotiation, but rather by the general action of the Church, diffused throughout the country, and gradually finding its way to the hearts of individuals. Formal negotiations lead to controversy; and few are converted by controversy.

Besides, it is to be observed that no individual in the Anglican Church is competent to accept any terms of Union, except for himself alone. Neither is there any corporate body whose decision, upon such a question, would have any binding force, except for the individuals who compose that body. We would ask Doctor Pusey, who is to conclude the treaty of Union on the part of the Anglican Church? Is it the Queen, who is the head of the Church, or a majority of the bishops, or all the bishops together? Every supposition of this kind is repugnant alike to the principles of the Established Church, and the principles of the English constitution. It follows, therefore, that these theories of "Corporate Reunion," as it is called, are but illusive dreams. If England is to be made Catholic once again, it cannot be done by letters patent of the Sovereign, nor by an order of the Privy Council, nor yet by a decree of Convocation. We must labour to bring back

our erring brethren, one by one, into the fold of Christ, patiently awaiting the hour when the grace of God may illumine their minds, and the peerless majesty and beauty of the *Sponsa Christi* may win their hearts.

In connexion with this subject, a certain form of speech has been introduced, which sounds well to the ear, but which, nevertheless, as it is commonly understood, is at variance with Catholic doctrine. Doctor Pusey represents the Church of England as "a means of restoring Visible Unity;" and the "restoration of Unity" is at present the object of the hopes and prayers of many Anglican Protestants: even some Catholics have borrowed the phrase, and seem to consider it harmless. If an inquirer were to say: You talk of the restoration of Unity;—where? the answer would probably be: In the Church of Christ. Now, this is precisely what we mean to criticize. When we speak of restoring Unity, we certainly imply that Unity formerly existed, and was dissolved. But it is contrary to Catholic faith to suppose that Unity *can* be dissolved in the Church of Christ. And therefore to speak of restoring Unity in the Church of Christ, is to convey by implication what we must not and cannot admit. No doubt we might speak of restoring Unity between the people of England, or the people of Prussia, and the true Church.*

* Yet it would be more in accordance with Catholic phraseology, and also more strictly correct, to speak of these nations as being restored to the Church. The restoration is not mutual;

But Doctor Pusey and his followers certainly understand the phrase in its most objectionable sense. Their theory is, that the Church of England is "a means of restoring Visible Unity" between the *various sections into which the Church of Christ is divided.* If Catholics, therefore, were to borrow this phrase from writers of the Anglican school, they would seem to give their sanction to an error which they are bound to reject.*

So much for the project of Union. We now come to the second, or what may be called the hostile, phase of Doctor Pusey's book. He says that, over and above the defined doctrines which are to be found in the dogmatic decrees of General Councils, there is a "vast practical system" to which the Catholic Church is fully committed; that this practical system is becoming every day larger and larger, and that any portion of it may be made, at some future period, the matter of a new definition. He then proceeds, at great length, to explain this practical system, and to comment upon it in a manner which has proved very gratifying to the great bulk of his Protestant readers, but to Catholics painful and irritating. In particular he selects for especial condemnation the language we hold concerning the

when the sheep who have wandered away, are brought back by the Good Shepherd, it is they who are restored to the Fold, and not the Fold to them.

* See Note A, in the Appendix.

Blessed Virgin Mary, and the views we entertain on the subject of Papal Infallibility.

In this part of Doctor Pusey's Volume we find some elements of truth, but we find also much false colouring, and many delusive arguments. It is quite true that a Catholic is bound to believe many things which are not defined by the Council of Trent, or by any other General Council. The pastors of the Church seldom meet together in General Council: but they are at all times Infallible in their teaching; for the Spirit of God ever abides in the midst of them, and teaches them all truth. Jesus Christ has said: "I will ask the Father, and He shall give you another Paraclete, that He may abide with you *for ever;* the Spirit of Truth. . . He will teach you all truth."—*Joan.* xiv. 16; xvi. 13. And again: "Going, therefore, teach ye all nations, . . . teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you; and behold I am with you *all days*, even to the consummation of the world."—*Matth.* xxviii. 19, 20. Moreover, Catholics maintain that not only are the pastors of the Church at all times preserved from error in what they teach, but the universal Church itself, which is "the pillar and the ground of truth," is likewise preserved from error in what it believes. It follows, therefore, that whatever is universally taught or believed throughout the Catholic Church bears upon it the stamp of Infallibility, even though it may not have been defined by any General Council. Again,

there is no doubt that the doctrine which is taught and believed in the Catholic Church on any particular subject, may be partly gathered from the writings of her theologians, from the language of her liturgy, and from the devotions in common use among the faithful.

These ideas are shadowed forth, as it seems to us, by Doctor Pusey, though, we must confess, with some vagueness and obscurity. So far, however, we have no cause of quarrel with him. But we have much reason to complain of the manner in which he applies these principles to the subject in hand. First, as regards devotion to the Blessed Mother of God. The picture which he presents to his readers of this devotion, as it exists in our "practical system," is calculated to make a very false impression. He has chosen among Catholic writers those who are most enthusiastic about the Blessed Virgin,—some of them obscure, and all but unknown amongst us,—and from these writers he picks out the strongest passages he can find. Having thus collected his materials, he then so combines them together that his readers will be led to think they have before them a complete representation, as if in a panorama, of what Catholics think and say about the Mother of God. Now we contend that this panoramic view is not a faithful picture : it is a caricature. No one can honestly believe that a number of expressions, selected after this fashion, separated from their context, and skilfully dovetailed together, will fairly re-

present the general tone and character of Catholic sentiment and of Catholic devotion. Nay more, this is not a fair representation of the sentiments and devotion even of those writers from whom the passages are taken. That they did use the words which Doctor Pusey has placed between inverted commas, we do not call in question. But the sense of a writer upon any subject, and more particularly on a subject in which his affections are deeply engaged, is not to be judged by a few phrases, often highly rhetorical, often highly figurative, picked out from the context, and set before the reader cold and dry.

It is urged, however, by Doctor Pusey, that there is a growth of doctrine in the Catholic Church on the subject of the Blessed Virgin; that the expressions to which he objects, though not yet in general use, may continue to spread more and more every day, until at last they may prevail throughout the whole Church; and, then, according to our theory of Infallibility, they will become the object of necessary belief. As it is, they seem to be approved by the Church: certainly they are not condemned, but rather encouraged.

Now, there is a general answer to this difficulty, which comes home to the mind of every Catholic, although, perhaps, Doctor Pusey is not yet prepared to accept it. Since the Catholic Church is Infallible, it never can accept a doctrine which is false: neither can it ever come to express its belief by any form of

words which is out of harmony with revealed truth. Therefore, if the language which has so startled Doctor Pusey be really inconsistent with the honour due to God, it never *can* be accepted by the universal Church. Whatever may be said about the development of doctrine or of devotion, there is no development possible, by which the precious deposit of revealed truth can be obscured in the Church of Christ.

With this broad principle before our eyes, we may come now, without fear or hesitation, to examine more closely the grounds of Doctor Pusey's difficulty, fully prepared to admit what is true, and hoping to demonstrate the fallacy of what is not. It may be fairly said to us: Granted that these isolated phrases, selected as they have been from a comparatively small number of authors, do not exhibit a faithful picture of what Catholics commonly hold concerning the Blessed Virgin Mary; granted, moreover, that they do not even fully represent the sense of the writers who have used them; yet, their very existence, and the fact that they seem so startling and repulsive to Protestants, call for some explanation. Are they true, or false? And is it a fair allegation of Doctor Pusey, that they have the sanction and encouragement of the Catholic Church? To this we answer: First, that a large proportion of the language in question is quite true in the sense of its authors; but it has been misunderstood and (no doubt, unintentionally) misrepresented by Doctor

Pusey: Secondly, that some of the statements quoted are inconsistent with Catholic doctrine, and absolutely indefensible; but these have received no kind of sanction from the Church, nay, in some instances, they have incurred her formal censure. A few words will be necessary to explain and illustrate each part of our answer.

And first, we do not mean to make any imputation against the ability or honesty of Doctor Pusey. If he has misunderstood his authors, and therefore in his comments perverted their meaning, we believe that the chief reason is because he has examined them as a Protestant, and not as a Catholic. The books to which he refers were written for Catholics, and not for Protestants; and therefore, to be understood aright, they must be looked at from a Catholic, and not from a Protestant, point of view. This is a very important consideration, which Doctor Pusey seems to have overlooked.

The English Protestant has learned from his childhood to believe that the devotion which Catholics pay to the Blessed Virgin, if not absolutely idolatrous, has at least an idolatrous tendency. Hence the term Mariolatry, which is so common among Protestants. This early training is more and more confirmed in proportion as he becomes familiar with the literature of this country, in which, unhappily, the doctrine of the Catholic Church is almost uniformly misrepresented. Thus he naturally comes to look with suspicion and distrust on the language

in which the great dignity, and the high prerogatives, of the Blessed Mother of God, are set forth by Catholic writers. By a lamentable perversion of his natural instincts, he insensibly acquires such a habit of mind, that, while he loves Jesus Christ, he can feel nothing but coldness and indifference towards her whom Jesus Christ loved and honoured as the first of creatures. In theory he will not, and cannot deny that Mary was adorned by God with the plenitude of every virtue; and then, when she stood before Him "full of grace," that He came down from heaven, and, having dwelt for nine months in her womb, lived with her for thirty years in her house at Nazareth, and "was subject" to her. And yet, in practice, he seems to think that every word of praise which is given to Mary, is so much taken from God. An English Protestant, therefore, is little disposed to make any allowance for the ardour of devotional feeling towards the Blessed Virgin. He is jealous for the honour of Jesus when he sees a Catholic rush eagerly to Mary, as a child to the embraces of its mother; and when he overhears the fond endearments that pass between them, he measures every word, and balances every phrase by the inexorable rules of grammar and logic.

Far different is the tone of mind in which a Catholic takes up his book of devotions. From the time that his infant lips have been able to lisp the name of Mary, he has been taught that, though she is the peerless Queen of Angels and Saints, she is yet but

a creature, and therefore, in nature and in dignity, infinitely inferior to the Creator. It is consequently to him a first principle, that the honour which is due to the Blessed Virgin is not only very different *in degree*, but also very different *in kind*, from the honour which is due to God. All this has been engraved on his mind from earliest infancy, as the fixed, unalterable teaching of the Catholic Church. If then, amid the ardent effusions of devotional writers, he meet with a phrase, which to others might seem ambiguous or exaggerated, he is not disturbed. He knows that the warm feelings of the lover will sometimes outrun his powers of speech; that he will not always stop to pick and choose his language with the cautious precision of a grammarian; and that very often his only thought is to give the fullest expression to the depth and tenderness of his devotion.

We do not mean to say that the language of ardent devotion must, of necessity, be exaggerated. Much less do we maintain that, in popular books upon religious subjects, it can ever be desirable to introduce expressions which are out of harmony, even in the smallest degree, with the doctrine of the Catholic Church. Far from it. We adopt much rather the sentiments thus beautifully and forcibly expressed by Raynaud: "Let it be taken as a fixed principle, that no praise of ours can come up to the praise which is due to the Virgin Mother. Nevertheless it is not lawful to supply the deficiency of truthful

panegyric with lying decorations and false honours."* But the question now at issue is a simple question of fact: What is the meaning of certain phrases which Doctor Pusey has collected out of Catholic writers? Our thesis is, that he has failed in many instances to discover the true sense of the language to which he objects; and for this reason, that he has scrutinized it through the medium of Protestant prejudice, whereas it should be examined in the full light of Catholic teaching. When considered in itself and measured according to the uncompromising rules of grammar, it is sometimes ambiguous; but it is not ambiguous to those for whom it is written. It is sometimes exaggerated; but the language of sentiment and feeling is often exaggerated, and yet is not, on that account, false: it must be always understood according to the known opinions of the writer, and of those for whom he writes.

But, it will be urged, the sentiments quoted by Doctor Pusey cannot be always defended on the ground of devotional ardour, or loving enthusiasm. For they are taken, in some instances, from theological writers, and they are set forth with a certain "dogmatic precision of language." Besides, they are often, not simply ambiguous forms or mere exaggerations, but downright errors of doctrine. Take, for example, the opinion that the Blessed Virgin, or at least some portion of her substance, is really pre-

* See note B in the Appendix.

sent in the sacrament of the Eucharist. This opinion receives a favourable notice from Salazar,* and it is formally defended by Oswald: "'We maintain a (co-) presence of Mary in the Eucharist. This is a necessary inference from our Marian theory, and we shrink back from no consequence.' 'We are much inclined,' he says afterwards, 'to believe an essential co-presence of Mary in her whole person, with body and soul, under the sacred species.'"† Now surely this doctrine, thus set before us in "deliberate dogmatic language," cannot be defended by any artifice. And yet it is a part of that "vast practical system," of that "*quasi*-authoritative teaching," which Catholics are not free to reject, and which, "like the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception, may be affirmed as a matter of faith at any future time."

This objection, which represents in a condensed form a difficulty that Doctor Pusey has spread over many pages, brings us to the second part of our answer. We admit that the doctrine is indefensible; but we deny that it has received the sanction or approbation of the Catholic Church. Moreover, we can assure Doctor Pusey that if he were to join us to-morrow, he need have no fear of incurring any obligation to embrace this doctrine, or to adopt any opinion, or any form of language, which varies, even

* Salazar, "in Proverb" ix. 4, 5, nn. 144, 145. See Doctor Pusey's Eirenicon, pp. 171, 172.

† Pusey's Eirenicon, p. 169; for the extract he refers to Oswald, "Dogmatische Mariologie," p. 177.

by a hair's breadth, from the clear and simple doctrine we have already explained.

First of all, then, we cannot accept the argument, that because a proposition is found in a Catholic writer, and has not been condemned, it is therefore approved by the Catholic Church. We think that it is neither expedient nor possible for the Church to condemn by a formal act, every sentiment, every phrase, which is not in harmony with her teaching. She condemns those errors which she considers to be attended with especial danger to the faith or morals of her children. Thus she has often condemned an error, because it was disguised under a form which served to hide its real character; or because it happened to fall in with the prevailing tone of society in a particular country; or because it was defended by a party or a school, in which there were many men of great ability, and of commanding influence. Now, whilst we frankly admit that the doctrine to which we refer is false, and that some of the other phrases produced by Doctor Pusey, in his Volume, are not in keeping with the "form of sound words," which the Church herself has always jealously guarded, it seems to us, nevertheless, that neither in the one, nor in the other, is there any very great or general danger to the faith of Catholics. The distinction between the creature and the Creator is so deeply impressed on the Catholic mind, that there is practically but little fear of our confounding the high prerogatives that have been conferred on

the Blessed Virgin, with the incommunicable attributes of God. Again, the relations of God to man as his Maker, his Redeemer, his one Supreme Lord, and last of all, his "reward exceeding great," are so fully and so clearly understood by Catholics, that it is almost impossible for any creature so to step in between the mind and God, as to receive any part of that honour which is due to Him alone.

It follows, therefore, that the silence of the Church concerning those passages, which we admit are open to objection, would not in itself be a proof of her sanction or approbation. But we have another answer which is more direct, and which goes very far to unveil the weakness, not to say the unfairness, of Doctor Pusey's argument. The Church, in point of fact, has not been silent. She has spoken out clearly enough by the general teaching of her theologians, and by the voice of her Sovereign Pontiffs. To make this matter clear we will follow up, by way of illustration, the example already introduced.

The opinion that the Blessed Virgin is really present in the sacrament of the Eucharist, is represented by Doctor Pusey as commonly prevailing among Catholics, and as forming part of that "vast practical system" which offers an insuperable barrier to all hope of Union between the Churches. Yet strange to say, he refers to no Catholic writer who maintains this doctrine, but Oswald, whose name we had never heard before. He tells us indeed, p. 169, that he

himself noticed it in a letter written to Doctor Jelf about five-and-twenty years ago, as "a belief, said to exist among the poorer people in Rome:" but then he frankly confesses, in a note, that for this statement he had only the authority of a friend who had been staying in that city. Surely this is very miserable evidence on a very important point in his argument. May it not be fairly asked, if that opinion can be said to prevail generally among Catholics, for which Doctor Pusey has been able to produce but one solitary authority? Is it not plain, from this fact alone, that the common voice of our theologians is against the doctrine?

It is needless to enforce a conclusion so obvious by a long list of authorities. We shall be content with one who, uniting in his own person the office of Supreme Pontiff with the learning and ability of an illustrious theologian, may well stand for all: we mean Benedict the Fourteenth. In his well known treatise "De Canonizatione Sanctorum," he refers to the work of a certain writer named Zephyrinus, entitled "Liber de cultu erga Deiparam in Sacramento Altaris." Zephyrinus, he tells us, asserted that some part of the substance of the Blessed Virgin is really present in the sacrament of the altar. Now, this is exactly the opinion of Oswald, except that he goes further, and defends "an essential co-presence of Mary *in her whole person*, with body and soul, under the sacred species." Benedict the Fourteenth, having first given a minute description of the doctrine propounded by

Zephyrinus, next proceeds to show that it is rejected by our theologians, and that it is inconsistent with the principles of our faith. Finally, he concludes that it "has been held to be erroneous, dangerous, and scandalous, and that the worship has been condemned, which, in consequence of it, Zephyrinus asserted should be paid to the most Blessed Virgin in the sacrament of the altar."* In the presence of this clear and emphatic declaration, the authority of Doctor Pusey's friend "who had been staying at Rome," and the statement in the letter of Doctor Pusey himself, who naturally believed what his friend had told him, and even the teaching of Oswald, must melt away before our eyes, as the patches of winter's snow that linger upon the hills melt away before the face of the summer sun.

One point more yet remains to be noticed. Who, it may be asked, is this Oswald, to whose work Doctor Pusey so largely refers, as to a treasury of those opinions which prevail generally among Catholics at the present day? We had never heard his name till we met with it in Doctor Pusey's volume: and we were not a little startled to be told that the

* "Itaque cum per hanc doctrinam, fidei principiis conjunctissimam, directe et expressis verbis improbata remanserint asserta in citato libri Patris Zephyrini, ejus doctrina habita est tanquam *erronea, periculosa,* et *scandalosa,* reprobatusque fuit cultus, quem ex ea præstandum Beatissimæ Virgini in Sacramento altaris asserebat." Benedicti XIV. Opera, Rom. 1749. Tom. iv. pars. 2, cap. 31, n. 32.

sentiments and the phrases which are extracted from his book, are the sentiments and phrases of a Catholic theologian. But our anxiety was soon relieved, when, turning to the "Index Expurgatorius," under the letter O, we came upon the following: "Oswald (H.) Dogmatische Mariologie, das ist: systematische Darstellung saemtlicher die allerseligste Jungfrau betreffenden Lehrstücke ein Versuch. *Latine* vero: Mariologia Dogmatica, hoc est: systematica expositio totius doctrinæ de B. Virgine. (Decr. 6 Dec. 1855.) *Auctor laudabiliter se subjecit et opus reprobavat.*"* Here is the very book Doctor Pusey has been quoting. So little careful has he been, it would seem, in the choice of his authors, that he has actually gone to seek for what he calls the "*quasi*-authoritative teaching" of the Catholic Church, in a book which the Catholic Church has reprobated and condemned.

We now come to the second great obstacle which, to Doctor Pusey, seems to stand in the way of those Protestants who wish to bring themselves into communion with the Church of Rome. He is well aware that the Infallibility of the Roman Pontiff has not yet been defined, and at present forms no part of the creed which a Catholic, as such, is bound to profess. But he considers that the belief in this doctrine is now very general in the Church, and that it may possibly become, at some future period, the

* "Index Librorum Prohibitorum:" Mechliniae, 1860.

subject of a formal definition. So far we agree with Doctor Pusey. When he proceeds, however, to explain in what this doctrine consists, we must candidly say that he presents it to his readers in a very different form from that in which it is generally held among Catholics. According to him, the Pope is held to be Infallible "in all his formal utterances, . . . howsoever or to whomsoever those utterances may be made;" * not only when he addresses the whole Church, but even in his "letters to this or that individual pastor." † Again, his Infallibility is not confined to the main question on which he pronounces judgment, but extends equally to every incidental proposition, every sentence, every argument. "I will only instance one more, as showing that *every sentence in every pronouncement* of the Pope is to be held as infallible. . . . . Incidental statements then are, *equally with the most formal propositions*, matters of faith. . . . . Not only the main proposition, but *every argument* used in all these allocutions, is held to be equally infallible truth." ‡ Lastly, he informs his readers that the Infallibility which we claim for the Pope, is "an Infallibility equal in extent to that of the Divine Scriptures; so that each sentence, however incidental, becomes, like the Word of God, a sacred text." §

Now we can assure Doctor Pusey, in all sincerity,

‡ Pusey's Eirenicon, pages 288, 289.
† Page 292.
* Pages 302, 303.
§ Id., 303.

that this is not the common doctrine of Catholics; nay more, that it is at variance with the express teaching of all our most distinguished and most approved theologians, both ancient and modern. He has persuaded himself, indeed, and he has sought to persuade his readers, that such an Infallibility as he has described, is claimed implicitly by Pope Pius the Ninth in the Encyclical and Syllabus of 1864. We shall not weary our readers by following the course of his argument, which appears to us, from beginning to end, loose, confused, and inaccurate. But there is one plain and practical consideration, which, in our judgment, is quite sufficient to set his mind at rest. The doctrine which prevails commonly amongst Catholics cannot surely be other than it is represented in the writings of our approved theologians. It is not the way of the Catholic Church to hold one doctrine, and to commend those works in which the opposite is maintained. Let Doctor Pusey, then, travel through the various schools of theology that are scattered at the present moment over the broad face of the earth, and we challenge him to produce satisfactory evidence, that in any one of them, such a doctrine of Papal Infallibility is accepted, as that which we have collected above from his Volume.

By way of example, let us look into Father Perrone. He is a Roman and a Jesuit. He has grown old in teaching theology beneath the very shadow of Saint Peter's lofty dome. His works have been ap-

proved at Rome, and have been received everywhere throughout the Church, as a treasury of sound Catholic doctrine. In his treatise De Locis Theologicis,* he undertakes to explain and defend the "common opinion of Catholics, that the Roman Pontiff is endowed by Christ our Lord with the prerogative of Infallibility." He says distinctly that the Pope is not regarded as Infallible, except when he publishes a "dogmatic definition," as it is said, *ex cathedrâ;* and a decree cannot be considered as published *ex cathedrâ*, unless, 1° it treat of some question which appertains to faith, and unless, 2° it be addressed to the universal Church.†

If the authority of Father Perrone is not enough, we may still ascend still higher, and come to the very fountain of orthodox teaching; even to him for whom Jesus Christ prayed that his "faith should not fail," and to whom He therefore intrusted the solemn commission to "confirm his brethren." No one surely will say that Gregory the Sixteenth was disposed to form a low estimate of Papal Infallibility. And, fortunately for our purpose, he has recorded his views on the subject in a very elaborate treatise. The work is entitled "Il Trionfo Della Santa Sede e Della Chiesa." It was written many years before its illustrious author was raised to the Papal chair; but, after that event, it was several times reprinted, and having been translated into the languages of

* Part i. sect. ii. cap. iv. † See Note C in the Appendix.

France, of Germany, of Spain, of Holland, it was received with immense applause in all these countries. We could not, therefore go to a better source if we wished to learn the "*quasi*-authoritative teaching" of the Catholic Church.

Now, in this work we are told,* that in defending the doctrine of Papal Infallibility, it is of the highest importance to make a distinction between the Roman Pontiff acting as a private individual, and acting as Supreme Pastor. In the latter capacity he is Infallible ; in the former, he is, like other men, subject to error. The author then proceeds to lay down the conditions which are absolutely necessary, in order that the Pope may be said to act as the Supreme Pastor of the Church ; and amongst them we again find these two: 1°, that "the point which the Pope defines should appertain to faith;" and 2°, that the definition should be "addressed to the whole Church." Furthermore he maintains, that "even in the definition itself, we must sometimes make this distinction between the Pope as supreme judge and as a private theologian ; as, for instance, when he undertakes to confirm the doctrine defined, by arguments and theological deductions. In this part he is a simple theologian, although one whose authority is of the greatest weight. . . . and he is judge only in the *point defined*, this being not so much the

* Cap. 24.

result of theological discussions, as the object of the Divine assistance."*

It is plain, therefore, if Father Perrone and Gregory the Sixteenth may be taken as fair exponents of Catholic opinion, that we do not hold the Pope to be Infallible: 1°, upon every subject, but only upon those which "appertain tc faith;" nor 2°, "in all his formal utterances, to whomsoever addressed," but only when, as Supreme Pastor, he addresses the whole Church; nor 3°, in the incidental statements, or the arguments, even of a dogmatic bull, but only in the "point defined."

And now, that we are about to close Doctor Pusey's book, it may be asked, what is the end to which it points. The work of an earnest and candid writer is a mirror in which his mind is reflected. And it is impossible to read the Eirenicon without seeking to find therein the image of that mind, whose long and eventful career has been watched with so much interest. On a subject so delicate, and, we might almost say, so sacred, it would be presumptuous to speak with confidence. But if we might venture to express our thoughts, we would say, that the image which we find in this book, is the image of a mind that is ill at ease; of a mind that is harassed by doubts and perplexities, and borne about by con-

* See Note D in the Appendix.

flicting arguments, first in one direction, then in another.

We have been reminded more than once, in following the history of the Tractarian movement, and in marking the various parts which its chief leaders have acted, of a scene that many a time has arrested our notice, when musing, in moments of idleness, by the banks of a winding river. A number of minute objects are seen upon the surface of the water, floating down with the current; and the mind is aroused, almost unconsciously, to watch their progress and to take an interest in their fate. For a time they keep pretty well together, until, coming to a scarcely perceptible turn in the river, they are suddenly scattered about in every direction. Some are carried back by a contrary current; some are whirled violently round and round; some struggle slowly on; some, coming within the attraction of the land, cling to the banks, and advance no more: but many, in fine, after a variety of eccentric windings, sooner or later, are caught up in the great central stream, and leaving their companions far behind, are borne on with easy and rapid motion to the sea. Something of this kind has been the history of Doctor Pusey and his friends. It is now some thirty years since they launched forth upon the stream of controversy, a little band of able and earnest men. At first they held on their course in company, hoping to make their journey together, and to reach at length a common goal. But they were quickly scattered by con-

trary arguments and conflicting opinions. Some were attracted back to the shore which they had quitted, and ceased to move ; others, after struggling for a time with might and main, reached the mid-channel, and are now moving on to the great object of their hopes, in tranquil security ; and others again are still carried to and fro, and whirled round and round by the currents.

Foremost amongst these last is Doctor Pusey himself. Far be it from us to say one word of him that might be thought unkind or severe. From his opinions on many points of doctrine we must as Catholics dissent ; and we have not hesitated, in the spirit of fair and candid criticism, to give our opinion of his book. But we should be cold and insensible indeed, if we did not sympathize with him in his perplexities and his struggles ; if we did not admire the zeal and the learning he has displayed ; and if we did not stretch out our hand to assist him, and to cheer him on, in the hope that he too, like many of his former companions, may, through God's grace, come at length into the great stream of Catholic Unity, in which alone his soul can find safety and peace.

APPENDIX.

NOTE A., p. 15.

On this subject we may submit to our readers some extracts from a letter addressed (Sept. 16, 1864) by the Roman Inquisition to all the bishops of England:—

"Apostolicæ Sedi nunciatum est, catholicos nonnullos et ecclesiasticos viros Societati *ad procurandam*, uti aiunt, *Christianitatis unitatem* Londini anno 1857 erectæ, nomen dedisse. . . . . A Protestantibus quippe efformata et directa, eo excitata est spiritu, quem expresse profitetur, tres videlicet Christianas communiones Romano-Catholicam, Græco-Schismaticam et Anglicanam, quamvis invicem separatas ac divisas, æquo tamen jure Catholicum nomen sibi vindicare. . . . . Fundamentum cui ipsa innititur hujusmodi est quod divinam Ecclesiæ constitutionem susque deque vertit. Tota enim in eo est, ut supponat veram Jesu Christi Ecclesiam constare partim ex Romana Ecclesia per universum orbem diffusa et propagata, partim vero ex schismate Photiano et ex Anglicana hæresi, quibus æque ac Ecclesiæ Romanæ unus sit Dominus, *una fides* et unum baptisma."

Again, in a subsequent letter addressed by Cardinal Patrizi (Nov. 8, 1865) to the advocates of this same "Association for the Promotion of the Unity of Christendom," we read:

"At Christi Ecclesia suam unitatem nunquam amisit, nunquam ne brevissimo quidem temporis intervallo amittet; quippe quæ perenniter juxta divina oracula duratura sit. . . . Atque hæc magis magisque absurditatem produnt illius commenti de Catholica ecclesia ex tribus communionibus coalescente, cujus commenti fautores infallibilitatem Ecclesiæ necessario inficiari coguntur."

These documents have been published by the Most Reverend Doctor Manning, in the Appendix to his Pastoral Letter on the Reunion of Christendom, addressed to the clergy of the Archdiocese of Westminster. London: Longman and Co. 1866.

NOTE B., p. 23.

The following extracts from the original text of Raynaud may not be out of place. He was himself not only famous as a theologian, but eminently distinguished as the advocate of devotion to Mary: yet he protests strongly against the language of those who, in the ardour of their zeal, had stepped beyond the "form of sound words," to which the Church has given her sanction:

"Fixum igitur esto, nullas laudes nostras, laudabilitati Virginis Matris pares esse posse. Neque tamen committendum est, ut quod vera laudatione assequi non possumus, *per ementita decora, et falsos honores suppleamus.* Habet hoc nonnullorum imprudens, ac exlex dilectio, ut fines debitos sæpe transcendat, etiam erga sanctos. . . .

"Hanc erga sanctos intemperantiam amoris et honoris, vigere maxime erga Deiparam, *in iis qui illam non secundum scientiam diligunt et colunt*, mirari desinet, quisquis ad sanctitatem ejus supra omnem sanctorum sanctitudinem longissime provectam, animum admoverit. Nam quandoquidem ratio et causa diligibilitatis, amoris ad ineptias exundantis, sanctimonia est et favor divinus, nemo non videt quantopere sanctissima Dei mater, quæ abyssus est gratiarum, obnoxia esse possit his ingeniorum exarrationibus, et falsi nominis cultibus. Idque et experimur ipsi in dies, et experti sunt anterioribus seculis majores nostri. Quo spectat illud Petri Cellensis l. 9, epist. 10, 'Reginæ dominæ nostræ, beatissimæ Virginis Mariæ, obsequia venerationem postulant non adulationem." . . .

"Notissima et illa a S. Bernardo epist. 174 pronunciata, contra novitates in cultu Deiparæ. Cum enim objecisset sibi ex studio æmulatoris cujuspiam, 'At valde honoranda est, inquis, Mater Domini?' respondet, 'Bene admones, sed honor Reginæ judicium diligit. *Virgo regia falso non eget honore, veris cumulata honorum titulis, infulis dignitatum.* Honora sane integritatem carnis, vitæ sanctitatem. Mirare fœcunditatem in Virgine, prolem venerare divinam. Extolle nescientem, vel in concipiendo, concupiscentiam, vel in pariendo dolorem.

Prædica reverendam Angelis, desideratam gentibus, Patriarchis Prophetisque præcognitam, electam ex omnibus, prælatam omnibus. Magnifica gratiæ inventricem, mediatricem, salutis restauratricem sæculorum. Exalta denique exaltatam super choros Angelorum ad cœlestia regna. Hæc mihi de illa cantat Ecclesia, et me eadem docuit decantare. Ego vero quod ab illa accepi securus et teneo et trado.' . . .

"Verum ne rationes S. Bernardi ac Petri Cellensis, quantumvis unisaliter validæ, minus quempiam moveant, quia adductæ ab eis sunt occasione festi Conceptionis, quod hi Patres, donec Ecclesia sensum de eo suum enunciaret, volebant dimissum; age producamus e conceptionis immaculatæ publicis honoribus celebrandæ vindicibus, vel primum, vel ex primis unum S. Anselmum. Is libro *de Excell. Virg.* cap. 2, prolato libro *de Ortu Virg.* multa ad honorem Virg. (ut videbatur), sed non solida continente, quem D. Hieron. junior admisisset, subdit; nequaquam S. Ecclesiam, librum illum auctoritate sua munitum, legendum fidelibus proposuisse, quod *Christi sponsa hujusmodi incentiva pietatis, solidæ veritati non innixa, semper rejecerit*, et nominatim circa Deiparam. Videlicet *indecens esse reputans, de Beata Matre Dei, quid dubitabile in laudem ejus recitari*, cum ea quæ incunctanter de illa vera existunt, tanta laudis materia sint referta, ut quicumque in laudando eam morari desiderat, necesse sit ut facultas ejus magnitudini rei et veritati succumbat. *Sicut enim sola præ cunctis, meriti singularis enituit, ita quidquid eam attinet, speciali quadam veritatis firmitate, dignum est enitere.*" . . .

"Nec aberrarit qui eodem modo acceperit, S. Epiphanium in Virginis laudatione, cum negat, humanam linguam debere leviter de Deipara aliquid effari. Nam quis leviter de sanctissima Dei matre loqui dicendus justius est, quam is qui fungos mentis suæ et inaudita Sanctis Patribus Deiparæ amantissimis decora, (quasi quæ certa et explorata sunt non sufficerent ad plenam exornationem), super senes intelligens, audet obtrudere? Plane ut est apud S. Anselmum lib. *de Excell. Virg.* cap. 2, hoc solum de Sancta Virgine prædicari quod Dei mater est excedit omnem altitudinem quæ post Deum dici, vel cogitari potest. *Ut quid ergo adciscamus ei vana decora a quocumque excogitata, pro arbitrio?*" Theophili Raynaudi Diptycha Mariana, Cautio Secunda."

It is fit that we should here acknowledge our obligation to Doctor Newman who has already called attention to this passage, in his graceful, vigorous, and eloquent letter to Doctor Pusey.

NOTE C., Page 32.

This doctrine is clearly set forth in the following passages:

"Communis autem Catholicorum sententia est, Rom. Pontificem ejusmodi infallibilitatis prærogativa a Christo Domino præditum esse, ita ut errare nequeat, cum *tanquam supremus Ecclesiæ Primas aliquid de fide credendum aut tenendum universis Christi fidelibus proponit.* . .

"Ac 1° dogmaticæ definitionis nomine, seu, ut trito jam loquendi usu obtinuit, definitionis editæ *ex cathedra* significatur Rom. Pontificis decretum, quo *proponit aliquid universæ Ecclesiæ de fide tenendum aut respuendum veluti fidei contrarium*, sub censuræ aut anathematis pœna.

"Quapropter neque facta personalia, neque præcepta, neque rescripta, neque opiniones quas identidem promunt Rom. Pontifices, neque decreta disciplinæ, neque omissiones definitionis, aliaque id genus plurima in censu veniunt decretorum, de quibus agimus. Quamquam enim hæc omnia *pro summa auctoritate, ex qua dimanant, magno semper in pretio habenda sint, ac humili mentis obsequio ac veneratione sint excipienda*, nihilo tamen minus non constituunt definitionem ex Cathedra de qua loquimur et in qua sola adstruimus Pontificiam infallibilitatem."—*De Locis Theologicis*, nn. 724, 726.

Again when he undertakes to prove that, in fact, no Roman Pontiff has ever yet propounded a false doctrine in any dogmatic bull, he says:

"Quandoquidem vero non de quibuslibet erroribus quæstio est, sed de iis tantum, qui in decretis dogmaticis ex Cathedra emissis, dum scilicet Pontifices universam docerent Ecclesiam, iis exciderint, duo efficiant adversarii necesse esset ad Pontifices ex cathedra loquentes erroris insimulandos. *Deberent primo ostendere, errorem objectum ita certo fidei errorem esse*, nulla ut possit apta interpretatione purgari; secundo, esse præterea errorem *definitionis dogmaticæ seu definitionis ex cathedra latæ. Alterutrum enim si desit*, multum vero magis si neutrum comprobetur, *nulla poterunt ratione adversarii infallibilitatem, quam Pontificibus summis adstruebamus impugnare.*"—*Ib.*, n. 777.

NOTE D., p. 33.

We subjoin some extracts from the original text :

"Si è dimostrato, che il Papa può parlar come capo della Chiesa, e come privato dottore. Ora, non venendo questa distinzione esclusa dalla primazia, perchè non s'introducano confusioni e disordini nella Chiesa, è necessario che si diano certe note indubitate e manifeste, mercè le quali cognoscere si possa quando il pontefice definisce solennemente, ossia *ex cathedra* e quando altrimenti . . . Di tali note poi altre sono intrinseche alle stesse definizioni, ed altre estrinseche e dipendenti da una ecclesiastica consuetudine. E quanto alle prime, eccone le principali, le quali si deducono come necessarie consequenze della natura e del fine del primato. 1° Pietro venne da Christo costituito capo della sua Chiesa per conservare l'unità della fede: dunque il punto, che il Papa definisce, *deve appartenere alla fede.* . . . . 3° Il Papa è preside e capo di tutta la Chiesa, ed è della Chiesa tutta interesse universale la fede: quando dunque come capo ei decide, deve far nota alla Chiesa la sua decisione. 4° Dunque deve in essa *parlare alla Chiesa*, e quindi *alla Chiesa stessa* esser deve la decisione diretta. . . . .

"Avviene ancora, che debbasi alle volte far questa distinzione di giudice supremo e di privato teologo *anche in una stessa definizione;* come quando il Papa s'adopera in avvalorarla *con argomenti e deduzioni teologiche.* In questa parte egli è semplice benchè autorevolissimo teologo; . . . . è giudice poi nel punto definito, non essendo questo tanto il resultamento delle teologiche discussioni, quanto l'oggetto della divina assistenza. . . . . Dalle quali cose tutte ne seque, che un decreto, il quale: 1° non *tratti di materie di fede;* 2° sia espresso con qualche esitanza; 3° sia fatto senza l'espressa volontà di obligar le coscienze; 4° *non sia diretto a tutta la Chiesa;* 5° sia privo delle charatteristiche formalità; 6° non sia considerato che neisoli fondamenti teologici, o nei sensi incidenti, e non nell' immediato suo oggetto, *non potrà giammai dirsi veramente dogmatica decisione del Pontefice difiniente ex cathedra* ossia colla pianezza della sua primaziale autorità.

"Fissate cosi le note delle quali esser debbono forniti i pontificii decreti onde si possano risguardare quali definizioni del Papa, come capo e pastore universale della Chiesa, e *la mancanza delle quali o in tutto od in parte li fa essere semplici decisioni* di privata persona, sebbene in vero rispettabilissima, *tuttavia sempre ad errore soggetta, etc.*" Cap. 24, nn. 5, 6, 7.

THE END.

WHAT WILL DR. NEWMAN DO?

A LETTER

TO THE

VERY REV. J. H. NEWMAN, D.D.

BY

EDWARD HUSBAND,

PRIEST OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

"I mark his footprints in the sand."

LONDON:

G. J. PALMER, 32, LITTLE QUEEN STREET,

LINCOLN'S INN FIELDS.

1870.

Price Fourpence.

A LETTER, &c.

Dear and Very Reverend Father,

I feel it is an act of simple courtesy to send you a copy of my little book, published yesterday, containing, as it does, something from your honoured pen, which you yourself kindly gave me permission to print. At the same time I cannot allow the book to be posted without a letter accompanying it. 1st. Because of the event in connection with myself, which took place at your Oratory last summer. 2ndly. Because, after what has happened since, my motive in sending you a copy of my book might, without explanation, be wrongly interpreted.

In the unfortunate tract which I was persuaded to write, concerning my unhappy secession to Rome, after stating what "an immense love and veneration" I had for you, I added, "This fact will, I trust, serve as an apology for introducing Dr. Newman's great name so frequently into the following narrative of my humble self." This I would repeat in the present instance. I feel and

know that when compared with yourself I am but an unlettered boy, and not worthy to write to one so great, so pure, so noble. But for no one living have I so great a love, reverence, and devotion, as for yourself. If I were summoned into a chamber where all the Bishops of England were assembled, I should not feel the same sense of awe and reverence as I should when ushered into your presence. The first time I saw St. Mary's Church at Oxford, where you, when you were an Anglican, were Vicar, I knelt and kissed the pulpit steps, because your feet had trodden them. And now if I was asked where I could point to one who was all that is great, holy, and good, I should point to the red brick house at Edgbaston, and say, "There lives as perfect a man as man can be in this mortal life, against whom no one can lay any charge, save that he forsook the Church in which the Providence of God ordained that he should be baptized."

Yet I should not, perhaps, have thought of writing the following letter, had it not been that partly from what I have seen, and partly from what I have heard (especially of late) from authentic sources, I have a great hope, so full of intense joy that I cannot describe it, that your half-orphaned children in that part of the Catholic Church in which we were baptized, may yet live to welcome you back "Home" again as, in very

deed, their Father in Christ. In other words, that if the Infallibility of the Pope is declared as an Article of Faith, you will retrace your steps, and return to that portion of the Catholic family which has mourned your loss so bitterly, for many long weary years. For you are in one sense, and that a high one, our great, our honoured, our beloved Father. You, under God, were really the originator of the "Oxford Movement," as it is called. The Church of England was sleeping, and you were the instrument in your Heavenly Father's Hand, of arousing Her from Her slumbers. Protestantism, as the enemy of all righteousness, had lulled Her into a kind of spiritual stupor, and you, with your great Catholic soul, revived Her to a new and more real life. You taught us how to love Jesus, His Blessed Mother, His Sacraments and His Saints, by setting before us the mind and authoritative teaching of the early Church, before the sad separation of East and West. You remember how wonderfully God owned your work? You have not forgotten the conversions at St. Mary's, and of the multitude which hung upon your lips; as in a less real sense they continue to do still by the re-publication, not of your uncharacteristic volume of "Occasional Sermons," but of your "Parochial and Plain Sermons," preached at Oxford between the years 1825 and 1843. And the work that you commenced at Oxford has

been continued by God to this time, increasing in strength, beauty, and reality every day: so that now we have daily Masses, daily Confessions, and a Ritual not far short of that which is practised in your own Oratory. Thinking of these things, we point to you as our Father in Christ, and (of course under God) say—

"For this, for all,
We weep our thanks to thee!"

But that close outward bond of union, which once enabled you and your beloved friend Dr. Pusey to celebrate at the same Altar, has been severed; and although you are still our priceless property in heart, a great cloud has arisen, and still floats between us. I believe God's mysterious loving kindness is, at this evening time, driving that cloud away. It is often said by those who are in the Church of England, that had She been in the year 1835 what She is (thank God) now, you would never have left Her. I partly believe it. I can understand how shocked and grieved your holy, righteous soul must have been when you saw the sleepy state of the Church of England; the irreverence shown towards Her Sacraments; and the unkindness, and *unsympathizing* state of mind evinced by Her Bishops, and those in high authority. But much of what you had then to complain has passed away, and through your own instrumentality. My own dear earthly

father was shocked as you were, and gave up his position as a clergyman of the Church of England and a Fellow of his College, because he was scandalized at the then existing state of things within Her pale, and left all to follow what he believed to be the Will of his God. You have done this. You have sacrificed *everything* for Christ's sake; and broken ties, which caused you agony, of which the thoughtless, heartless world has no idea. You left the Church of England—your own dear Fatherland—because the Church of Rome promised you a peace and satisfaction which you thought could not be obtained in the Church of your Baptism. May I, as one so unworthy to speak with you that I should not count myself worthy to be your doorkeeper, still ask you—"Have you found what you hoped and longed for?" I remember sitting in the Guest Room at the Oratory, and watching your face without speaking. It seemed to me a beautiful picture of a disappointed life. I sat and fancied myself as a looker on at Hursley, when Dr. Pusey went to read the service in the church, (as told by you so touchingly in Sir J. Coleridge's "Life of Keble,") and you and Keble walked about outside in the still quiet of that summer's evening, "looking in silence at the church and churchyard *so beautiful and calm.*"

I remember when I sought your advice as to

becoming a Roman Catholic, how dispassionate you were in your remarks, and how you bade me proceed with the greatest caution; and told me of some who had taken the step too hurriedly, not only regretting bitterly the step they had taken but having ultimately to return to that part of the Church from whence they came. During my visit to the Oratory I heard and saw other things which now give me fresh hope, but of which I will not speak lest I should be encroaching on your privacy or betraying trust.

I remember hearing of one who, I was told, sought your advice as I did about leaving the Church of England, and to whom you made the very significant answer—"Stay where you are." Again I know the burning love you still have for Oxford; for your old peaceful home at Littlemore; for faces that you were familiar with when S. Mary's knew you as its Vicar. It was not long ago, when I was at Littlemore, that I met an old hoary-headed man, strolling down one of the green lanes near the village with the aid of two sticks. I asked him if he remembered you? His eye glistened when I mentioned your name. It seemed to him as speaking of one long dead. He tremblingly exclaimed—"Remember him! ah sir, I should think I do!" and then he gave a long, deep, bitter sigh. This, dear Very Reverend Father, is what all the children of your earlier days do.

They joy when they hear the magic sound of your name, but they sigh when they think of you as a Roman Catholic. Their only hope is that you will yet return to them and call them once again your own. And every little sign or echo of the fulfilment of their oft-repeated prayer and hope is welcomed by them, and treasured up by them as Mary did of old the sayings and doings of the One she loved.

But although "an insolent and aggressive faction" makes your noble heart sad, yet you live in comparative contentment and peace. And why? Is it not because of the solitary life you lead? When are you to be seen at the public meetings of the members of your own Communion? When do we see your name announced as the preacher at High Mass in the churches of your adoption? Aye, how seldom are you to be heard even in your own pulpit? and when you are no one knows of it beforehand: I believe I am right in saying not even the fathers of your own religious house. When are you seen at all, except at your own private Mass, at the little Altar dedicated to S. Joseph, in the early morning? No; you live the true life of an Oratorian. The world would have forgotten you long ago had you not been Dr. Newman. Your great life, so ennobling, so lofty in its sanctity, is buried alive within those walls at Edgbaston. You, I presume, do not (in

consequence of the private nature of your life) see the grievous scandals which are being perpetrated daily, as great as Oxford Protestantism in olden days could produce, which those who mix more in the world witness amongst members of your Communion. Those holy men who form your own community at Birmingham do not shock your ears by those extravagant assertions about the Mother of our Lord, which are common elsewhere, to the detriment of the honour and worship due to her adorable Son. You do not hear these things, except by report, which is never to be trusted, otherwise you would be sad indeed. Your wonderful knowledge of the love of Jesus, your supreme desire for His honour, would for ever forbid you from taking part in anything which would interfere with the honour of your Lord. "May God's mercy keep me from the shadow of a thought dimming the purity or blunting the keenness of that love of Him which is our sole happiness and our sole salvation." These, you will remember, are your own words, in your Letter to Dr. Pusey upon the subject of the "Eirenicon." I was talking not very long ago with a member of your own Communion about the days when you were Vicar at Oxford, and he observed to me that he never knew you to grow excited now, except when the honour due to your Lord was called in question, and then, he continued, all your old energy and enthusiasm returned to you again.

Oh! those old Oxford days! when you turned the current of a generation! when, instead of a scanty congregation as at the Oratory, great crowds came together to hear you. When loveless hearts were daily through your own instrumentality taught how to love their Lord, would they could return to us once more! And I believe like days, without their scandals, will come again. From what I have seen and heard, I cannot—I will not believe that you will die a Roman Catholic. The Holy Roman Catholic Church is not that part of our Lord's Vineyard where Englishmen are to find their restful Home. Neither can your Christ-loving heart adapt itself to the Ultramontanism of the present day. You are far too good a Catholic to be an Ultramontane. Your heart is not as their heart. And the Church of your adoption has treated you ill—very ill. As a Roman Catholic told me—"If the world knew how you had been treated by those of your own Communion, it would have risen as one man in righteous indignation." Some of this ill-treatment has at different times crept from its secret hiding place. I need only refer to your proposal to revise the translation of the Bible; to establish a College at Oxford; and the un-Catholic spirit which has led to the appointment of men (I was going to write, "your inferiors," but this would

be a mere truism) to high places in your Branch of the Catholic Church, passing you, their noblest gain, over, simply because you were a Catholic, and not an Ultramontane.

I have myself witnessed a community of young men, *all* members of your own Communion, divided into two distinct and antagonistic parties. One party believed you to be the model of everything that was of good report; the other regarded you almost as a heretic, and would scarcely touch one of your books. In other words the one party was Gallican, the other Ultramontane.

I cannot believe that your holy soul will ever be able to accept such a doctrine, so modern, so un-Catholic in all its bearings, as the Personal Infallibility of the Pope, should it be proclaimed as an article of Faith. I think it was in November last that an old Roman Catholic, who was one by birth, said to me, that if the Pope was proclaimed Infallible, "he for one" (I am quoting his words) "would not believe it as long as he had any breath in his body." Yet he had not the remotest idea, I am glad to say, of ever leaving the Roman Catholic Church, in which he was born and baptized. Such a position, for one who has left the Anglican Church, would not, I am sure, be permissible to your logical mind. You know that to disbelieve the Infallibility of the Pope, if it should be declared, would be virtually

to sign your death warrant as regards the Roman Communion. If you are driven back to us, it will be the Ultramontanes whom we shall have to thank. Hundreds are being driven at this moment to take the step. Several have written to me on the subject; and I am glad to say, that some who formerly were priests in the Church of England, are amongst the number.

Oh! listen to the tearful cry of those who still look upon you as their spiritual Father! The children of your early days want you! You have left them almost orphans, to fight the battle of the Faith. You, the gentle leader, the loving counsellor, the eloquent teacher of former years! We claim you as our own, great, revered Father in Him Whom we love, who taught us how to love our Lord and His Holy Catholic Church.

Forgive me for writing what I have. Your great kindness to me in days for ever passed, so unmerited on my part, must be my excuse. Never can I forget how, in a season of bitter trial, you with condescending kindness encouraged me with these words—"May God carry you safely through your great trial! recollect it will have an end, and joy cometh in the morning." Or how you hurried down from your study, although engaged in abstruse literary composition, into the quiet little chapel of S. Philip to see unworthy me perform an act which had been undertaken to a great extent

through the feeling that a step which *you* had taken could not be a wrong one. Your example, I believe, has been the secret cause for hundreds taking the step to which I refer. Again, when I wished you good-bye at the Oratory, after my reception into the Church of Rome, you expressed a hope that you would hear that I was going on well. In a few months you heard that I had undone what I had that day done with your kind sanction at the Oratory. You have not heard from me since. Forgive me, the unworthiest of your loving children in Christ, if I call to you, perhaps for the last time on earth, across the waves of this troublesome world, to welcome the echo which I have heard of your return "Home."

May I not apply to you the words of one who is a poet like yourself, and say—

> "O joy to the people, and joy to the throne!
> Come to us, love us, and make us your own,
> For Saxon, or Dane, or Norman we,
> Teuton, or Celt, or whatever we be,
> We are each all one in our welcome of thee."

I remain,
Dear and Very Reverend Father,
Your most humble, devoted, and loving
servant in Christ,
E. H.

16, *Montpelier Street, Brighton,*
July 13th, 1870.

ON

THE FUTURE UNITY

OF

CHRISTENDOM.

BY

AMBROSE LISLE PHILLIPPS, ESQ.

LONDON:
CHARLES DOLMAN, 61, NEW BOND STREET;
AND W. E. PAINTER & SONS, "THE UNION" OFFICE, 342, STRAND.
1857.

PREFATORY NOTE.

THE author wishes to state that the following pages have been submitted to a theological revision from some learned Catholic divines, who judge their contents to be conformable to Catholic orthodoxy. But as he is well aware of his own extreme liability to err, he submits this and all his other writings to the supreme judgment of Holy Church, and especially to that of our Most Holy Father the Pope, to whom especially the guardianship of the faith has been intrusted by Jesus Christ.

ON THE

FUTURE UNITY OF CHRISTENDOM.

If it be true that God has made man, and that in making him, He made him not an isolated and independent being, but bound up by a thousand links with the society of his fellow-men; if it be true that man's Maker takes an interest in the welfare and conduct of man both as an individual man, and in his relations to that society of men in which His providence has placed him; if, in fine, it be true that God has made known to man a rule for his conduct, not only in the various relations of his temporal life here, but with a promise of a happy life hereafter on condition of compliance with its warnings; I say, if all this be true, as every sincere Christian, no matter what communion he may belong to, concurs in holding and affirming, then it is obviously of the highest importance, both to each individual man and to the society of men in general, to have a right apprehension of the essential nature and conditions of this rule of conduct, to which all Christians profess to appeal, and by which they all equally confess that their condition hereafter is to be decided.

I presume there is no one, who agrees in accepting the Christian Revelation, as contained in the Bible, who will dispute this conclusion; but it is equally obvious, that for men to have a right apprehension of a truth, they must accept it in a sense that is substantially *one*.

Doubtless truth, however objectively one, is in its subjective reception by limited beings liable to be seen under various aspects, from different points, and in various degrees; but still, in the midst of this variety, there can never be any substantial contradiction, involving what strictly appertains to its own essence; and the moment that any substantial contradiction arises, it is clear that one or other, or both, of those who contradict each other, must have swerved from the right apprehension of what each professes to hold.

Now as the difference between what constitutes a substantial contradiction, and what is simply an aspect of the same truth as seen from different points of view, is very obvious to a sincere mind, we need not here enter into any lengthened disquisition on that subject; but as it is a fact which no one can deny, and which most believers in Revelation regret, that the differences which divide Christians affect not the accidents merely, but the very substance of Divine Revelation, it is clear that in proportion as men feel and realize the fact, that any such Revelation has been communicated by God to His creature, man, in the same degree is it desirable that such a Revelation should be received in the sense intended by God, who gave it; and in a similar degree is it probable, that some clue or means must have been appointed by God to enable sincere men to arrive at this sense.

Now this is precisely what that great communion of professing Christians which calls itself *the Catholic Church* affirms that it possesses. Amongst all the various denominations of Christians, this one great communion, spread as it is over all the earth, has never separated from any other; others have separated themselves from her; but she has remained, where she was before, shorn, indeed, like some mighty oak of the forest, of some of her fairest and most fruitful branches, but still the great original tree planted by God in the wild desert of this earth: she claims, and she can prove her

claim, that she descends lineally from generation to generation from those twelve first Disciples of Jesus Christ, whom he chose from his own countrymen, and whom he sent with that wonderful commission, which we find recorded in the New Testament,* just before He finally left them. To those first Disciples Jesus Christ, in words the authenticity of which is not disputed by any Christians, gave an authority which none who accepted His mission could gainsay. "And Jesus coming, spake to them, saying: All power is given to Me in Heaven and on Earth; *Go ye, therefore,* and TEACH all nations; baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; TEACHING them to observe all things, whatsoever I have commanded you: and behold! I am with YOU *all days, even unto the consummation of the world.*"

Now in these remarkable words, which, let me again repeat, all Christians agree in accepting as the very words of the Founder of their religion, and to deny the authenticity of which would certainly not be more reasonable (to put them on the very lowest ground) than it would be for some modern schoolmaster to deny the authenticity of Cæsar's Commentaries, or the history of Napoleon the Great;† I say in these words of Christ we find a clue to solve all our difficulties, we find that Christ did institute a body of *teachers*, whom He sent with full authority from Himself *to teach all nations;* whose delegation He specially grounds on the assumed fact, which He affirms of Himself, that *all power* had been given Him in Heaven and on Earth; and the duration of whose teaching, armed, as He made it, with His own authority, was to be commensurate not merely with the lives of the men to whom our Lord addressed the words, but with nothing less than *the duration of the*

* Matthew xxviii. 18, 19, 20.

† See an admirable tract by Archbishop Whately, entitled "*Historic Doubts concerning Napoleon Buonaparte.*"

world: "*all days*, even unto *the consummation of the world*."

Now let us observe that side by side with these words, and the fact of the institution of a body of teachers sent to *teach* all nations with no less authority than that of Christ Himself,—"Behold! *I* am *with you* all days, even to the consummation of the world,"—there stands prominently before our eyes another great fact, which, no one can deny, fits into the former one in a most remarkable and perfect manner.

There *is* a great communion of Christians, the acknowledged teachers of which at the present moment affirm that they descend by the successive "laying on of hands" from these original teachers of the Christian Church, to whom our Lord spoke these very words; and history bears them out in recording that a similar claim was advanced in every preceding age by their predecessors.

Now, putting these two great facts side by side, the prophetic promise and institution of Christ on the one hand, and the realization of it in the history of the Catholic Church in all ages from Christ downwards on the other, it is obvious not merely that there is a perfect harmony between the two, but that we have evidence, perfectly irresistible from this very harmony, that the authority of the teachers of the Catholic Church is the very same authority which was wielded by Christ Himself when on earth, and with which He has promised to abide even to the end of the probationary condition of mankind.

Now, before I proceed further, it is right to say a few words by way of explanation in reference to what may come after. This theory of Christian teaching, which is sometimes called the Rule of Faith, and which I have just been stating is admitted *professedly*, or *really*, not only by that vast body of Christians which owns the Pope as the successor of St. Peter and the visible head of Christ's Church upon earth, but also by another vast body of

Christians, which consists of the Russian and Asiatic Churches, including also the Churches of the Greek nation, and of several other smaller nationalities in Europe; it is also held, at least professedly, if not really, by another very great body of Christians, which, under the denomination of the Anglican Church, extends itself not only through the vast dominions of Britain, but constitutes also the predominant religious communion of an empire only second to that of Britain herself—the United States of America.

In other words, Roman Catholics, Greeks, and Anglicans, all profess to hold one and the same rule of faith; and yet the deplorable fact subsists notwithstanding, that these three great communities of Christendom are more or less severed one from the other, and while they each believe in the same Founder, and each claim authority from Him in virtue of either real or assumed Apostolical descent, so far from acting together in their respective endeavours to carry out our Lord's commission, they are, alas! in a state of downright antagonism one to the other; instead of concurring together to preach the Gospel to those heathen nations that still reject it, their time for the most part is consumed in violent controversies amongst themselves; and the result is, that Christians, in the multiplied perplexities of polemical discussions, are driven from the study of their own individual sanctification, while the infidel and the sceptic draw forth a plausible argument for their respective blasphemies and doubts. And what is the issue? Christian nations are far from that actual superiority over nations that are not Christian, in morality and general conduct, which the sublime theory of their religion would have enabled them to attain, had it been faithfully carried out.

Now the object of this treatise being an humble effort for the restoration of that unity which has been so sadly broken, it is obvious that it would be altogether foreign to the writer's scope to enter into any disquisitions as to

where and with *whom* the guilt of the severance lies; as to *which* of the three great denominations (at the present moment) has the best, or the only claim, to representing the Catholic theory. His object is not a polemical one; he is well aware that all that is involved in such a discussion has already been treated in the ablest way by others, and that he can neither add to, nor detract from, the arguments by which they have substantiated their position; neither is it his object or his province to notice or to discuss the inconsistencies either of individuals or of corporate bodies, still less to entertain the question of individual responsibilities; his object is altogether foreign to such a course as this; it is to entertain the question, how far, on common principles, accepted equally by all these three great denominations of Christians, it may be possible for them to abandon their present position of mutual antagonism, and to return to that state of unity which once existed, and to which the theory of Christianity unquestionably tends.

In my endeavour, then, to treat this question, I will at once state, that although, as a Roman Catholic, I must necessarily take a very different view of the actual position both of the Greeks and Anglicans from what they themselves would take, yet in considering the question of the restoration of unity between us, it is obvious that I must do so rather from their point of view than from my own. And that we may at once come to the point, my immediate object being the consideration of the possibility of a reunion between the Anglican Church and the Roman Catholic Church, of which I myself am a member, I shall urge its attainment rather on the ground of principles actually held by the Anglican body itself, than on principles which at present they do not hold, and which, if they did hold, they would not be what they are, Anglicans, and in a state of separation from ourselves.

The first point, then, which it is incumbent upon us to establish, is the exact nature of the Anglican theory, in order that we may ascertain what grounds that theory

holds out for indulging the hope of an ultimate restoration of unity between those who hold it and ourselves.

In the reign of Charles I., Pope Urban VIII. sent a Benedictine monk into England, who bore the name in religion of Father Leander à Sancto Martino, with directions to procure for the Holy See accurate information respecting the state of the Established Church. This commission was given to Father Leander in the year 1634, and in the report which he subsequently forwarded to the Holy Father, he thus expresses himself in reference to the Anglican Church.* "It retains," says he, "an external appearance of the ecclesiastical hierarchy which was in force during the time of the Catholic religion; it has its archbishops, bishops, deans, archdeacons, chapters of canons in the cathedrals of the ancient sees, and most ample revenues. It preserves its ancient edifices, the names of its ancient parishes, priests, and deacons; a form of conferring orders, which agrees in most respects, with the forms prescribed by the Roman pontifical.† It preserves also the clerical habits and gowns, the pastoral crook and copes, the ancient temples, parishes, churches and colleges of magnificent structure." Referring to the faith of the Anglican Church, he thus expresses himself: "In the greater number of the Articles of Faith, the English Protestants of the Established Church are truly orthodox; as on the sublime mysteries of the Trinity and the Incarnation; on the economy of the Redemption of Man and Satisfaction;

* Clarendon's "State Papers," vol. i. p. 197.

† The reader should observe that at the time when Father Leander made this remarkable statement concerning the English Ordinal, it still retained the form such as had been in use in the time of Elizabeth, a form which many Catholic theologians pronounce to be insufficient for the purpose of conferring holy orders. This form was subsequently altered in the time of Charles II., and rendered more conformable to Catholic tradition. But it would appear from the language of Father Leander, which we must remember was drawn up for the Pope himself, that he did not regard Elizabeth's Ordinal as radically insufficient, but quite the contrary. Whether Father Leander was right in his view is another question.

through the whole almost of the controversies respecting Predestination, Grace, and Free Will; the necessity and merit of good works, and the other articles expressed in the creed of the Apostles, in the Nicene and the Athanasian creeds, and *in the four first General Councils.*"

Such was the remarkable testimony borne by an envoy of Pope Urban VIII. to the Church of England, both in her hierarchical and in her doctrinal aspect, in the year 1634. And if we compare with this statement, that which we find advanced by her own authors, and that which is laid down by her highest authorities, we shall find that Father Leander is fully borne out by facts, and that the Anglican theory presents so many substantial points of resemblance to the Catholic theory in general, that instead of regarding a reunion of churches as impossible, one is rather inclined to wonder that it has not been already accomplished.

In fact, I believe that a reunion would have taken place long ago, but for the obstacles which have been opposed to it by the bitter spirit of polemical controversy on the one hand, and by political prejudice on the other. Oh! that it might please God to fill sincere men, on both sides of the question, with the spirit of charity and forbearance, with that love, of which the Apostle writes, that it is "the fulfilling of the law." Could we but really be actuated with such a spirit, it is certain that we should be brought together. But let us examine further into the Anglican theory.

In the twentieth of the Thirty-nine Articles of religion promulgated by the Church of England, we find this remarkable declaration: "The Church hath *power* to decree rites or ceremonies, and *authority* in controversies of faith," and when in the same article it is urged, that notwithstanding this power and authority, it is not lawful for the Church to ordain anything *contrary* to Scripture; nothing is affirmed that is contrary to the authority of the Church, nothing but what every Catholic must necessarily admit; for it simply amounts to this, that the Church in

her teaching cannot contradict herself, but that, having proposed the sacred Scriptures to her children as God's word, she can decree nothing that is contrary thereto. In fact the very claim of a divine authority delegated by God to His Church, is equivalent to a declaration that her teaching and His word must ever agree together, and never contradict each other.

Hence we find one of the most eminent and powerful writers that the Church of England ever produced, John Henry Newman, in one of his earlier and not the least able of his works,* in the 9th Lecture "On the Essentials of the Gospel," thus expressing himself in reference to these very Thirty-nine Articles, as embodying the teaching of the National Anglican Church:—"The Thirty-nine Articles," says he, "are articles of *Religion*, not of *Faith*. We do not *consider* the belief in them necessary to salvation, except so far as they embody in them the articles of the creed. They are of no divine authority, except so far as they embody these and similar portions of apostolical tradition." In other words, the Twentieth Article having declared that there can be no contradiction between the teaching of the Catholic Church and the written word of God, it follows also and must be still more obvious, that the teaching of the separate national Church of England (claiming to be a portion and a branch of the Church Catholic), as propounded by her in her Thirty-nine Articles, must be interpreted not only in conformity with the written word of God, but with the great body of the teaching of the universal Church in all ages, as representing the authority given by our Lord to his Apostles and their successors in the ministry to "*teach all nations, even to the consummation of the world.*"†

And so the reformed Church of England in her General Convocation of 1571, while on the one hand

* "On Romanism and Popular Protestantism," section ix. pp. 285, 286.

† Matthew xxviii. 18—20.

she reviewed and confirmed the Thirty-nine Articles, on the other enacted that justly celebrated canon, which to my mind not only constitutes the very basis of the Anglican theory, distinguishing it clearly from that of any continental body of Protestants, or from the Scotch Presbyterians, and the Protestant Dissenters of this country, but also lays down a principle, which with God's blessing may one day be found sufficient even for the great work of re-establishing the unity of Christendom, and putting an end to the deplorable divisions that have rent the Church of Christ asunder.

Now what is this canon? and what does it enjoin? This canon explains itself by what it enjoins, and its injunction will be best understood by its own words:—

It commands all preachers in the Church of England that they "should be careful, that they never teach aught in a sermon, to be religiously held and believed by the people, except that which is agreeable to the doctrine of the Old and New Testaments, and which THE CATHOLIC FATHERS AND ANCIENT BISHOPS HAVE COLLECTED from that very doctrine."

These words, contained in this canon of the celebrated Convocation of the National Church of England, held in the year 1571, appear to me not only to state the theory of Anglican teaching, but (what is still more to my present point) to lay down a principle, that can only be worked out by a restoration of unity between the Anglican Church herself and the rest of Christendom. Indeed, this is so true, that if we consult the annals of the Church of England ever since the period of the so-called Reformation, we find, that no sooner had the excitement of the first severance and its attendant circumstances died away, than a Catholic reaction at once set in, the existence and powerful influence of which we find strongly attested in the writings of all the best Anglican divines. It is impossible to refer to any of them without perceiving the fact affirmed. Let any one turn to the writings of such an eminently pious and learned prelate

as Bishop Andrews, and he will see how that great man's mind yearned for the restoration of unity. In a prayer-book, which he published in the Latin and Greek languages, and which will ever remain as a bright monument of his piety, he thus prays, "Pro Ecclesiâ Catholicâ, ut stabiliatur, adaugeatur: Pro Ecclesiâ Orientali ut liberetur, adunetur. Pro *Ecclesiâ Occidentali* ut restituatur, pacificè agat. Pro *Ecclesiâ Britannicâ* ut *suppleantur defectus*, confirmentur reliqua in eâ."* In his pious affections, Bishop Andrews did not limit his prayers to the separated Anglican Church, but he embraced also the rest of the Church, from which he was divided; and what was this, but to act in conformity with the spirit evinced in the canon quoted above? If the preachers of the Church of England were to conform their teaching to that of the ancient Catholic Fathers and teachers; if, as again and again it was declared by her soundest authorities, she accepted the first four general councils, it was surely not unnatural that in the fervour of devotion, her prelates and her most zealous children should still pray for the whole Church of Christ, and not limit their intercessions within the narrow bounds of a cold and contracted Protestantism; and could men pray for brethren, and not wish to be at one with them? Thus we find another Anglican divine, a man justly famous in this country for his learning and his piety, a man whom the illustrious Newman styles "the Great Bramhall," expressing himself in such words as these: "If I have had any bias, it hath been desire of peace, which our common Saviour left as a legacy to His Church, that I might live to see the REUNION OF CHRISTENDOM, for which I shall always bow the knees of my heart to the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ;"† and it is well known how, in the reign of Charles I.,

* Lanceloti Andrews, Epis. Winton., Preces Privatæ Quotidianæ. Londini, Pickering, 1828, p. 79.

† Bramhall's Works, p. 141.

Archbishop Laud was influenced by the same desire, so much so that some authors have not hesitated to affirm that overtures were made between the Archbishop and the reigning Pope, and that the latter even went so far as to offer a Cardinal's hat to the Archbishop. But, alas! the temper of the times, and the political conflicts which raged between the court and the popular party, indefinitely postponed the happy settlement which these good men desired, and which the visible Head of the Church unquestionably encouraged. A tempest burst upon England, that levelled the throne in the dust, and drove the Anglican Church from her temples and her domains. Then, as now, the opinion of Catholics in this country appears to have been divided; and while some lamented that their hopes for the reconciliation of England and England's Church were dashed to the ground, others rejoiced in the calamities of the national Church, and looked for a speedy triumph of Catholicism upon its ruins. But they soon found their mistake; if Anglicanism had ceased to be dominant, another and a far bitterer foe had taken her place, and the tyranny of Cromwell and the fury of rampant Puritanism taught a salutary lesson to Catholics who would venture to tamper with the fierce spirit of democracy or to play into the hands of sectaries and fanatics. The reaction that followed, and the restoration of Church and King, once more revived in good men's hearts the hopes of a pacific solution of the perplexing controversies that sundered England and Christendom; and after the death of Charles II., and the accession of his brother James, an opportunity was granted, which, had it been turned to account, would doubtless have secured the success of this great measure—the reunion of the Anglican with the Catholic Church. But, unfortunately, James took quite another course; instead of cultivating friendly relations with the Church of England, the rights and immunities of which, in his coronation oath, he had sworn to uphold, he appeared only to dream of giving an undue ascendancy

to one section of his subjects over the rest, that remainder constituting an overwhelming majority of the nation. In his ill-fated schemes to render his crown despotic, he seems to have forgotten the true interests of religion; or, if he cared for them at all, he upheld them by weapons unworthy of the Church of God, and contrary to the spirit of Christianity. In his infatuated policy, he made common cause with the lowest Dissenters, and instead of boldly urging a reunion between the English and Irish Roman Catholics, who still held a high position in the peerage of both kingdoms, and in the ancient landed aristocracy of the realm, and the national Anglican Church, which still held so much in common with the rest of Christendom, James sought to pull down the Established Church, hoping, perhaps, to substitute his own upon the ruins of the latter. The event proved how grievously he had mistaken his course; and he and his family paid the penalty of his folly in the loss of the British crown. The reaction that followed infused more than ever a Protestant element into the legislature and the national Church; and although every now and then the old High Church element reappeared and asserted its legitimate claim, as the sole true representative of the Anglican theory, political circumstances were stronger than theological deductions, and from that day to this the predominant party—at least in religion, if not always in politics—has been that which is closely allied with ultra-Protestantism, and the tacit repudiation of what we have clearly established to be the Anglican theory. Nor can we see what conclusion could practically follow, but a gradual overthrow of the Anglican Church herself, in order to make way for a triumph of anarchy and general infidelity, had it not been for one providential circumstance.

That circumstance was the wonderful religious movement which arose in the year 1833, in the University of Oxford. A few learned men, seeing more than was seen by the mass, and perceiving the abyss—both religious

and political—to which England was rapidly drifting, took counsel together, how they could best preserve what still remained of the venerable institutions of their country. Leaving political affairs and temporal questions in the hands of statesmen, they turned to what immediately appertained to their own province—the Church and religion. A series of most remarkable tracts, enforcing a recognition of the distinctive principles of the Anglican theory, as laid down by the canon of 1571, were issued from the press of that learned body, and the result has been, to sum it all up in one word, a revolution in the religious mind of England. The national Church still numbers amongst her prelates and her clergy a majority that represents the ultra-Protestant element; with this majority, as was not unnatural, the State for the most part has continued to sympathize and co-operate. Hence, until very recently, all the influence of the secular power has been thrown into that channel, whether in the shape of doctrinal decisions emanating from the temporal power, or by the appointment of men who do not hold the Anglican theory, to prelacies and other dignities and emoluments in that Church, successive Prime Ministers raising men to the episcopate rather to secure a few votes in the House of Lords, and the short-lived triumph of a political section, than for the purpose of enforcing any particular religious principle; while the course of parliamentary legislation has run rather in the direction of what is termed the voluntary principle, and which, if it were to continue, must infallibly end in a disruption of Church and State. But, notwithstanding all these obstacles, which might seem to have presented insuperable difficulties in the way of the great Anglican revival at which we have been glancing, the movement that commenced in 1833 in such diminutive proportions, has grown to such a height, that I cannot conceive any candid man denying that it now constitutes the ruling religious principle at work in England amongst the most intelligent and devout portion of the Established Church.

And what is to be the issue of this movement? One effect it has already had; unable as yet to effect a restoration of unity between its own religious body, in which it originated, and in which it is continually growing stronger and stronger, and Catholic Christendom, it has led to the individual union of some of the most earnest and able of the Anglican clergy and laity to the Catholic Church; so that there is hardly a family in the realm which does not possess one of these converts. And yet the remarkable fact is, that the original movement still goes on, and gathers strength every day. Some persons thought that, when Newman, and Manning, and Wilberforce had joined the Roman Catholic Church, those who remained behind would have turned aside from a course the tendency of which was now so manifest. But has it been so? If the interests of Protestantism, that is of the continued state of abnormal separation of Christian England from the rest of Christendom, seemed to require such a conclusion, has it been adopted? Surely not. The force of principle and the cogency of argument has been found stronger than any sectional or party interests, and the current of feeling has continued to run in the direction of Catholicism. Everything that can be appealed to as an indication of public feeling, or of the tendency of human thought, assures us that the goal to which England is tending is at least not ultra-Protestantism.* That she is more than ever identified with

* Witness such institutions as *The Ecclesiological Society*, as the societies for the publication of ancient ecclesiastical literature, as the various local societies for the promotion of ecclesiastical architecture, societies for the promotion of sound ecclesiastical music, of plain chant, &c.; to say nothing of magnificent works of individual labour, carried out at an immense cost, and showing not only the taste of the author but of the age in which he publishes—such works as the reprint of the "Aberdeen Breviary," so magnificently executed by that zealous bookseller, Mr. Toovey; or Gibson's gloriously illustrated "History of Tynemouth Abbey," or Mr. Chambers's translation of the "Sarum Diurnal," to mention a few, and only a very few, amongst unnumbered evidences of the Catholic tendency of the English mind at the present day.

her national Church I firmly believe; that that national Church is becoming more vigorous and more influential every day I equally believe; and that there never was a more unpractical or improbable notion than that which, in spite of such facts, would still count upon its destruction, or build airy castles upon its anticipated ruins; but holding this conviction as I do, I hesitate not to say that I think those are equally blind to the most evident facts, and equally deluded in their anticipations, who look forwards to the triumph of any other principle than that of Catholicism in the future progress of this mighty movement. The more it is arrested by the opposition of the State, the more numerous and the more striking will be the individual secessions, and the more brilliant the partial triumph of Catholicism; but at the same time political parties will be more and more hampered and perplexed, while the peace and harmony of families will be more and more disturbed and broken. If, on the other hand, the State should throw its influence into the scale of the movement, as one day it infallibly will, then may the friends of peace and goodwill, of unity and concord, of harmonious and wise legislation, of consequent prosperity and happiness, lift up their heads, for their redemption draweth nigh. The dark night of strife and discord, of hatred and bloodshed, of wickedness and ignorance, will begin to disappear, and the bright rays of truth and justice will beam upon mankind, and England may yet learn, that if God has given her an empire over countless nations and tribes, if He has poured into her lap all the riches of the earth, and raised her to a pitch of glory and power, and magnificence, such as no other people has ever attained to, she may yet learn that she has something great to do for God in return for all this, and that this work cannot be achieved by following *a principle of division*, but by carrying out the blessed theory, which in her darkest hour she never entirely abandoned; that theory of Catholic unity and of adherence to the great œcumenical

teaching, which has been the result of the commission to "*teach all nations*," intrusted eighteen hundred years ago by Christ our Lord to twelve poor unlearned Jews. Yes, I believe it will be so; and I believe it, not because I hope it, but because *I see* it coming. Let only Catholics co-operate with their Anglican brethren, and Anglicans co-operate with Catholics, for the restoration of mutual and corporate unity, for the triumph of Catholic truth, not for the destruction of anything that men hold and cling to as the outward and living form of their visible existence; and the glorious result which every good man must wish for, and which none but evil men would deprecate, will soon crown our mutual and combined efforts. Then may our gracious and beloved Queen live to reign over a united people, and to be indeed what so many of her predecessors have been in mere empty title, the Defender of the Faith; yes, the Defender of the Faith of Him, who of old gave that title to the Sovereign of England: the Defender of the Catholic and Apostolic Faith, not by the triumph of one section of her people over another, but by the spontaneous rallying of all to the old paths, and by the loving union of all her subjects under her temporal sceptre within the one fold of the one Shepherd. Oh! if such a glorious victory of truth, and reason, and love, were destined to crown the reign of Victoria, making her strong and invincible in the spiritual and temporal unity of her people, and holding forth her kingdom and her dominion as the very type of moral and physical grandeur to all the other nations of the earth, what a glory would it not be for England and for our Queen!

Great as such a result would be, arduous as it seems to aim at it, or to work for it, I believe that it is neither so difficult, nor so distant, if only the members of both churches could be brought to consider the question, and to labour for its solution.

It is with a view to arriving at this solution, that the writer of this essay now purposes to lay before the reader

the following treatise; and in doing so he will endeavour to pursue the method which he is now about to class under several heads.

1. The principal obstacles to union presented by the actual condition of the Anglican Church herself, and the actual state of religious parties within her communion.
2. Difficulties on the side of Catholics.
3. Political difficulties on the side of the state.
4. Political advantages that would result from the restoration of unity.
5. Religious advantages that would result from the restoration of unity.

(1.) *The principal Obstacles to Union presented by the actual Condition of the Anglican Church herself, and the actual State of Religious Parties within her Communion.*

I have already shown in my preliminary observations what is the theory of the Anglican Church; that she still accounts herself to be a portion of the visible Catholic Church of Christ, estranged rather than divided from the rest of Christendom; that her Articles of Religion expressly assert the authority of the Universal Church in controversies* of faith, and in the institution of rites and ceremonies; while in her canons† she has given to her clergy the proper key for interpreting her Articles of Religion, in ordering them to be understood and explained to the people only in a sense conformable to the teaching of the Catholic fathers and doctors of the undivided Catholic Church. I have shown that this being the theory of the Anglican Church, her most eminent divines, ever since the first bitterness of the original separation began to die away, have continually

* The twentieth of the Thirty-nine Articles of Religion.
† Canon enacted by the Convocation of the Clergy, A.D. 1571.

yearned for a restoration of the unity of Christendom, and that many efforts have been made from time to time to bring about this blessed result.

But notwithstanding what I have said, and although the Anglican theory, considered in itself, unquestionably holds out solid hopes that one day unity may be restored, it must, on the other hand, be confessed that there is much to damp the hopes of a Catholic, when he views the actual condition of the Anglican Church, and the conflicting parties which subsist within her communion, each striving for the mastery over the other, each condemning and accusing the other of inconsistency and treachery to the fundamental principles of their own Church, and each in turn sharing the patronage and encouragement of the secular power, so that men of the most contradictory belief are exalted to the highest offices in the national Church. I say to a Catholic mind, considering this state of things, the hopes, encouraged by a review of the Anglican theory, and the general aspect of the High Church portion of her clergy, almost fade away, and give place to a conviction, that sooner or later a house thus divided against itself must fall; and assuredly such a result might at any moment be precipitated in the present current of legislative policy, which is every day more and more withdrawing the support of the state from the Established Church, while the executive government is giving every post of dignity and influence to men of the lowest Church principles, or even to men of no Church principles whatever, and the tribunals appointed to determine upon questions of doctrine and ritual (with the single exception of the last decree of the Privy Council, which has undoubtedly sided with the High Church party), have given their decisions, not only in favour of the ultra-Protestants, but in flagrant opposition to the principles of the Liturgy and Catechism of the Church of England, no less than of the twentieth of the Thirty-nine Articles, and the canon of 1571; and this, notwithstanding that

these very tribunals are assumed to be the guardians and the vindicators of those very principles. Now to any one, who, like myself, undertakes to advocate the reunion of the Anglican with the Catholic Church, it is obvious that it is in this state of things that the greatest difficulty consists; a difficulty which, I confess, appears almost insurmountable; nor could there be a greater delusion than any attempt to overlook or underrate its serious character, or to regard the Church of England, as I have done in my preliminary observations, in her theoretical aspect alone, when, in fact, to judge of her, as she practically exists and operates at the present day, she consists of a heterogeneous mass of conflicting and constantly-changing opinion, split up into parties, that hold nothing in common but the name of Christianity, and no principle of agreement save to disagree with Rome, to condemn the Pope, and to abhor the religious system of which he is the spiritual centre and the head. No one is more fully aware than I am how powerfully such a state of things as this militates against the probability of any successful issue to the great object which I advocate: while I am compelled to admit, that it places at the disposal of Catholic writers, who deride the notion of a corporate reunion between Anglicans and ourselves, a fund of cogent arguments, the force of which it is impossible to deny; so that, as the case now practically stands, there seems scarcely any escape from utter despair.

But is there then no hope? With a theory that so closely approximates to that of Catholic orthodoxy; with a liturgy drawn exclusively from Catholic sources; with a Catechism capable of imbuing the minds of her children with the most Catholic and devout apprehension of the two principal Sacraments, such as Baptism and the Holy Eucharist; with a ritual containing, if not under the name of Sacraments, yet as rites conveying grace, and the same graces attributed to them by the Catholic theory, the other five Sacraments of the new law, Con-

firmation, Priestly Absolution, Matrimony, Holy Order, and Extreme Unction—for it would appear that even the last-mentioned rite was retained in King Edward's first Prayer Book, while there is evidence that it has never been wholly abandoned by the orthodox party in the Church of England, at least in theory; with a form of consecrating churches and cemeteries derived from the Roman Pontifical; and with the blessing of the chrism in the solemn coronation of our kings and queens; and sundry minor rites, such as that used by prelates of the Anglican Church in the solemn installation of Knights of the Garter, or as that which we still find in some editions of the Book of Common Prayer for the sovereign to use in touching for the king's evil, a privilege which our sovereigns inherit from St. Edward the Confessor; I say, with all these badges of Catholicism still preserved by the national Established Church, is there no hope for her ultimate reunion with the rest of Christendom?

To this question, if the great bulk of her members are to remain what they are at present, there can be but one answer, and that a most decided negative. With the Church of England, as she now practically is, I am ready to go every length with an able writer in a very forcible and moderate article in the last number of the "Dublin Review,"* and to admit that a reunion, under present circumstances, would be impossible, for this very solid reason, that the Church of England is not a definite body of Christians, who agree in holding certain principles, but a body of men holding an almost endless variety of theories, and gradations of theories.

But when, on the other hand, it is considered, that notwithstanding the deplorable divisions that prevail amongst the clergy and members of the Church of England, it would not be fair to impute to the Church itself the blame of opinions which are diametrically opposed to her own principles; and that having laid down

* "On the latest Phenomena of Anglicanism."

a theory, which in the abstract at least is admitted, or ought to be admitted, by all her members, it is clear that a Catholic, in urging a reunion between the Church of England and the rest of Christendom, must take his stand upon the acknowledged and unrepealed articles and formularies of the former; and he has a right to expect that sooner or later the bulk of her clergy will either agree to abide in good earnest by those principles, or, as the only intelligible alternative, to abolish them, and to cast out of her communion that portion of their fellow-members who still uphold them.

Now it is perfectly obvious to any observer of what is going on in England, and what has been now steadily working for twenty-five years, that whatever be the numbers of those who still adhere to ultra-Protestant principles, it is not they who are on the increase in the ranks of the Anglican clergy. On the contrary, it is a fact that very many of the most advanced High Church men once belonged to the Evangelical school, or were born of those who did; while I am not aware of a single instance of a High Church man abandoning his own views to adopt those of the ultra-Protestant school. There was a time, undoubtedly, when the Evangelical party exercised great influence in the National Church, but it was when that party really represented and contained within itself all the earnest religion and all the piety of the Established Church. When it could boast of such men as the illustrious Wilberforce, a man who would have been an honour and a glory to any Church in Christendom; a man who could write with one hand a noble essay on spiritual religion and earnest faith, while with the other he could strike off the fetters that bound many millions of the human race in abject slavery, binding as they did in still more grievous thraldom the souls of their oppressors. At that time, the Evangelical party was able to point to such a bishop as the noble and the truly pious Henry Ryder, a man who might, without exaggeration, be termed the Fenelon of the

Anglican Church. But it is a remarkable fact, that the revival of Catholic and High Church principles in this same Church is in no small degree connected with these two illustrious names, and that these two families, so truly noble in English History, will ever bear a conspicuous part in the great work which we are now contemplating. But assuredly the Evangelical party can no longer claim such men as these; their representatives and their children have either abandoned Protestantism altogether, or they uphold in the National Church principles of genuine rectitude, and of honest adherence to the formularies they are sworn to maintain, such as give solid ground to anticipate a rapid improvement in the actual condition of the Church of England. In fact, the last twenty-five years have witnessed a constant decay of ultra-Protestant principles, with a parallel progress of High Church Catholic ideas. And this is so true, that the *Times* newspaper, in one of those very able articles which stamp it as the highest representative of the masculine mind of England, while commenting on Lord Palmerston's recent infusion of Evangelical Low Church men into the Episcopate of the English Church, thus expresses itself:—

"The result is, that the High Church party *never was so numerous*, wealthy, fashionable, or enthusiastic, as it is at the present day; and for every 'Evangelical' bishop Lord Shaftesbury can make, there enter the Church *twenty curates, strong in the Fathers*, church-building, vestments, seasons, and services." And this mighty influx of High Church principle amongst the inferior clergy is not only an index of what we may expect a little while hence, but an irresistible evidence of what has been achieved already. The decline of Evangelicalism, and the growth of Catholic tendencies, are the answer which I would give to writers like the one referred to in the "Dublin Review," whose argument against the feasibility of a corporate reunion is grounded on the hypothesis, that the present numerical majority of Low Church men is likely

to remain. Those who know most of what is going on in the Anglican mind have come to a different conclusion, and they anticipate that this majority, already so signally diminished, will at no distant day dwindle into a small minority, while the honest and fearless assertors of Anglican principles and Anglican practices will be so universal amongst the clergy and the intelligent and religious laity of the National Church, that we shall very soon see the statesmen and rulers of the land sensible of the change, and acting in compliance with it. I have already said, that the reunion of Christians in the British empire, if ever attained, can only be brought about by the spontaneous rallying of all to the old paths and to the normal principles of Christianity, and not by the political triumph of any section over another. Let me then say that the issue I contemplate does not look to any struggle between High Church men and Evangelicals, still less to any forcible ejectment of the latter from their position. God forbid! Such an issue might involve the triumph of an idea, but it does not imply the union of men, or the victory of truth. What I look forward to is very different from this; it is to the gradual working of sound principles and sound argument; it is the awakening of men in general, who still agree in upholding Christianity, to the necessity of that moral and dogmatic unity which is essential to the progress and triumph of the system they profess to believe, and the only basis for a sound national system of instruction. If one thing more than another has been virtually solved by the mighty convulsions of the present and the latter period of the last century, it is surely this, that society cannot exist without religion. Now religion cannot exist without belief: and what does belief mean, if it refers not to one definite standard of conviction? Believing then, as I do, that so long as men still adhere to Christianity and the Bible, by the grace of God and their own sincerity, they may be brought to a substantial agreement (and to deny this would be to deny the office of reason and of the

reasoning faculty), I hesitate not to avow that I look forwards to the day, when the force of normal truths will be found so overwhelming that all men will voluntarily embrace them, and the reunion of Christendom will be the result of universal conviction, and the meeting of all men of good will in one mighty botherhood of Christian belief and Christian love. And I am equally persuaded that this glorious result can never be achieved so long as Christians, whether Catholic or Protestant, persevere in the bitterness of polemical controversy, attacking what appear to them the weak points of each other, instead of calmly showing the strong points of truth. Let earnest-minded men, on both sides, suspend their internecine warfare, let a truce be proclaimed, and falling down before God in common prayer, through the merits of our Common Mediator, let us beseech of Him to enlighten us, that so we may come to an agreement, and that faith may take the place of doubt. Let us examine the foundations of all that we hold in common, and let us inquire on the points in which we differ, how far our differences are real and substantial; and if so, how far it may be possible to come to an agreement concerning them. One thing is evident, the day for hollow compromise is passed; and men must make up their minds between some system of positive belief on the one hand, or of downright unbelief on the other: once that the civilized world is divided between these two, which are now the only possible sections of thinking men, it will be seen, which is to triumph,—belief or unbelief?

Belief will be surrounded by a mighty host; by all those who still think that in the long run the civilization of the Gospel is good for man here below, and that there is solid ground for looking forward to the promises it holds out beyond the grave, to which we are all tending, and into which there is no man who will not go down: all those who cling with affection to the traditions of the past, who value and cherish national recollections and the memory of their ancestors; all those who take a

practical view of men and things, and who shrink from the wild theories, and mistrust the delusions of men who have no other motto save *Doubt and Destruction;* whose only principle is to doubt what their fellow-men have ever held, and to destroy all that man has ever yet built up.

On the other hand, will unbelief be the rallying-point for anarchy and revolution, for thieves and murderers, for all those who trample under foot the everlasting principles of right and wrong, who would overthrow all ties of family, and all those sweet bonds of tenderness that unite the brother and the sister with loving parents, and that knit society together as the association of many happy and united families. If pillage is to be universal, if murder and the promiscuous indulgence of every evil passion is to be the normal state of humanity, if civilization is to give way before the most brutal barbarism that ever entered into the mind of man, then may unbelief become general, and it may proclaim its triumph over religion and faith. But this is impossible; it may persecute, it may destroy much that we now cherish, and perhaps make many individual martyrs in some brief and transient convulsion; but sooner or later the true current of Christian civilization and of Catholic belief will mount to the surface, and we, or our children, will see such a bright day shine upon it, with such a calm and such a heavenly harmony, as will compensate for all the trials of good men in past times, and realize the glowing predictions of Holy Writ, to which men of faith undoubtingly look forwards.

(2.) *Difficulties on the Side of Catholics.*

If it had not been for certain recent articles and letters in some of the organs of English Catholic opinion, I should have supposed that amongst Catholics there could have been but one feeling in regard to such a question as that of the reunion of Christendom. When it is remembered

that unity is the grand leading principle of Catholicism, and that the tendency of that religion has ever been to gather men and nations into one great religious confederation, it might have been expected that any plan that contemplated and aimed at that result, would have been sure to find favour with those who professed a special zeal for the interests of Catholicism, and who had assumed, in one shape or another, the task of vindicating and upholding those interests. And yet, if we may judge from the tone of such articles and letters as I have referred to, it would seem that, in some quarters at least, the proposal for reunion, at least for any corporate reunion, of Protestant bodies with the rest of Christendom, has by no means been favourably received. It is difficult to account for this fact, at least on any inherent principles of Catholicity, excepting indeed on the ground of the practical objection which we have just been discussing, and which we have shown has already been in great measure removed, and is likely to be still further removed. Nevertheless, as the fact exists, it behoves us to consider it, and to grapple with it.

And first, as far as I can understand its nature and causes, it would seem to me to arise mainly from an inadequate apprehension of the Catholic theory in itself, and from a very imperfect study of Ecclesiastical history.

The Catholic theory, if I understand it rightly, is simply the result and the expression of the commission given by our Blessed Lord to His Apostles, in the command He gave them "*to go and teach* ALL NATIONS," promising His own infallible guidance in the work: "*and lo! I* am with you *all days*, even to the consummation of the world."

This theory then contemplates Christianity, or Christendom as we generally term it, under this aspect, as *all nations brought under the influence of one teaching*, and *Christ Himself as pledged by His own promise to assist and direct that teaching.*

But let it be observed, the recipients of this teaching

are to be, in theory at least, not a mass of individuals here, and another mass of individuals there, but *all nations*—that is, the French nation, the English nation, and so on—not a Catholic party in France and a Catholic party in England, at war with every other section of French and English citizens, but England and France severally and mutually confessing the same great truth, and reposing beneath its influence. Such is the Catholic theory. Of course, in saying this, I do not mean to assert that it is inconsistent with such a theory, to suppose that the result predicated was not to be attained at once; in the lifetime of the Apostles, for instance. We all know that many ages elapsed from the time when our Lord first uttered those words, before religious unity was attained either in France or England, or in any other nation. But I do assert that this result, and nothing less, was what the first disciples of Christianity looked to, and that it was nothing less than this that was at length attained not only in France and England, but in every other country in which the Apostolic teaching was received. Alas! this blessed unity has now disappeared. I know scarcely any part of the world, if indeed any, in which it exists at the present day. And this is so true, that many learned and pious Catholic writers have asserted, and not without too much reason, that Christendom has arrived at that terrible state foretold by the blessed Apostle St. Paul, in his Epistle to the Romans,* where he seems to intimate that one day before the national conversion of the Jewish people shall take place, the Gentile nations should in their *national capacity* apostatize from the good olive-tree into which God had engrafted them. Christendom, I confess, has either already arrived at this deplorable apostasy, or it is fast tending to it. I think, to any one who seriously contemplates all that is now going on in the world, there can be no great difficulty in forming such a conclusion as this.

* Romans xi. 21.

But even admitting this to be the case, it cannot alter the Catholic theory; and deplorable as such a fact is wherever it exists, and it assuredly does exist, and has existed for the last three hundred years *in England*, it is the duty of all those who hold the Catholic theory to strive to remedy it as soon as may be.

Whatever may be the extent of this apostasy, and whatever the amount of guilt incurred by it, whether on the part of nations or of individuals, it is quite clear that the Catholic theory, which aims at the sanctification of nations no less than of each individual composing them, admits the possibility of national as much as of individual repentance. In fact, that very chapter of St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans, to which I have just referred, assures us that the Jewish nation itself will one day give the crowning example of national repentance for national apostasy; but the Apostle also tells us, that this restoration of Israel is to succeed, and therefore, probably, to be the consequence of, the total conversion of the whole Gentile world. His words are: "I would not have you ignorant, brethren, of this mystery, that blindness in part hath happened in Israel, until *the fulness of the Gentiles should come in*."* Now this expression, "*the fulness of the Gentiles*," is surely best explained by those words of our Lord, which I have so often quoted, "Go ye and teach ALL NATIONS." The "*fulness of the Gentiles*" then "*coming in*," can only signify the totality of the nations coming into the true Apostolic Church of Christ. It is evident, then, that as the time draws near for the conversion and restoration of Israel, all the nations of the earth will, about that period or just before it, be *nationally* incorporated into the Catholic Church: but as it is a fact, which we still witness, that for the last three hundred years a very large portion of the nations has apostatized from the unity of the Catholic Church, it is quite clear, from the reasoning of St. Paul, that if the

* Romans xi. 25.

time be approaching for the restoration of the Jews, and in proportion as it draws near, this national severance of so many great and powerful nations must cease. We have then a right to look forwards to the restoration of Catholicity, not only by the conversion of individuals, but also by that of entire nations.

Now then, if this be true, and I do not see how any one who believes in the Bible can deny it, the question arises, how is the Catholic Church to deal with such nations as those which once were in full communion with her, but which at various periods have severed themselves from that communion, still, however, preserving the belief of Christianity and the maintenance of many of its ordinances? I maintain that the answer to this question, given in the way in which I shall give it, is no mere matter of private judgment, but the very answer of the Church herself, laid down and promulgated in a general and œcumenical council, presided over, confirmed, and approved by the Sovereign Pontiff himself, and undoubtedly representing the whole Church of Christ, both the Eastern and the Western Church, duly representing both the clergy and the laity, in the persons of the bishops of all Christendom, and the emperors and princes of the different Christian nations. This œcumenical council was the Council of Florence, which concluded its sessions in the year 1439, when the great Act of Reunion between the Greek and Latin Churches was finally agreed to and signed by the Pope and Latin bishops on the one hand, and by the emperor of Constantinople and the patriarch of that Church, with the other bishops of the East, on the other. Now, if the reader will take the trouble to procure the remarkable work of the learned Greek Pitzipios, entitled *L'Eglise Orientale*,* which has very recently been published on this very subject of the general reunion of Christendom, with the express sanc-

* "L'Eglise Orientale, par Jacques G. Pitzipios, Fondateur de la Société Orientale." *Rome, Imprimerie de la Propagande*, 1855; London, C. Dolman.

tion of Pope Pius IX., he will be able at once to understand on what principle the Catholic Church proceeds in her dealing with Christian nations in a state of severance, when she endeavours to recall them to unity. She does not deal with them as with heathen nations, for she affirms that they are still her children, still by their baptism a portion of the Church, although estranged and separated from the communion of the Holy See. Whether the separation be one of *heresy*, that is, of a renunciation of any portion of what has been defined by the œcumenical Church under the sanction of the Sovereign Pontiff as a portion of Catholic dogma, or whether it be one of *schism*, that is, of simple rejection of legitimate ecclesiastical obedience to the divinely-constituted authority; whatever be the degree and amount of deviation from the normal principles of the Gospel, whatever the loss of spiritual and ecclesiastical privileges, the Church's conduct, as evidenced throughout the whole of her proceedings in this most famous and venerable council, is ever the same (and this council is only one amongst countless other evidences that might be adduced); and that conduct, I hesitate not to affirm, consists in a conciliatory dealing with separated *bodies* of Christians in their *corporate capacity*.* No one who maintains this is, of course, blind to another important fact, viz., that the Church does not limit her dealings with her separated children to this course: it is quite certain that she calls upon them, singly and individually, to return to unity; and when any of them hear her voice, she rejoices over the return of the wandering child: but this, for the most part, is her course of action, when the

* It is stated in a late number of the "Rambler," referring to my letters in the "Union," that the Church has never treated with heretics in a corporate capacity. She did so as recently as within the last ten years in receiving into her communion the patriarch and bishops of the Eutychian church of Syria, that is, a church which was not only severed from the Catholic Church by schism, but by downright heresy.

rebellion against her authority is at its height, when a corporate reunion appears hopeless, and when the heads of the separated communions obstinately refuse to listen to any overtures for peace. The moment, however, that a favourable opportunity occurs; the moment the separated portions of the Church manifest a desire for peace, for the restoration of unity, then at once the Church comes forth, with all the tenderness of a loving mother, to effect a reconciliation with her separated children: like the good father in our Lord's magnificent parable of the Prodigal Son, she goes forth, when yet the wanderer is afar off, to meet him with all that divine condescension which is the special characteristic of infinite mercy, and that dwells in its fulness only in the adorable Heart of Jesus Christ. She encourages every, even the least, aspiration for union, and mindful of those words of her divine Spouse, that "the Sabbath was made for man, not man for the Sabbath," she ever manifests a readinesss to concede whatever it is in her power to concede, and whatever she, under the guidance of the Holy Ghost, judges it may be for edification and for peace to concede. Now to deny this, would simply be to deny the whole history of the Church; and to condemn it, would simply be to condemn the Church's conduct from the time of Christ to the present day.

It is obvious, then, that if some Catholics are averse to the idea of a corporate reunion of the separated communions of Christendom, there is no such difficulty on the side of the Church as such; it is a mere caprice or prejudice of individual Catholics, and repugnant to the established policy and traditional practice of the Catholic Church herself. Hence, in 1853, with the express sanction of Pope Pius IX., a society was established at Rome, Paris being the head-quarters of its operations, the very object of which is to reunite Christendom: first, by the restoration of unity between the two principal divisions of the Christian world, the eastern and western Churches; and secondly, by bringing the Protestant communities

into fellowship with the main body of the Church, as the natural consequence of the reunion of the Church herself. This society is called "The Eastern Christian Society," and it invites the co-operation of all who approve of the idea upheld by it, (whether at present in communion with the Catholic Church or in a state of separation from it,) to work for the projected reunion. Pitzipios, in speaking of this excellent institution, mentions that, quite independently of its establishment, and when that fact was not generally known, a very remarkable conference was held at Berlin in the year 1854, consisting, he says, "of members of the two separated Churches, that is, the Greek and the Latin, and of the Protestant bodies;" and after a lengthened examination and discussion of the question, "*they came to the unanimous conviction that the reunion of Christendom was feasible.*" "Such dispositions," continues Pitzipios, "spontaneously expressed by all the different Christian bodies of so many countries, is surely an overwhelming evidence that the hour has come for the restoration of unity in the Church of Christ, and that its accomplishment is to be the special work of our own times." I dwell with the more satisfaction on these statements of the learned Greek, because, independent of their intrinsic force, the work that contains them carries with it the greatest moral weight, from the circumstance that it issued from the Pope's own press, being published at the expense of the college *de Propagandâ Fide*, and being duly approved by the highest ecclesiastical authorities in Rome itself. If, therefore, any single book at the present moment can be appealed to, as expressing the Church's feeling on this great question of the corporate reunion of the separate Christian communities, it is surely this work, and this work is devoted to the advocacy of this express policy.

But it must be acknowledged this is not the only difficulty, on the Catholic side. In reference to the reunion of the Church of England, it is contended, that even admitting the theory of Anglicanism to constitute

a wide distinction between that Church and any of the foreign Protestant bodies, still she cannot be placed in the same rank with the Great Eastern Church, which in theory at least has never departed from orthodoxy, while no Catholic has ever denied or for a moment doubted the validity of her orders. It is contended that, on the contrary, the orders of the Anglican Church have always been regarded by the rest of the Church as exceedingly doubtful, so that when any of her clergy have returned to the unity of the Universal Church, if they wished to exercise the sacred ministry after their change, they have in every case been reordained, and this, too, without any verbal condition. Now it would be altogether at variance with the determination I have already expressed, not to enter within the arena of any polemical controversy in the present essay, for me to discuss in these pages the question of the validity of Anglican orders. It is a question which, in my opinion, does not affect the substantial issue contemplated by me. If ever the desire for unity should become so general in the Anglican body, as to lead to serious negotiations between them and the Holy See, they would be fully competent to argue the point for themselves; and it being a question not of abstract doctrine, but of fact, they would be fully at liberty to lay before the Holy See, or before a general council, whatever evidence existed in favour of their own view of it. Nor would the previous practice of the Church in reordaining their clergy for motives of safety, and for the indisputable security of the case, in any way preclude their theologians from laying it more clearly and more elaborately before the authorities of the Catholic Church, if they believed that they had reasonable grounds for thinking that this had been done insufficiently hitherto, and that they had new facts to allege in favour of the validity of their orders. And here I have no hesitation in saying that, although I do not regard this question, however decided, as vitally affecting the feasibility of a corporate reunion, for, as I shall presently

show, the Popes have sanctioned the attempt to reunite even the Calvinistic Churches of France and Switzerland, which never pretended to possess Catholic orders; yet it cannot be denied that, if the validity of Anglican orders were established, it would constitute an additional link between their communion and the rest of Christendom. I can very well understand that in the commencement of the separation, and when the spirit of hostility between them and the Catholics was at its greatest height, it might very naturally appear consonant to sound policy on our side to make out the case of the English Church in a Catholic point of view to be as bad as possible; but now assuredly the circumstances are very different: in the presence of so many indisputable proofs of an altered feeling towards us in *their* minds, when their ablest and most pious clergy come forward to advocate every dogma of the Catholic faith, and defend all those points common to us both with a learning, a power of argument, and an earnestness, that no Catholic could surpass; when, in addition to this, they hesitate not to express a noble desire to heal the divisions of Christendom, and to return to the normal state of union, it is obviously *our* interest, quite as much as *theirs*, that they should be able to establish as much as possible, not only the doctrinal affinity between their own communion and the Catholic Church, but their organic relationship also.*

* Since the foregoing remarks were written, the writer of this Essay has perused with much interest a document emanating from Pope Clement XI. in the year 1704, in which his Holiness signs a judgment of the Congregation of the Holy Office, pronouncing the consecration of John Clement Gordon, a bishop of the Scottish Episcopal Church, to be *in their opinion* null: "Cùm autèm hujusmodi consecrationem *opinetur* nullam ob *rationes* quas *exprimit*," &c.; *null* for the reasons alleged by John Clement Gordon himself, who asked for a confirmation of *his own opinion*, that he might receive episcopal consecration according to the Catholic rite. This document has been given at length by the "Weekly Register" of May 2nd. The writer of this Essay does not venture to express any opinion of his own on the question of Anglican orders; on the contrary, he

More than a hundred and fifty years ago, when the chances of reunion were so much smaller than in our day, the force of what I have been just referring to was so obvious, that the great Bossuet, in his efforts to promote the endeavour to effect such a corporate reconciliation between the Church and the Lutheran body, in his famous correspondence with the Abbot Molanus,* lays down, even in regard to those who belong to the Confession of Augsburg, "that if there be any bishops belonging to that Confession, concerning whose succession and legitimate ordination sufficient evidence can be adduced, having made profession of the right faith, they shall remain in their office; and the same rule shall hold good for priests also." Now it is a fact of indisputable notoriety, that no one calling himself either bishop or priest in the Lutheran Communion, or in any branch of it, was ever allowed to exercise the sacred ministry in the Roman Communion without previous reordination; and yet it is clear from these words, laid down by the great Bossuet, that neither he, nor those who laboured with him, thought for a moment that such an antecedent fact as that in any way precluded the Lutheran clergy from establishing, if they could, the validity of their succession and of their ordination. But the reader should bear in mind that the larger portion of the Lutheran body reject episcopacy altogether; nor am I aware of any Lutheran Church, except the Swedish,

embraces whatever the holy Church by her visible head the Pope may have heretofore decided, or may hereafter decide, upon this much-disputed point; but he humbly ventures to express his opinion, that the decision of the Holy Office in reference to Bishop Gordon, only expresses *an opinion*, grounded on certain alleged statements, addressed simply to an individual case, and therefore scarcely amounting to a solemn definition of the Holy See as to the nullity of Anglican orders.

* Episcopi confessionis Augustanæ, si qui sunt, de quorum successione et legitimâ ordinatione constiterit, rectam fidem professi, suo loco maneant; idem de presbyteris esto judicium.—*Œuvres de Bossuet*, vol. vii. p. 462.

which has retained it, or thought it worth while to make a claim to apostolic succession. And yet, Bossuet felt that, even in that case, the claim was not to be wholly overlooked. How much more would he have laid down a similar principle in the Anglican Church, especially if he could have lived to witness the wonderful revival of Catholic belief in that communion which has taken place in our day? But as it is quite clear that the object of reunion is far from being materially involved in this question, it is needless for me to refer to it further on the present occasion; I leave it to the learned theologians of that communion to show more fully than has been yet done what solid ground may exist, which, *upon Catholic principles*, would tend to establish the validity of their orders; and I, for one, believe that such an attempt, if successful, would be a great step towards the consummation of the union.

But there is another difficulty in Catholic minds, which is, perhaps, even greater than the doubt about their orders, and that is the doctrine of the Church of England. In regard to this we must always remember, that when a reunion is contemplated, it does not so much affect the question to consider what has been the teaching of separated communities in times past, as whether an agreement can be come to upon doctrine for the future. If, after a careful investigation, it should be found possible by God's grace to agree in signing a common formulary approved by both parties, it would seem immaterial to enter much into the question as to how great or how small had been the amount of previous deviation from this common standard now agreed upon. And I find in the *Rules* for the Ecclesiastical Reunion of all Christians*, drawn up by the most learned theologians of the German empire in 1691, and published by the authority of the Emperor Leopold, the following very remarkable pro-

* Regulæ circa Christianorum omnium Ecclesiasticam Reunionem, A.D. 1691.—*Œuvres de Bossuet*, vol. vii. p. 335.

positions laid down as the basis of proceedings, bearing, assuredly, very powerfully on this view to which I have just referred. In the *Regula Tertia*, it is there laid down :— "Ad hanc tamen non requiritur, imò subindè non expedit, neque licitum est, alteri dissentienti parti *veritates omnes manifestare*,* et ab eâ petere ut errores omnes, explicitè saltèm et expressè, deponat. Imò, si hoc ab ullius partis ecclesiasticis ministris, saltèm *pro hoc rerum statu* exigas, et his apud plebem suam creditum in minimo diminuas, *radicem totam reunionis* evellis." And after advancing other weighty considerations in favour of this course of action, the divines continue as follows :— "Quià imprimis, dùm Ecclesia Latina et Græca sese in conciliis Lugdunensi et Florentino reunierunt, id nunquàm ita factum est, ut episcopi ullius partis errorem pristinum circa fidei doctrinam expressè et publicè confiterentur ; sed sese *in aliquo utrinque acceptabili sensu explicarunt* ; talisque explicatio, apud prudentes, *idem fuit ac honesta quædam revocatio*."†

Now from such rules as these, laid down by the gravest authors, and published on such high authority, with the consent, as it would appear, of the Holy See itself, it is evident that in the return to a common faith, the Catholic Church gladly avails herself of whatever is orthodox in the teaching of the separated communions, while she regards the eventual profession of Catholic Faith as the best renunciation of anything that may have been erroneous or defective during the period of their past and separated condition. But however true this be, it is, nevertheless, a most consoling fact, that in

* These words evidently refer to the indiscreet and unreasonable conduct of some Catholics, who, when there was a prospect of corporate reunion, would unseasonably press upon individual Protestants certain abstract truths, such as the duty of *personal* return to unity, which, although most important in themselves, would obviously overturn the very work the Church was engaged in, if pressed in that unseasonable and injudicious manner.

† *Œuvres de Bossuet*, vol. vii. p. 336.

the Anglican Church, at least, the tradition of Catholic teaching was in a great measure always upheld by a chain of learned divines, who even in the worst times, and when the ultra-Protestant element exercised the greatest influence, never ceased to witness the truth of many of the most important articles of Catholic belief. This fact we have already seen affirmed by a great Catholic authority, Father Leander à Sancto Martino, in his statement to Pope Urban VIII.; but if any one will refer to that very learned and most remarkable letter, published by Dr. Pusey in 1851,* and addressed by him to the then Bishop of London, he will find it triumphantly established by innumerable citations from the standard divines of the Anglican Church, from the period of the Reformation downwards. Nor do I think it possible for any Catholic to read that work, so conspicuous for its learning and research, without being convinced that the Church of England is something very different from all other Protestant bodies, and that in fact she holds either implicitly or explicitly the main great verities of Catholic doctrine. And here let me express what I have long felt, that if ever, in the good Providence of God, the divisions that now rend asunder the Christian Church should be healed, that glorious result will be more due to the exertions and services of this truly learned and pious writer, Dr. Pusey, than to any other living man, while I cordially pray that God may preserve his valuable life to witness the full accomplishment of that to which his admirable writings have so much contributed, and that ere he close his honoured career, he may see Christendom what it was of old—one in Faith and one in Charity.

It would greatly serve my purpose to give an analysis

* A letter to the Right Hon. and Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of London, in explanation of some statements contained in a letter by the Rev. W. Dodsworth. By the Very Rev. E. B. Pusey, D.D., Regius Professor of Hebrew in the University of Oxford, and Canon of Christchurch Cathedral, Oxford, 1851.

of this treatise of Dr. Pusey, but the limits that prudence suggests for such an essay as the present, would appear to prevent it. At the same time it is impossible not to avail myself of the help of so weighty an author, however briefly and inadequately I may refer to his book, as of the most signal importance in reference to that part of my subject which I am at present discussing,—viz., *difficulties on the side of Catholics in the way of reunion.*

It appears to me, I am bound to say, that so far as the doctrinal aspect of the Church of England during the past three hundred years may be supposed to present any grave obstacle in the way of a restoration of Catholic unity, admitting Dr. Pusey's letter to contain an accurate statement of Anglican doctrine, the force of that obstacle has been very materially diminished. Now that Dr. Pusey's statement is an accurate statement of the doctrine of his Church, is indisputably established by the book itself, for he advances nothing but what he grounds upon undeniable authorities in the Anglican formularies themselves, confirmed by an unbroken catena of traditional witness on the part of all those theologians who are not merely held by a party to represent the teaching of the English Church, but whom history itself holds out to us in that character. Dr. Pusey lays it down that the Church of England, even in the most Protestant periods of our English history, has been orthodox *in the main* on all the cardinal points of Catholic teaching; and though, unquestionably, I am far from endorsing every form of expression in his letter, and there are several which I should myself abstain from using, as savouring of heterodoxy, yet I cannot but think, that a little mutual explanation would convince us both, I will not say that there have been no differences betwen his communion and my own, but at least that there is no substantial reason why we should not very soon be brought to unity.

I am confident, from what Dr. Pusey has written on

the Anglican view concerning Confession and the Sacrament of Penance, on the Eucharistic Sacrifice, on the Real Presence of our Blessed Lord in the Sacrament of the Altar, no less than in his valuable disquisition on Catholic Devotions and Practices, from which it is most consoling to see how all through the last three hundred years Anglicans have never ceased to sympathize with our spiritual writers; I say I am confident that the difference between Catholics and Church-of-England-men is far more verbal than real, and if matters were fully explained according to the suggestions of the great Bossuet and the Emperor Leopold, it would disappear altogether.

In fact let me now say, and I say it with all the emphasis that is possible, when an Anglican, or a Protestant, individually embraces the Catholic faith, does any man suppose that such a convert embraces those things against which the protest of the sixteenth century was mainly directed? Far from it. In my opinion that protest was far more guilty of charging the Catholic Church with holding what she never held, than it was of impugning what was really Catholic doctrine. Not that I mean to assert that that protest did not also in a great degree impugn positive Catholic doctrine, while it affirmed many propositions that were absolutely heterodox. But still, if I may judge from my own experience as a Catholic, I should say that, in embracing Catholicism, those of us who are converts will bear me out in affirming, that for the most part we have been far from embracing what Protestantism condemns. Let me explain myself more clearly.

After what Dr. Pusey has so ably and so learnedly written, it is quite clear that the Anglican Church herself, although separated from the rest of the Church, has never adopted either the Protestant theory, or what is commonly understood as Protestant doctrine, but that she has maintained for the most part the ancient Catholic teaching—still there has been, as a matter of fact, a very large

admixture of ultra-Protestant teaching within her communion. Well then, in addressing myself to this Protestant teaching, I am not accusing the Anglican Church of holding it as a Church, but I simply treat it as a fact connected more or less with the religious history of this country during the last three centuries; and I ask, does any man suppose, that when I for one became a Catholic many years ago, I ceased to believe that divine adoration was due to God alone? or that I was brought to believe that I ought to pay divine worship to the Blessed Virgin Mary? or that I might lawfully give to any saint, or to any angel, or to the Mother of God herself, the smallest fraction of that honour, which by the Decalogue God restricts to Himself? or that in calling and saluting Mary as *the Mother of God*, I believed for a moment that she was the mother of the Divinity?* or that in admitting the doctrine of transubstantiation, as laid down in the creed of Pope Pius IV., I believed in a gross or carnal Presence of Christ in the Eucharist, and not a heavenly and supernatural, although a real and substantial one? or that when I was brought to value and to seek for Holy Indulgences, I looked upon them as a license to commit sin, or in any other light than as a means of still greater sanctification, such as the Psalmist prayed for, when he cried out,† "*Wash me, O Lord, more and more from my iniquity?*" or that in owning the Sovereign Pontiff to be the chief vicar of Jesus Christ in the spiritual government of the Catholic Church, I abandoned one single iota of the most devoted loyalty to my temporal sovereign the king or queen of Great Britain? or that I

* By the general council of Ephesus, the Blessed Virgin Mary was solemnly proclaimed, in contradiction to the errors of Nestorius, Θεοτοκος, or Mother of God. But no Catholic ever supposed that that decree implied, that Mary was the mother or authoress of the Godhead. It meant simply that she was the Mother of God Incarnate, Mother of "*the Word made Flesh*," or in other words, the very Mother of Him, who is very God and very Man, *in one person.*

† Psalm l.

recognized in the Papacy the slightest shadow of a right to temporal power within the realm of England? or any other than a purely spiritual power, to be exercised for spiritual and moral purposes? or that, in cordially accepting the decrees of œcumenical councils in regard to the veneration of the Cross, or of the images of Christ, of the Mother of God, and of the blessed Saints of God, I was accepting anything that contradicted God's commandment in the Decalogue, which is as binding now as it was in the days of Moses on Mount Sinai itself in the midst of the awful thunderings and lightnings, wherein God gave it to mankind, and which strictly forbids the making of any graven thing, or of any likeness whatever, to be honoured or adored as God? or that in devoutly kneeling and praying to our Lord in the presence of His sacred image on the Cross, or as a child in the arms of His most blessed Mother, I put the slightest trust in the material image or memorial before me, or for a moment entertained the absurd and impious idea, that there was any virtue or power in it to see, or hear, or help me?* or that in recommending myself to the intercession of the Blessed Virgin Mary, of the angels or the saints of God, I thought for a moment that they had any power of themselves, independent of God, or that they could help me in any other way than by their prayers to God, or by such actual power as God might delegate to them for the purpose of helping me?† or that in assisting at the venerable sacrifice of the New Law, I was taught to

* Non quòd credatur inesse aliqua in eis divinitas vel virtus, propter quam sint colendæ, vel quòd ab eis sit aliquid petendum, vel quòd fiducia in imaginibus sit figenda, veluti olim fiebat à Gentibus, quæ in idolis spem suam collocabant.—*Concilii Tridentini Sessio* xxv., p. 272.

† Sanctos unà cum Christo regnantes orationes suas pro hominibus Deo offerre: bonum atque utile esse supplicitèr eos invocare; et ob beneficia *impetranda* à Deo per Filium ejus Jesum Christum, Dominum nostrum, qui Solus noster Redemptor et Salvator est, ad eorum orationes opem auxiliumque confugere.—*Concilii Tridentini Sessio* xxv., p. 271.

believe that the oblation of the Mass in any way contradicted or denied the oneness and the all-sufficiency of the sacrifice of Christ upon the Cross, or that it did anything more than offer and represent to God the Father that One Victim, offered once for all in a bloody manner upon the Cross, and now exhibited in an unbloody manner upon the Holy Table?* or that in accepting what the Œcumenical Council of Florence, representing both the Eastern and Western Churches, had decided in reference to the doctrine of Purgatory and Prayer for the Dead, I was in any way obliged to hold any theological opinion on this matter, beyond what was laid down by that council, in the absence of any decree from any competent authority in the Church to ordain anything beyond that decision?† or that in admitting the infallibility of the Church in her doctrinal decisions, I recognized any arbitrary power to add to the substance of what was revealed by God, or anything beyond the power of guarding unimpaired the original deposit of revealed truth on the one hand, and of elucidating and more explicitly unfolding its meaning and true relation to any given question on the other?‡

* In Cœnâ Novissimâ, quâ nocte tradebatur, ut dilectæ Sponsæ suæ Ecclesiæ visibili, sicut hominum natura exigit, relinqueret Sacrificium quo cruentum ILLUD *semèl* in cruce peragendum *repræsentaretur*.—*Concilii Tridentini Sessio* xxii., p. 182.

† Præcipit sancta synodus episcopis, ut *sanam* de purgatorio doctrinam *à sanctis patribus* et *sacris conciliis* traditam, à Christi fidelibus credi, teneri, doceri, et ubique prædicari diligenter studeant. Apud rudem verò plebem difficiliores ac subtiliores quæstiones, quæque ad edificationem non faciunt, et ex quibus plerumquè nulla fit pietatis accessio, à popularibus concionibus secludantur. *Incerta* itèm, vel quæ *specie falsi* laborant, evulgari ac tractari non permittant. Ea verò, quæ ad curiositatem quandam aut *superstitionem* spectant, vel *turpe lucrum* sapiunt, tanquam scandala et fidelium offendicula prohibeant.—*Concilii Tridentini Sessio* xxv., p. 270.

‡ It may be objected to this statement, that at least the recent definition of *the Immaculate Conception* of the Blessed Virgin Mary constitutes a practical refutation of what has been just asserted, and that it exhibits a case of arbitrary addition to the universal faith of Christendom. But it may be easily shown that this is far from being

Assuredly there is but one answer to all these questions, and the answer which Catholic orthodoxy at once provides, is precisely the answer that the most timorous scrupulosity of Protestantism would desire; in other words,—it is my firmest conviction, that if even the most ultra-Protestant member of the Anglican Church would but examine the questions at issue between himself and the Definitions of Faith laid down by the Catholic Church, he would find that Catholicism is something very different from what

the case. True, the belief in the sinless conception of Mary was not *defined* absolutely in the Latin Church until our own times, but no one can deny that it was the *general* belief of the Latin Church from a period of very remote antiquity, while the title Παναγια, given to our Lady in the Greek liturgy, constituted a witness to the truth of the doctrine even from the days of the Apostles themselves: and it is a wonderful fact that the ancient Apostolic Church of Abyssinia, although for so many ages tainted with the errors of Eutyches, nevertheless always maintained the sinless conception of Mary as a part of the divine faith; so that several years ago a friend of mine, the learned French traveller Mons. d'Abbadie, after a lengthened stay in Ethiopia, was assured of this fact by the patriarch of that ancient Church. And I myself was assured of the same fact by the Syrian Archbishop of Keriatim, who visited me at Grace-Dieu, the year after the Syrian patriarch and twelve bishops with three archbishops of the ancient church of Syria, following the Syro-Chaldaic rite of the Apostle St. James, had returned to the communion of the Pope. He stated that in the Syrian Church the sinless conception of Mary had always been believed *as of divine faith*. So that when Pius IX. defined it to be an article of divine faith, he added nothing to the original deposit of revealed truth, he simply elucidated the ancient tradition of the Catholic Church, vindicating it from *future* contradiction. Some heterodox persons have pretended that this definition of the Holy See would make a goddess of Mary: but this is a childish assertion. Do we not all believe that Adam and Eve were *originally* created free from all sin? and do we therefore make gods of them? those who think so, know not what godhead means. The Church believes, that Mary is only a creature, and whatever grace, whatever glory, whatever privilege she possesses, all comes to her from the free gift of God, her Creator, in consequence of the foreseen merits of her divine Son, Jesus Christ our only Redeemer. As Jesus Christ is the Saviour of mankind in general by atoning for their sins, so is He the Saviour even of His own mother also by having graciously preserved her from all sin, both original and actual: blessed be His most holy name!

he has been led to suppose; and that while on the most cardinal points of faith, such as the mystery of the Blessed Trinity, the Incarnation and Atonement of Jesus Christ, and the moral teaching of the Gospel, he already is perfectly agreed with the Catholic Church; on the other points on which he has hitherto protested against her, he would find there was nothing in her teaching that contradicted that which he already held, nothing which even on his own principles would justify a continuance of the abnormal division of Christendom.

He would find, after all, that there was no substantial difference between his own notions and those of the Church as to the intrinsic nature of idolatry and superstition, only that hitherto he had been misinformed as to the nature of the Church's teaching. He would admit that it was not fair to charge upon the Church the absurdities or the blunders of individuals, or anything that was evidently repugnant to her principles. He would find, that what hitherto he had imagined to tend towards a relaxation of Gospel morality, was nothing but an aid to uphold and enforce it, and to make it practicable for man as he is. In a word he would find, what all who have ever seriously investigated the question have found, that in his previous protest against Catholicism he was fighting with a phantom, so that he would be constrained to cry out with the great St. Augustine, when he abandoned the errors of the Manicheans and embraced the Catholic faith: "Gaudens erubui, non me tot annos adversus Catholicam Fidem, sed contra carnalium cogitationum figmenta latrasse. Eo quippè temerarius et impius fueram, QUOD EA QUÆ DEBEBAM QUÆRENDO DISCERE, ACCUSANDO DIXERAM." *

If therefore it appear to a Catholic mind that there is a difficulty in the way of reunion, from the very aspect which Catholicity presents to the eye of an ultra-Protestant, it is obvious that the very fact of past conversions

* *S. Augustini Confessiones*, lib. vi. cap. 3.

is an overwhelming argument against the permanence of that difficulty; whilst the growth of late years within the Church of England of Catholic convictions and Catholic practices is another overwhelming proof of the force of Catholic truth, and of the readiness to embrace it on the part of sincere men, when once it is properly propounded to them.

(3.) *Political Difficulties on the side of the State.*

The Church of England, being so closely bound up as she is with the State, and acknowledging, as she does, that the temporal sovereign of England is her temporal Head, it is obvious, that whilst the national Church continues in that close relation to the secular power she can do nothing effectually to re-establish her union with the rest of Christendom, without the consent and co-operation of the State, with which she is so closely allied.

In treating this part of my subject, I am bound to say that I am not one of those who wish to see a separation of Church and State, and no one more heartily concurs than I do in the spirit of the famous encyclical of Pope Gregory XVI.,* in which his Holiness condemned the views of the Abbé de la Mennais, who had asserted that a total severance of the Church from the State was the proper normal condition of the Christian Church.

We have already seen that the Divine Founder of Christianity commanded his Apostles to gather all nations into his fold; and that, therefore, the true Christian Church was to be identified with nations in their corporate and national capacity, while innumerable prophecies of Holy Writ foretell the great part which kings and queens are to play in upholding and propagating the religion of Jesus. "Kings shall be thy nursing fathers, and queens thy nursing mothers," was the pro-

* *Encyclical of Gregory XVI.*, A.D. 1832.

mise made of old to the Catholic Church, and ecclesiastical history from the very infancy of the Church records its fulfilment. Any theory, therefore, that contemplates the divorce of the Church from the State, contemplates, to my mind, either a contradiction to our Lord's own words, or at least a temporary deviation from their spirit, and a partial revolt of nations against the normal principle laid down by our Saviour; whilst that spirit of jealousy and mistrust that would as a matter of principle exclude the royal protectorship of the Church, expressly foretold as it is in the Word of God, appears to me nothing less than a direct insult to God Himself.

In laying this down, I am asserting nothing that would favour any undue encroachment on the part of the State over the independence of the Church within her own sphere of action, or any violation of her essential liberties; the boundary between the two domains, although often trespassed upon, has always been apparent for every one who acted in good faith, and who aimed at right and justice.

When Henry VIII. stepped beyond the limits which the Church had cheerfully recognized in his predecessors, he not only violated the common feeling of public right, which was universally held and acted upon throughout Christendom; but I think I shall not be saying more than every sober-minded statesman, whether Catholic or Protestant, would approve at the present day, when I assert that, in the full extent of his claim of spiritual supremacy over the Church, Henry asserted a principle which is now everywhere repudiated; and if our actual sovereign, Queen Victoria, still styles herself the Head of the Church in her dominions, she does so in a very different sense from that of her royal predecessor.

The truth is, however men may view the royal supremacy as a matter of theory, in its practical working at the present day in this kingdom, I do not see that it invests the Crown with any power beyond what is exer-

cised in all Catholic countries by their respective sovereigns with the full consent and approval of the Holy See. Queen Victoria selects and nominates the persons whom she believes to be the most qualified to occupy the episcopal sees of the Established Church. All the Catholic sovereigns do the same. It is true that in their case the Pope possesses a veto over the appointment, but only in the case of a canonical impediment; and so even is the English sovereign, *in theory at least*, fettered in his power of appointment. He cannot appoint a bishop who should be convicted of heresy by a competent court within the realm. Practically this limit may go for very little, but it exists in theory, and it might under certain circumstances operate as a real control.

Now it is quite clear that no reunion of Christendom could be effected, which would not involve some modification of the royal supremacy, so as to bring it here in England into harmony with what is now universally admitted in all other Catholic countries. And before this could be done, the sovereign of this country would have to weigh the advantages that would result from such a modification, with the assumed advantages connected with the supremacy as at present exercised.

Practically, I do not see what the Queen would give up; by a wise concordat with the Holy See, she would give to the National Church that right of self-government which she already acknowledges in every other corporation of the State, but she would in no degree abandon her own sovereign rights, or that royal protectorate which the Church has gladly recognized in temporal princes ever since the days of Constantine. Her Majesty would acknowledge in theory, as she now does in fact, that while she, and she alone, was the fountain of all temporal honour in the State, the bishops of the Church derived their mission and their spiritual jurisdiction from God, through the canonical institution of the successor of St. Peter, the supreme vicar of Our Lord on earth; whilst, on the other hand, a concordat with his Holiness might

acknowledge in her Majesty a full right to present to the episcopal sees according to the sacred canons.

In saying this, I am not presuming to dictate any course of action either to my august sovereign on the one hand, or to the sovereign pontiff of the Catholic Church on the other: God forbid! I am merely showing, with the most profound reverence for each of the parties concerned, that there is no insuperable obstacle in the way of an amicable adjustment between the existing prerogatives of the British crown and the spiritual rights of the Church, and that if the State made some concession on one side, it would gain infinitely more than it would lose, in the increased vitality and unity of the Church; and no wise statesman will deny that the unity and vitality of the Church would greatly conduce to the spread of religion and morality in the land, and that religion and morality are the natural foundations of every commonwealth.

This is a truth so obvious, and so universally admitted, that it would be a mere waste of time to insist upon it. But no one can deny that, if a reunion were brought about, we should at once see a fusion into one body of the members of the great national Established Church and of the members of the Roman Catholic Church, which, in their aggregate in the three kingdoms, are said to constitute nearly one-third of the entire population. Any statesman will see how great a numerical majority the National Church would then constitute, and although the dissenters would still remain in theory as they are, yet the moral force of dissent would be gone.

Every one who looks below the surface, will at once perceive that the true force of dissent lies in the abnormal separation of the National Church from the rest of Christendom. What the Church of England could do against authority which she had previously admitted, her children could equally do against herself. Hence no sooner had Elizabeth consummated the severance from the Holy See and the rest of the Catholic Church,

than her own subjects acted on the precedent, and the union of the National Church was broken by the secession of the Puritans. I need not dwell on the religious and political catastrophe that quickly followed; but if at the present day we do not feel all the evils that spring from religious disunion with all the same force that our ancestors felt when Charles I. lay bleeding on the scaffold, or when the peace of England was menaced by a disputed succession to the crown and a partial rebellion, yet we may still confess in our own measure and proportion, that England would be a far happier and far greater country, if to all its other advantages religious union could be added as a crowning benefit to give increased vitality to all the rest.

Our statesmen and our legislators know, what all men feel, that a sound and religious education is the one great want of the day; and they know how great an obstacle religious disunion presents in its way, so that the legislature, in order to meet it, in providing for this universally recognized want, has been compelled to make separate grants of public money on certain conditions to all the different denominations of Christians that chose to submit to those conditions. But in so doing, while offering a remedy for the prevalent ignorance and consequent immorality, the State is in fact prolonging the abnormal state of religious disunion, and so weakening the force of the religious principle itself, by augmenting the individual strength of each of the antagonists, that are labouring far more for the destruction of rival creeds, than for propagating sound morality or positive belief amongst all ranks of the community.

Meanwhile our statesmen will not deny that there is such a principle as infidelity abroad, working amongst our people and sapping the foundations of our social system. After the political convulsions of 1848, and the great European catastrophe that ensued, even though a temporary reaction may have succeeded, and though at this moment we may breathe with comparative security,

it would be madness in those who have the direction of our political affairs to neglect any means of social improvement; and what means could act more powerfully on its behalf than a restoration of religious union?

We may be again about to witness some fresh eruption of the fermenting elements that everywhere in Europe are giving tokens of renewed restlessness. The financial embarrassments of continental governments might easily precipitate a fresh outburst of the fiery volcano that is murmuring beneath the surface, and should the torrent once more break forth, who can tell to what limit it would extend its ravages? We have only to open the pages of such a periodical as the French *Correspondant** of this very month, to ascertain what one of the greatest statesmen and writers of France hesitates not to express in his too just apprehension of the prospects of the continent. With no less eloquence than sagacity, that eminent man prepares us for some terrible catastrophe. Nor does he stand alone in his apprehensions. Our own best writers on finance and political economy concur in the same gloomy forebodings, not indeed, I am thankful to say, for our own beloved country, but for others on the continent. And who can deny that an outburst there, now that we are so mixed up with continental policy and continental interests, would affect England also? and are there no smouldering embers even here, no jarring elements, to be rekindled or convulsed by the conflagration of our neighbours?

It is not for us to give a gloomy answer to such questions: but if it be wise to strengthen our national defences in the midst of peace, to provide for possible aggression at a future day, we may at least urge that whatever may tend to consolidate the moral and spiritual union of her Majesty's people is not beneath the attention of her statesmen. And what would more tend to

* *Correspondant, Mai,* 1857. *Des Appels comme d'Abus, par le Comte de Montalembert. Paris: Libraire de Charles Donniol.* 1857.

effect that object than a healing of our religious differences?

I will not dwell more at length upon this portion of my subject, but I will content myself with expressing my hope, that should the great question of religious unity be ever seriously entertained, neither the political nor the religious difficulties that stand in the way of its solution would prove insuperable.

With a good will on our side, and the grace of God from above, I for one believe that they will be surmounted.

(4.) *Political Advantages that would result from the Restoration of Unity.*

In treating of the political difficulties on the side of the State, standing in the way of the restoration of unity, I have already anticipated in great measure this part of my subject, which would enforce the political advantages that would result from its restoration. At the same time something may remain to be said upon this point.

It is notorious that, in all ages of the world, legislators have aimed at religious unity as a necessary element in every political constitution that pretended to approach a civilized standard, or to aim at endurance and stability. This is so true, that we find it to be the admitted principle of every political system that history has handed down to us; whether we turn to the Bible for the record of that civil polity which God of old communicated to His chosen people the descendants of Abraham, or whether we consult the more general traditions of the human race in the classical authors with which in our early youth we were familiarized. Whether amongst the true worshippers of the one true God, or amid the corruptions of primitive truth in the multiplied systems of heathen mythology, we equally find witness borne to this great fundamental principle, that the national pro-

fession of one religion is the surest and strongest foundation of the common weal.

Was this a prejudice, or was it founded upon a great truth originally given to man by his Creator? That it sprang from the latter source, that is from God Himself, who stamped it upon the common instinct of humanity, I believe may be deduced, not merely from the great fact of its universal recognition, but from what is perhaps more in harmony with the notions of the nineteenth century—from a philosophical and experimental demonstration of its fitness for securing human prosperity, and of the tremendous alternative that everywhere has been the issue of its rejection.

If it had pleased God to permit the working of the infidel principle always to continue in men's minds as it did in those of Bolingbroke or Voltaire, deadening the sense of right and wrong in the midst of gaiety and dissipation, searing the conscience indeed as with an iron, but only augmenting the sum of sensual pleasure, and turning the ridicule of corrupt men in triumphant sneers against the restraints and mortifications of the Gospel, there would perhaps be ground for misgiving to the advocate of Christian unity, not indeed from any consciousness of weakness on his side, but from an apprehension of the difficulty that lay in his way to persuade others to admit the force of what he urged. But when the nineteenth century was ushered in amid the horrors of anarchy, triumphant from its alliance with infidelity; when the abandonment of religion everywhere led to the destruction of all that men had ever valued; when property and privilege fell side by side, and altars and thrones in one dreadful ruin symbolized the overthrow of the whole social system, a solemn lesson was given to nations and to rulers, and if not accepted, they cannot at least plead ignorance of the penalty which its rejection entails. He who never permits evil in His creature, but to draw from it a greater good for that same creature, has at least now shown what the rulers of states should

aim at, if they wish for the continuance of their own safety, and for the welfare of those whom they govern.

We all know by what means in days of old the secular state upheld the religious system, to which it appealed as the supernatural sanction and foundation of the political edifice. Physical force in every case was invoked to the aid of the national belief. Whether we turn to the annals of true religion amongst the Jews, or of corrupted religion amongst the heathen, force was the last argument in support of the prevalent belief: and in a period of rude civilization, this appeal to force was a defence, rather than a violation, of the rights of conscience. Nevertheless it was not always so to be. In the fulness of time, when the law of Moses had accomplished its mission, that it should serve (as an inspired apostle expresses it) "as a schoolmaster to bring men to Christ," when the philosophical schools of Gentile civilization had fulfilled their purpose to witness to the great primitive truths handed down by the universal tradition of the human race and deeply fitted into the reason of mankind, while, by their blunders and their discordant theories, they confessed their own impotence to guide man to the great end of his creation, He whom the law foreshadowed, and the prophets had foretold, whom pagan oracles and Sibylline visions had dimly foreshadowed, and whom all nations desired, because all nations felt that they needed a Divine Teacher, at length appeared; and though from His cradle to His cross He chose for Himself a life of mortification, of poverty, and of suffering, He, with the infinite charity and loving benevolence of God, came to bestow upon His creatures, whose own nature He assumed, the largest amount of temporal happiness here below, and the promise of everlasting happiness when this life should be closed. How eagerly the human race listened to His voice, and to that of those whom He sent, history records; and ecclesiastical history, in recounting the successive annexation to His great society, the Church, of all the nations of the earth,

records the foundation and gradual formation of that civilized Christendom, in the midst of which we now find ourselves, and the broken unity of which we believe that it is the interest of all men, and especially of statesmen, to restore.

The history of every Christian nation bears witness to the zeal with which our Christian ancestors strove to uphold religious unity. The legislation of all Christendom in this respect was the same, and even when the protest of the sixteenth century had severed half Christendom from the unity of the Church, this principle was not abandoned in the legislation of Protestant countries. Religion, as they accepted it, was fenced in by them with the same legal penalties and safeguards as their Catholic ancestors had employed of old to uphold and defend that faith which they had inherited from the first preachers of the Gospel.

It would open a wide field for discussion, if I were to enter into the various arguments that have been advanced both for and against the employment of force in defence of religious truth. After all that I have ever been able to apprehend in reference to this important question, I confess that if on the one hand powerful arguments exist in favour of force, as the natural auxiliary of whatever is established by the universal consent, I am convinced on the other, that its employment, *if at least it extend to sanguinary punishment*, is very alien to the spirit of Christ and of the Christian Church; while I am persuaded that history proves its utter failure in upholding the vitality of Christian belief in the various Christian nations that have appealed to it for the preservation of unity.

And the reason for this conclusion is obvious; if Christianity has a political bearing, it is only as a secondary, although very important consequence of its fundamental principles. It leads men to think *first* of the things of God; it promises the temporal blessings, "*after which the heathen seek*" in common with

ourselves, as a conditional result and consequence of individual and national fidelity to its leading maxim.

Are, then, temporal rulers to be indifferent to truth, or to leave it entirely to its own resources? It has been the object of this whole essay to demonstrate the very opposite proposition. But is there no just medium between what so justly revolts all sound Christian minds at the present day in the atrocities of the Spanish Inquisition, or in our own fiery statute *de Hæretico Comburendo*, to say nothing of Protestant penal laws levelled against the professors of the ancient faith at a later period;—I ask, is there no just medium between such attempts as these on the part of the State to maintain religious union, and a total indifference to it?

I think there is. The State, in my opinion, should promote the cause of truth, by giving full liberty to all those who uphold its principles to carry them out to their legitimate consequences. In doing this at the present day, the question may well be asked, as it was by Pilate under the heathen Roman empire, "What is truth?" for now as then men's minds are so divided, and so distracted with doubts, that it is difficult to point to any country in which the government, that adequately represented the nation, could be found able distinctly to answer the question.

But notwithstanding this difficulty, and though, in the presence of such a mass of religious discord, it is clear that any government that would interfere between the various denominations would violate the first principles of sound policy, and, instead of promoting social harmony, would be laying the foundation of civil war, yet, admitting religious disunion to be an evil, it surely would not be contrary to sound policy to promote a mature and sober investigation into the possibility of a general reunion of all those who hold a positive belief. At least, it is clear, that any government that did not profess open infidelity, and that regarded religion as the only foundation of morality, must admit that some such

course would eventually tend to promote even the temporal welfare of the state.

How many evils would be removed if religious union could be restored! and in saying this, I am not referring to mere imaginary evils, or only to spiritual evils, and such as would be so termed by theologians. A man must be very blind indeed, very ignorant of history, if he overlook or underrate the social mischief that in all ages has resulted from religious differences. How many evils, even in our own times, have we ourselves seen resulting from this very source! Was it no evil that for many years before the final settlement of the question of Catholic emancipation, one half of the empire was kept in a constant state of irritation and agitation;—that many millions of the subjects of the British crown should feel that they had no bitterer enemy than the very government to which they would naturally have looked up as their protector, but which practically had no relation with them but that of a pitiless oppressor? Was it no evil that the enemies of the British crown could feel that a system of policy was pursued under its sanction, that alienated the affections, if not the loyalty, of one-third of its subjects? And what but religious difference was the source and foundation of such an infatuated policy? Catholic emancipation, it is true, was at length conceded, but not till it was wrung from the fears of the British Government, while religious disunion still remained unhealed, and eating like a cancer into the social system. But did Catholic emancipation satisfy the Catholic subjects of the British crown? or did it quell the animosity and the jealousy of the ultra-Protestant party? Assuredly neither the one nor the other! Catholic emancipation has done something to redress the wrongs of Catholics, but not everything. It has still left the endowments of the Church in Ireland, originally granted for the maintenance of the Catholic faith, and the support of Catholic charities, in the hands of a small ultra-Protestant minority, whose religion still

wields an invidious and odious ascendancy over that of the overwhelming majority of the Irish nation. While that anomalous and unjust state of things continues, Ireland will ever constitute the chief difficulty of the Imperial Government, whatever party may direct the counsels of the sovereign. Is this no evil? and would it be no advantage if this could be removed by a legitimate union between the Anglican and the Catholic Churches? Again, look to the periodical displays of insane bigotry, that, session after session of the British Parliament, disgrace not only our houses of legislature, but the public meetings of our metropolis. Year after year, men are to be found with that lack of political wisdom, that deficiency of a sense of justice or of sound logic, as to be capable of threatening to violate the existing settlement of vested interests and pledged endowments by continued onslaughts on that paltry concession to Catholic Ireland—the Maynooth Grant; or by some wretched endeavour to violate the liberties and the domestic privacy of Catholic sisterhoods, regardless that they are the abodes of some of the noblest-born ladies of this empire. Do ultra-Protestants imagine that her Majesty's Catholic subjects neither feel nor resent such continued acts of insult and injustice? or do our statesmen think it wise that a few fools and bigots should be able thus annually to tamper with the loyalty of one-third of her Majesty's subjects?* And yet, while our existing

* It appears from the most accurate statistics, that in Great Britain and Ireland alone the Catholic subjects of the British crown amount to no less than one-third of the entire population, while in the colonies the proportion of Catholics is larger still: in Canada we all know that the Established Church of the country is Catholic, and the overwhelming majority of the people belong to that faith. In the West Indies, at the Cape of Good Hope, in the Mauritius, in the vast peninsula of India, the majority of the Christian population is said to be Catholic. In Australia the Catholics have an archbishop and seven bishops, all of whom are maintained at the cost of the British Government. In Malta and the Ionian Islands the whole native population is Catholic, of either the Greek or Latin rites. In

religious differences remain unhealed, this folly on the one side, and this danger for the State on the other, must continue also. Or will it be said, that the wide spirit of charity inculcated by what is sometimes called the *Broad-Church* section of ultra-Protestantism, may, by the proclamation of universal compromise, effect a truce between theological antagonists, and so practically effect as close a system of political union as could result even from a reunion of Christians in a profession of definite belief?

This has been said, and I have heard it urged with all the vehemence of undoubting conviction; but unluckily for this theory, while I am now writing, its hollowness, its shallowness, its pretentious falsehood, is at once demonstrated. You have a Broad-Church bishop acting in the metropolis itself, and close under the eye of the Government—a man known as the disciple of Arnold, and supposed to personify the policy of compromise—and what does he do to heal the bitterness of religious strife, and to inaugurate the triumph of his boasted principle? He visits (so I see it reported in the London journals), in company with some turbulent dissenter, the beautiful churches which were raised by Anglo-Catholic zeal, and thankfully consecrated by his predecessor; and scorning the feelings of consistent and conscientious members of his own Church, setting at naught even the permissions of the law, he orders the cross to be removed from Christian temples, and applies insulting epithets to the solemn worship performed within their precincts; he rakes up the old odious epithets of "Popish" and "superstitious" (if, at least, I may believe the statements of the public journals), and he proves the breadth of his Broad-Church charity and the width of his wisdom

fine the reader will perhaps be surprised when he hears that, subject to the imperial sceptre of Queen Victoria, the Catholic Church numbers no fewer than eighty episcopal sees, very nearly as many as in the French empire.

by an arbitrary display of intolerant authority.* How his conduct will be received in his own communion, it is not my province to inquire; but one thing I will tell him as a Catholic, that his use of the epithet *Popish* will not be easily either forgotten or forgiven by nine millions of her Majesty's subjects. Let Lord Palmerston place the Church of England under the direction of Lord Shaftesbury, if he pleases, and let him try to bolster up the waning fortunes of his precarious administration by sacrificing the peace of the National Church to the conflicting and contradictory theories of Broad-Church unbelievers, and of Low-Church impugners of the principles of Anglicanism, he will at least have rendered one service to the cause of ultimate reunion; he will have shown how powerless is any other measure to allay the bitterness of polemical strife, or to produce even the semblance of peace.

But there is another evil that more perhaps than any other affects society at the present moment, the direct consequence of our religious differences, and which nothing but a reconciliation of Christians can heal; I mean the impossibility, on any other principle, of establishing a sound system of national education. The legislature indeed strives to meet the evil, by aiding all to educate in their respective systems of religious belief. The State is wise in doing so, it is the only way of meeting the circumstances of the case at the present moment; but at the same time it must be acknowledged that such a policy amounts to a profession of practical indifference (on the part of the State) to the distinction

* At the same time that the public press records this enlightened and Christian crusade of the Broad-Church Bishop of London against the symbol of human redemption, we witness an address of fraternal sympathy from other members of the Broad-Church party to "their Lutheran *brethren*" at Berlin. Have they forgotten that Lutherans retain not only the cross, but the crucifix in their churches? and that if the Bishop of London were to enter any one of their temples, he would find something still more *popish* (to use his own word) than anything in St. Barnabas's or St. Paul's?

between truth and error, and sooner or later the effects of such a policy will be felt in the growth of scepticism in the minds of public men, and in the general weakening of the religious principle. But even this evil, gigantic as it is, would be annihilated by the restoration of religious unity.

It would carry me beyond the limits of an essay like this, if I were to dwell at greater length on this part of my subject; but I have said enough to point out some of the evils that actually exist, and how the reunion which I advocate would tend to heal them, and the great political advantage that would thereby ensue to the commonwealth. Let us therefore turn to the last point of my subject.

(5.) *Religious Advantages that would result from the Restoration of Unity.*

In looking forwards to the religious advantages that might reasonably be expected to flow from the reunion of the National Church of England with the rest of Christendom, it would seem almost superfluous for me to assure my readers that the union I contemplate, and which alone I advocate, involves no sacrifice of truth, no compromise of principle; but that it is a union resulting from the most mature discussion of all our differences, and a deliberate adoption of one definite standard of orthodox belief. Any union that was based on compromise would assuredly fail of its purpose. It would come to nothing if attempted, and even the attempt to effect it would break down under the weight of its own intrinsic absurdity. Mosheim, who, in his "Ecclesiastical History," records the efforts of Archbishop Wake to promote a union between the English and Gallican Churches, tells us of other schemes also that failed; such as that of one John Dury, known sometimes by his Latin name Duræus, a Scotchman, who thought of reuniting the Protestant communities, and who induced Arch-

bishop Laud to write for him a kind of circular to Protestant pastors;* and we read of another, George Calixtus, who followed a similar course, but never effected anything. But such failures were natural, for all these schemes were based on a wrong principle; they were like something which we have witnessed in our own day,—the attempt of the late King of Prussia to make a fusion between the Lutherans and Calvinists in that kingdom, a scheme which appears to have done more for scepticism than for religious union; or like another scheme, in which our own Government was induced to take a part,—the establishment of an Anglo-Prussian Protestant bishopric at Jerusalem, in which Anglicanism and Lutheranism were to take it in turns; or like some German churches, which I have visited in my travels on the continent, in which the bewildered stranger may witness at one hour the celebration of Catholic High Mass, at another the Lutheran rite of the Lord's Supper, and then the Calvinistic denial of the two former!

Such schemes as these are not what I contemplate.

What I believe to be possible, and what I look forward to as fraught with unspeakable blessings for mankind, would be a union such as that which was undertaken and effected by the Council of Florence between the Greek and Latin Churches,—a union which, as the learned Pitzipios has triumphantly established in a work I have frequently appealed to, has never since been broken, at least by any formal act of either of those great divisions of the Christian world, which, therefore, still subsists *de jure*, and may at any moment be restored *de facto*. And here let me urge upon my friends of the Anglican Church who are desirous of union, that, in my humble judgment, if they would establish a solid work, they would do well to examine the rules of the Oriental Society for the Restoration of Unity, which the learned Greek author Pitzipios has founded under the express

* Mosheim, vol. v. p. 277.

sanction of the reigning Pope. I have written to Paris for a copy of its rules; but, unfortunately, I have not yet received them. As soon as they arrive, I will endeavour to make them known to my readers through the columns of the *Union* newspaper. In my opinion, it would greatly conduce to the success of our great cause, if some of the most learned divines of the Anglican Church could meet at Paris some of the most learned of the Greek and Latin theologians, and in concert with them lay down certain preliminaries that might serve as a basis for further operations. I have said *at Paris*, simply because that city is the head-quarters of the Oriental Society already established by the Pope to effect the general reunion of Christendom, and because Paris is nearer to ourselves than Rome would be, and because it is the great centre of European politics and European civilization. Now, in proposing this suggestion, I am quite aware that nothing ought to be done in a hurry, and that, if ever there was a question in reference to which every step ought to be taken with the utmost caution, it is the one we are discussing. For union to be lasting, every least point must be maturely weighed, and a perfect consent arrived at, not only by the ecclesiastical superiors on all sides, but also, let me emphatically add, by the secular powers of Christendom also. Nothing good can be brought about without the approval and consent of the three greatest sovereigns of the world, —the Emperor of Russia, the Emperor of France, and the Queen of Great Britain; * and, on the other hand, nothing must be done without the knowledge and ap-

* In reference to this assertion, I would refer my readers to a most interesting and able work, that has lately been published at Paris, by a Russian Prince, who some years ago became a member of the illustrious Society of Jesus; the main object of the work being to promote a corporate reunion between the Russian Church and the great centre of Catholicism. The work itself is entitled, "*La Russie sera-t-elle Catholique? Par le Père J. Gagarin, de la Compagnie de Jésus. Paris: Charles Donniol.* 1856."

proval of him whom all Christendom practically acknowledges as the great head of the Christian Church, our Holy Father Pope Pius the Ninth.

My own conviction is that a preliminary meeting at Paris, of divines of the three great communions, would probably lead to what might end in the calling of an œcumenical council. In my opinion, nothing but an œcumenical council can possibly heal our differences and restore that unity for which we are all sighing, and which alone can heal the disorders of the body politic throughout the civilized earth; and when I say the civilized earth, let it be borne in mind that the whole universe is being rapidly absorbed within the control of the civilized states.

Should the Christian princes, who are now by God's mercy united in a general peace, agree with our Holy Father the Pope, that a general council might be summoned for the restoration of religious unity, how glorious would be the result! Never was there a period in the history of Christendom more favourable for the successful issue of such an enterprise. The narrow prejudices of national feeling were never so powerless as at the present moment. The unprecedented intercourse of all nations with one another has tended to create a just appreciation of all that is good in each, while the continued interchange of kindness and hospitality has weakened old animosities and jealousies, making men remember, what Christianity had never ceased to inculcate, and what Christians ought never to have forgotten, that all mankind are brethren, children of a common Father, servants of the same God, and redeemed by the blood of the same Saviour; unity and fraternity are the very cry of the day, and although in the mouth of the socialist and the red republican they assuredly mean something very different from what they symbolize in the mind of a Christian, yet even when uttered by the most frantic disciple of anarchy, they attest a deep and growing feeling, and express the utterance of that *vox populi*, which all philosophy regards as prophetic,

and the infallible harbinger of a divine visitation. On the other hand, our railways and our steamboats have annihilated distance; so that in a few days Paris or Rome might behold the meeting of the most august and venerable assembly that ever was held upon earth. What weighty subjects would be discussed! not only the religious, but the political problems of the day might be solved, and with religious unity, the blessing of universal peace might be secured. The predictions of prophets, the visions of poets, and the unceasing cry of suffering humanity, would at last be realized and redressed, in the possession of that pearl of great price, the revealed truth of God, proclaimed by Jesus Christ, taught by the Apostles, and handed down in all ages by their successors in the Christian ministry, the bishops of the Universal Church. Doubt and discord would disappear, faith would triumph over error; with the universal diffusion of true religion, the political condition of mankind would be everywhere established on a solid and equitable principle; the arts and sciences would attain a perfection that even we can scarcely imagine; and the human race would know and understand what was the meaning of that great promise made so many thousand years ago to Abraham: "*In thee and in thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed.*"

To this sublime state of things do I firmly believe that God's good providence is conducting the whole human race. If it is not to be ushered in and established in our own day, at least we may prepare the way for it; and if God should call us hence before its arrival, it will more than repay all our labours to think and believe that we have done our part to effect it, and that we can hope to bequeath its attainment to the children we love, and who, when we are gone, will not fail to bless and cherish our memory.

Let no man say that it is visionary to anticipate such a result. Even the infidel looks forward to a political millennium; but we Christians have "*a more sure word of*

prophecy," to which an inspired apostle reminds us that "*we do well to give heed.*"* We know that our Divine Founder prayed to His Father, that in the end all His followers might be brought to perfect unity, for what unity could be more perfect than that to which He referred as its type, "*even as He and the Father were one?*"† And that this unity was to be attained on earth, and not merely in the next life, He showed by what He added, "*that all men might believe that the Father had sent Him;*"† that is, that all ground for doubt and infidelity might be removed from mankind. Knowing, then, that our Lord prayed for this great and inestimable blessing, and remembering that other saying of His—"Heaven and earth shall pass away, but My word shall not fail,"—we may look with confidence to the fulfilment of what still remains to be accomplished, arguing from what has been already fulfilled that the remainder also will surely come to pass.‡

* 2*nd Epistle of the Apostle Peter*, chap. i., v. 19.

† *St. John's Gospel*, chap. xvii., v. 21.

‡ The writer would here commend to the notice of his readers a short treatise of the great St. Augustine, entitled "*De Fide Rerum quæ non videntur.*" It is one of the most masterly things that great man ever wrote; and the writer of this essay firmly believes that no sincere man could read that short treatise and remain an unbeliever. It is published in the beginning of the twenty-sixth volume of St. Augustine's Works, edited by Caillau at Paris in 1839.

APPENDIX.

In this brief treatise I have chiefly dwelt on the restoration of unity as viewed from the Anglican side of the question, and therefore I have dwelt rather on Anglican *theories and principles*, as furnishing a solid basis for its re-establishment, than on the many most consoling facts connected with that communion, and which practically afford so strong an argument for the probability of its realization. But I cannot conclude without appending a very remarkable circumstance. I was travelling twenty years ago into Wales, and passing the night in a town on the road, I inquired in the morning whether there was a chapel where I could hear mass; on ascertaining that there was, I went, heard mass, and after mass, the priest having shown me his chapel, and all that he had that was curious and interesting, our conversation turned on the chances whether England would ever again be Catholic. The good priest said with much earnestness that he believed it would. And he added a most remarkable history that tended to confirm his opinion. About a hundred and fifty years before that time there was a saintly Catholic gardener in that very town, who was a man of extraordinary virtue and prayer; indeed his life was one continued prayer, and next to his own sanctification no object occupied so prominent a place in his multiplied petitions to the throne of grace, as the return of his own dear country England to the unity of the Catholic Church. One morning, three years before his happy death, he had received the holy communion, and all at once he was rapt in spirit, and Jesus, whom in the sacrament of His love he had just received, manifested Himself to His humble servant, and with a sweet and gracious aspect said to him, "My son, I have heard your prayer so often poured out before me; I will have mercy upon England." At these words, the poor gardener, overwhelmed with gratitude, exclaimed: "When, Lord, oh! when?" "Not now," replied our Saviour; "but when England shall build as many churches as she destroyed at the change of religion, and when she shall restore and beautify the remainder."

This history was related to me by this pious priest in 1837, and he added, "Do we not see the first part of this prophecy in a fair way towards accomplishment?"

I must confess that the history of the Anglican Church during this century affords a most wonderful and unexpected fulfilment of the mysterious words heard a hundred and fifty years before in the vision of this poor gardener. Compare with it what an Anglican friend, who is devoting himself to the restoration of Catholic unity, writes me word:

"About three thousand churches have, more or less perfectly, been restored, while nearly two thousand new churches have been built in Great Britain since the commencement of this century. A new and sumptuous Cathedral has been erected in honour of the glorious S. Ninian at Perth in Scotland. The ancient cathedral churches of Ely, Wells, Llandaff, and Oxford, have been well and thoroughly restored; while, as at Canterbury, York, and others of our ancient sees, magnificent restorations are still in progress. Nor has the return to Catholic ideas been manifested merely in material restorations. On principles quite similar to those laid down by the Council of Trent, which urged all bishops to establish diocesan seminaries, for the training of young Levites to serve the altar, four of our bishops have established seminaries for their young clergy: at Cuddesdon, for the diocese of Oxford; at Wells; at Lichfield; and at Chichester. A restoration of conventual institutions has also commenced, and at this moment there are no less than twenty sisterhoods in the Church of England."

This is what my Anglican friend communicated to me only three days ago: if there is not a mysterious relation between the facts he relates and the prediction I heard twenty years ago, let the objector tell me, why not?

I can only say, what I believe, "*that the finger of God is here.*"

PROPOSALS

FOR

CHRISTIAN UNION.

BY

A MEMBER OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

LONDON:
AYLOTT AND JONES, 8 PATERNOSTER ROW.
Price Sixpence.

LONDON:
PRINTED BY GEORGE BARCLAY, CASTLE STREET,
LEICESTER SQUARE.

ADVERTISEMENT.

This little Pamphlet is only designed to open the subject on which it treats. It is written with a sincere desire to do good, and promote the cause of peace and charity; and as such is respectfully commended to the indulgent consideration of the reader.

PROPOSALS,

&c.

They who are labouring in the Lord's vineyard, in whatsoever portion thereof their lot may be cast, have, and to a great extent it is right that they should have, their attention so closely fixed on their own duties and occupations as not to allow of their thinking much of any thing else. At times the absence of union among the disciples of the same Lord is felt and spoken of, but the thought is soon dismissed, and the evils of disunion, however much deplored as repugnant to the first principles of the Gospel, are regarded as irremediable: but they who are not thus actively engaged, in directing their minds to the subject of Christian Union, as the great end of the Saviour's only recorded intercessory prayer, cannot but be painfully affected, both by the divisions which prevail and by the many evils which are their natural and necessary fruits.

Familiarised now these thirty years and more with the blessings of international peace, we deprecate war; we think with shame and horror of the waste of blood and treasure which it involves; but, unhappily, during these three centuries past, no intermission of party animosities has taught us the blessings of religious peace: we have no ready statistics to calculate the heavy and grievous losses sustained by this most baneful warfare; we turn with thoughts of sadness from the mangled bodies of the slain on the battle-field, and yet go unconcernedly on, while through our wretched dissensions immortal souls are perishing around us.

Look at the question morally; see how disunion has obscured and suppressed truth. It has been proved by convincing evidence, that there is not one among our standard Protestant historians who can be depended upon for his statement of any circumstance that happened before the Reformation. They, one and all, disregarded and disdained the original sources of knowledge—the monastic writers; and they were safe in their wilful ignorance, for they wrote for generations as indifferent as themselves. It has been made out to the satisfaction of men of science and philanthropy, that we ourselves are much more in the dark on many subjects of true Christian interest than were the ages commonly so called; that, not in ecclesiastical architecture alone, in which we are confessedly inferior,

but also in many useful arts, in domestic virtues, in care and protection of the poor, in the conception, realization, and comprehensive carrying out of the principles of the Gospel, we must be content to sit at the feet, and learn as humble disciples from our rude forefathers, who accomplished more while contending against the difficulties of an imperfect, than we have been able to effect with all the aids of an almost perfect civilisation.

Look at the question socially; consider the ingenious cruelty of those penal laws which afflicted the consciences, benumbed the minds, and for so many generations made the lives of thousands of virtuous citizens aimless, lost to their country and themselves. It is true that the good sense of the people has at length consigned these laws to oblivion, rendered them inoperative and obsolete; but, obsolete as they are, rather than see them repealed, some good men and true, enlightened statesmen and amiable prelates, have been found to defend them and demand their preservation, expecting that at some, be it far-distant day, even from their ashes may revive their wonted fires. Consider also this, that even when unjust laws are expunged from the statute-book, how hard is it, in such a state of things as now exists, to replace them by the law of kindness! how much is there of religious, say rather, irreligious rancour, cherished and brooded over by each in the deep of his

heart, and ready to be called into action when occasion may offer, which no legislation can reach or provide against! how many scenes of suffering, of alienation and enmities, of hardships and oppression, are enacted under the domestic roof, all to be traced to the one fatal fountain — Christian disunion!

Look at the question spiritually; why, it comes to this, that we are really better off, really in a more satisfactory and hopeful way in times of religious apathy, than we are in times of religious activity: the few kind-hearted, energetic Christians, who are always to be found at all times, can go about quietly and do something in the former state, whilst nothing can be done in the latter. Instead of one uniform system, skilfully adjusted and working steadily towards its great end — to make men good and holy here, that they may be happy hereafter, we have a number of opposing systems, each perhaps excellent in itself, each the fruit of patient, conscientious care and study, each directed to the best objects and guided by the most benevolent will, but every one differing from the rest, and consequently all neutralising one another; so that the amazed and perplexed spectator, in the conflict of principles which rages around him, has a striking passage, applicable to a widely different condition, fixed upon his thoughts, which, speaking sorrowfully, says, "Woe unto them that call evil good,

and good evil; that put darkness for light, and light for darkness; that put bitter for sweet, and sweet for bitter!"

At this present time, the noblest work to which the government of a great country can address itself, the Education of the People, is in danger of coming to nothing from this only cause, Christian disunion and the jealousies thereby engendered. What is the remedy? That is more easily named than the means of attainment pointed out, and these last are as nothing when compared with the difficulty of bringing men to the cheerful use of those means. The remedy is Christian Unity; the means, the fixing on some existing system of religion, and merging our lesser differences in the adoption of that system. But which shall it be? Shall the Kirk of Scotland become our standard, the system elaborated by the sturdy, hard-headed, devout disciples of John Knox? Shall they, who reverence so deeply the Word of God—honour be to them for it!—that they must always understand that word in its literal, which is not invariably its true, sense? Shall the Independents, the Baptists, the Friends, the Wesleyans, the United Brethren, in their old associations or new off-shoots,—shall one or other of these become our model? In each, more perfectly perhaps than any where else, may be found some one feature of the Divine image, but not more than one. Shall the National Church of

England be our rallying point, great and majestic as she is, with the *prestige* of a mighty empire around her? Her very title is fatal to her pretensions. The spiritual kingdom of Jesus Christ is not of this world, knows nothing of national churches. The characteristic of that kingdom is to be in every country, and yet, properly speaking, to belong to none; to be (paradoxical as this may sound) everywhere united to, yet separate from, the temporal power; to have its own laws, its own officers, its own representative assemblies, its own supreme head; possessing, it may be, some portion of this world's goods, ruling over an earthly territory, but honoured, reverenced, obeyed, throughout all Christian lands: not on this account, but as the successor of the Apostles, the viceroy of Christ. The system which has most of these marks is that which approaches nearest to the Gospel model, is the only system which, with any real chance of Christian Union in an enlarged sense, can be proposed for our adoption.

And now I seem to myself to be very nearly, if not quite, in the position of one of whom we read in sacred story, who, having spoken long on distasteful themes to a dissatisfied and restless auditory—who, nevertheless, were by a strong effort able to keep their feelings down—when he uttered one fatal word was instantly silenced by the incensed crowd, who "lifted up their voices, and said, Away

with such a fellow from the earth : for it is not fit that he should live!" A like reception do I predict for myself, when I utter the word Rome, when I declare it to be the conviction of my conscience that the only remedy for our unholy dissensions, the only hope of healing the wounds of distempered Christendom, is *reconciliation with the Roman Church.* I say advisedly, reconciliation with, not submission to : between these there is a great difference.

By men of extreme views, such a proposition will be rejected with scorn. The rigid Catholic, who sees in the conversion of a few learned men and their immediate followers the first-fruits of all England soon to return to the unity of the faith—who already looks forward to, and speaks of as no remote probability, the celebration of high mass in Westminster Abbey—whose pious fancy pictures clouds of incense ascending to its vaulted roof, and, as of old, processions of white-robed priests with cross and banner threading its long-drawn aisles—he will spurn the thought of any thing short of absolute, unconditional surrender. The earnest-minded Evangelical, to whom Rome is still the only key to the Babylon of the Revelation, the infallible interpretation of the Second Epistle to the Thessalonians, who treasures up as words of truth and soberness the coarse invectives and oft-refuted

calumnies that resounded from the pulpits in the reigns of Edward and Elizabeth, he will stand aghast at the bare idea. The zealous Anglican, to whom belongs the exclusive merit of having struck out the theory of a Church, National while it disowns obedience to the crown, and Catholic while it denies the primacy of St. Peter, and who now, buoyant with hope, is poising himself on the needlepoint of his subtle conception,—he, most assuredly, will condemn and denounce the project.

But, happily, the great body of Christians are not composed of men holding extreme views. There are, who listening to the Christmas Hymn chanted first by angel voices, "Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good-will towards men," and, pondering on these heavenly strains, sorrow that the world should shew no peace nor good-will like this. There are, who hearing those divine words, "There is one body, and one Spirit, even as ye are called in one hope of your calling; one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all, who is above all, and through all, and in you all," think it hard that these words should sound in their ears so hollow and unreal as they do. There are, on whose minds in the silence of cloistered retreats, or in calm Nature's sequestered scenes, have flashed bright thoughts of a holy and happy re-

union, as one, a poet of our own, has sung in immortal verse:—

> "Speak gently of our sister's fall:
> Who knows, but gentle love
> May win her, at our patient call,
> The surer way to prove!"

There are, who in their pensive walks have come suddenly on some retired village, scarcely numbering a hundred in its clustered cottages, yet so small, so hidden, bearing witness to a divided faith in altar erected against altar; and as they have stood within the churchyard fence, near the mound on which, in old time, the cross was raised, and looked thence on the defaced tombs and neglected precincts of the sanctuary, and on to the tottering, shattered habitations, that told so much of squalid wretchedness within, have wished the old days back again, when deep conviction of present communion with the departed dead made the spot where their bodies rested a reverent care, when the shaft stood upright on its ruined pedestal, and none passed by but bared the head or dropped a courtesy, not to the lifeless stone, but to Him who made that badge of shame the ensign of glory; when that cross, seen from every surrounding spot meeting the villager's eye, spoke peace to the aged, meekness to the sufferer, comfort to the mourner, patience to the sick, strength to the young, obedience to the poor, charity to the rich—which, as it reflected the

rays of the rising or setting sun, seemed — meet emblem of the Sun of righteousness!—to diffuse his genial and hallowed influences around. There are, even among the deeply learned, masters in debate and controversy, to whom almost, as it were, in despite of themselves, at times refreshing thoughts of peace and union will come; and these, as if obeying some mysterious moral law, turn ever to the selfsame point, as though the alienation which had been growing and deepening, year after year, should never be permitted to root out utterly the old affection, that cherished still a faint, yet sweet remembrance, of our once united worship and common altars.

Permit me now to take note of some popular objections, which are usually alleged so often as the subject of reconciliation is mooted, and which are by many considered insurmountably decisive against the proposition.

The first objection on which I shall touch is that expressed by the phrase, "private judgment." When the idea crosses our minds, and we reflect upon it, we can scarcely fail in being struck with the analogy that exists between man as a social being in social communion, and as a spiritual being in spiritual communion. View him in the former condition. In a state of nature, man possesses freedom; he can think, speak, and act, as he pleases: but as one is, so are all; and unless they

think, speak, and act alike (an accordance not to be expected), each will find his theoretical freedom in practice a very precarious and inconvenient possession. He will, therefore, be very ready to pass into the artificial state of society, in which it is not true that he loses his freedom, but he trades with it,—he barters it away for its full marketable value, he exchanges an uncertain liberty for a certain security for his person and possessions; and the more civilised society becomes, the more the superior value of the commodity received in exchange is ascertained, the more readily will persons be found to part with their freedom: so that it comes to pass, not from the violent effects of a crushing despotism, but with the cheerful assent of rational conviction, that the notion of law supersedes the notion of right. Under the best system of government, a person does not accustom himself to speak of that which he has a right to, but of that which the law gives him. There is nothing in our free constitution which strikes foreigners with more astonishment, inspires them with greater respect, than the universal deference paid to the law in this country—its majesty is recognised in the person of the humblest of its functionaries. Yet, in a fretful or captious humour, it is very easy to persuade ourselves that harsh and vexatious restraints are imposed upon us.

Take an example or two. I have money; I

buy with it a piece of land, and I propose to build a house thereon. Surely, I say to myself, I may build as I like with my own money on my own land! No, the law says, you shall not build as you like—you shall build as I require. No sooner have I commenced operations, than the law sends a surveyor to see what I am about. My walls must be of a certain prescribed thickness, more particularly if party-walls. My chimneys must be of a certain make and diameter; and so on. Again, I commence business—I deal in excisable articles. I say to myself, I may do as I like in my own house, with my own capital! The law spoils my dream of independence—it subjects me to a domiciliary visit from its own officer, appointed for the especial purpose, whenever he may think good to come. Again, I have a friend in a distant part of the country, with whom I have occasion to correspond on some question of great importance: I may at least send my letter in my own way! Here the law interposes afresh, prescribes to me its own channel of communication, and forbids me, under a penalty, from employing any other. An individual, when the case is his own, may think this hard, but when it is the case of another he sees it to be perfectly right,—that it is best in the end,—that it is for the advantage of the community; and where all gain, each are gainers in their proportion.

Now turn to the latter condition. What free-

dom of action is in the social, the same is freedom of thought or private judgment in the spiritual communion; only that which Society has acquired by successive agreements, the Church holds by a certain divine grant. She has her deposit, tradition; be it written or oral, it is something transmitted—handed down through successive generations. Turn it which way you will, look at it in whatever point of view you like, after all, the Church's deposit is tradition. In that are contained her principles; she has her own laws, judges, representative assemblies, supreme head. She, in her discretion, imposes restraints on freedom of thought, just as Society does on freedom of action. In the one case, being that in which we have thought on the matter a great deal, we acknowledge the restraint to be very right; in the other, in which we have never allowed ourselves to reflect on the matter at all, we call the restraint very wrong: yet the latter may be quite as justifiable, quite as beneficial, as the former.

Here, also, an illustration offers itself. The sacred volume of the New Testament comprises two distinct portions, the one containing the life, words, and actions of the Divine Founder of our religion, written in a plain and simple manner, so that he who runs may read, whence the unlettered man may, from the lips of the Saviour himself, learn, without confusion or perplexity, the whole duty of

man—what he must do to be saved; the other portion, embracing chiefly the epistles addressed to various churches of an eminent servant and chosen apostle of the Lord, in whose writings, however, on the testimony of another equally distinguished, and himself inspired, apostle, "there are many things hard to be understood, which they that are unlearned and unstable wrest, as they do also the other Scriptures, to their own destruction." Now, supposing the Church were to do as she has done, say in her discretion to her members,—"I will not give you the whole volume to read just as it stands, but I will select that which I think suited for general use, and I will reserve the remainder for those whom I consider, by their ability, or learning, or position in which they may be placed, or duties which they may be called upon to perform, qualified to study them with advantage;" the restraint here alluded to has furnished these centuries the theme for angry declamation, the echoes of which seem as if they would never die away. But now go on and see what has followed. Before the Reformation, Christians in this country were familiar with the practical; since, they have almost exclusively studied the controversial portions of Holy Scripture. Compare the results. Under which system will most of the fruits of true religion be found—of that religion whose blessed part it is "to visit the fatherless and widows in their affliction, and to keep our-

selves unspotted from the world?" You must not fly from the question, and talk of the disorders of society in those times, of tyrannical princes, oppressive nobles, bad laws, commercial monopolies, wars of succession, brave barons manufactured into inefficient prelates; nor will you, if you are wise: because the worse you make out the times to have been, the more honour you put upon those who overcame the times. But I ask you, Under which system have the great ends of the Gospel been most consulted?—under which shall we find the interests of the mass of which society is composed, the poor, the artificer, the agricultural labourer, to have been deepest considered?—under which system have men strove hardest to mitigate the sufferings of their fellow-creatures, "to preach good tidings to the meek, to bind up the broken-hearted, to proclaim liberty to the captives, the opening of the prison to them that are bound; to proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord, to comfort all that mourn?"—under which system has there been less false shame, less of that haughty, supercilious indifference from the upper towards the lower classes, as if they were not made of the same flesh and blood with themselves?—under which system were really kings the nursing fathers, and queens the nursing mothers, of the Church, in that they were well pleased to lay aside their crowns and state, and go to the humble cottage, and watch beside the

aged, the sick, the infected, and the dying, and without a thought of pride in their hearts, but persuaded that they were ministering to Christ in the least of his brethren, perform the most servile and trying offices?—under which system shall we find theories of political economy chasing each other in rapid and profitless succession, making confusion worse confounded?—and under which shall we find one pure, lofty, comprehensive body of Christian ethics, adapted to every emergency, felt and acted upon every where, without hesitation and without anxiety? Is it too much to venture to question, whether the restriction which we have been wont to characterise as the most odious of oppressions may have been so bad after all? whether it may not have been dictated by a sound, wise, just, salutary discretion?

I have endeavoured to shew that the theory of private judgment is really untenable, but we Protestants assert it in its broadest extent,—at least, we think that we do. Let us see whether this be really so. Whenever a religious society imposes terms of communion, then the principle of private judgment is given up; it does not signify what the terms of communion are, or how many, the cession of a principle does not admit of less or more—one condition enforced is as fatal to it as a thousand. The Church of England has her terms of communion, consequently, by the Church of England

the principle of private judgment is given up. The Presbyterians, Independents, Baptists, Friends, Wesleyans, United Brethren, &c., have all, more or less, terms of communion. Therefore, in all these the principle of private judgment is given up. Now conceive, if you can, a society of Christians without any terms of communion at all. Such a society could not go on for a day. It would have no property of coherence — it would, besides, stand out in glaring contradiction to the great Christian notion of believers being members of one body, which tends to shew, that as in practice the principle of private judgment cannot be maintained, so in theory was it never intended to be maintained in the spiritual society. Hence, when a person reasons after this manner, — "I cannot consent to reconciliation with Rome, because by so doing I am surrendering the inalienable right of private judgment," his reasoning is fallacious. He has, if he belong to any Christian society whatever, given up the principle of private judgment already long before; the right, which he calls inalienable, has been alienated years since — there is no question of principle at stake at all — it is simply a question of degree. Are the terms of communion which the Church of Rome offers such as I can, with a safe conscience, accept? Does it, or no, ask too much? Into the consideration of degree I will not enter; it is enough to have shewn, that that for which men

will always contend so fiercely has no existence here: the difference between Protestants and Catholics, so far as private judgment is concerned, is not a question of principle.

I will go on to speak of another popular objection, — the Invocation of Saints. One cannot help thinking that upon this subject great misconceptions prevail, yet to remove them to any appreciable extent seems almost a hopeless task, the reasoning of Protestants on this point is so very strong, were it only as accurately applied. Protestants say, that the invocation of saints is idolatry — that it is destructive also of the one mediation between God and man, through the Man Christ Jesus. Now, were these assertions certainly true, there would be an end of the matter — not one word more could be said; but is it not a little strange, were this practice a sin so heinous, that its criminality should not have been discovered long before — that Christians should have unwittingly gone on for fifteen centuries in the daily commission of it — and that, after the lapse of so many ages, it should have been reserved for a small section of the Church, in Germany and in England, to have been the first to have drawn attention to the fact? Think of the great names, prior and subsequent to the Reformation, whom the charge involves, — of the profound learning of Aquinas, the penetrating genius of St. Bernard, the exquisite tenderness of

St. Francis of Sales, the exhaustless munificence of Carlo Boromeo. Shall we lightly credit that these men lived and died in mortal sin? that they who so perfectly, out of an honest and good heart, did the will of God, were, in failure of the divine promise, not permitted to know of the doctrine? Is it not barely possible that, under a mass of popular superstitions that overlaid and obscured it, there may have been a Christian truth beneath?—that we, in our zeal for godliness, swept away the use with the abuse, the truth with the falsehood? Let us search the Scriptures "whether these things be so." The apostle writing to the Hebrews, in taking the veil from the believer's eyes, in shewing to him the glorious company into which he is admitted, and with whom it is his privilege to have fellowship, uses these words,—"Ye are come unto Mount Zion, and unto the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem, and to an innumerable company of angels, to the general assembly and church of the first-born, which are written in heaven, and to God the Judge of all, and to the spirits of just men made perfect, and to Jesus the Mediator of the New Covenant;" and in another place it is written of Christ, "Of whom the whole family in heaven and earth is named." What ideas of strength and comfort does the word "family" carry with it!—of mutual assistance and co-operation, of common offices of affection and sympathy!

Then, again, the Communion of Saints is set before us as a relation much to be valued, as a very article of our creed. Now, if we were left to gather our notions on this point from the collation of passages of Scripture only, if the practice of Christians afforded us no light, we could scarcely miss conceiving to ourselves the Church militant and triumphant, the quick and the dead, who all live to God, as forming one vast society, in real though invisible union, communicating with, acting upon, and influencing each other really and truly, but in ways mysterious and unknown; so that, when we read, as we do read, in very early times, of Christians praying for the dead and asking in their own behalf the prayers of the holy departed, and call to mind how it is written that "the effectual, fervent prayer of the righteous availeth much," we ought not to feel very much surprised, or "call it strange, as though some new thing had happened to us." St. Augustine is a high authority with us Protestants, yet, if we would be consistent with our principles, we ought to regard him as a great criminal, instead of an enlightened father, for he too prayed for the dead, and implored the intercession of the saints. It does not certainly prove a doctrine to be true, but it affords strong confirmation, when we find Churches that have separated holding the same opinions on particular subjects still; so it is no proof that the invocation of

saints is right, but it militates against the presumption that it is wrong, when we observe, as we do, the doctrine held both by the Greek and Latin Churches. Now, were we to put together all that has been said and written by Protestant divines on the intermediate state between death and judgment, and our interest therein, we should see that it amounted to as much as antiquity received, only we should find it put forward in a timid, hesitating, unreal, unpractical way, as something to be thought upon occasionally, when we were depressed by overmuch sorrow, but not thought upon long together, and never—against that we should be solemnly warned—to be acted upon at all; whereas, in Catholic writings, the asking the prayers of the saints is set forth as an approved doctrine, clear, definite, tangible, applicable to, and recommended for, general use.

Here let me remind you of what the Roman Catholic Church has said authoritatively on this subject. The decree of the Council of Trent runs thus:—"The saints reigning with Christ offer up their prayers to God for men; it is good and useful suppliantly to invoke them, and to have recourse to their prayers, helps, and assistances, to obtain favour from God, through His Son Jesus Christ our Lord, who is alone our Redeemer and Saviour." The Catechism of the Council of Trent teaches,—"That God and the saints are not to be prayed to

in the same manner; for we pray to God that He Himself would give us good things, and deliver us from evil things, but we beg of the saints because they are pleasing to God, that they would be our advocates, and obtain from God what we stand in need of." "Cursed," it is elsewhere pronounced, "is he that believes the saints in heaven to be his redeemers, that prays to them as such, or that gives God's honour to them, or to any creature whatsoever." Amen.

We have been trained to look always on the dark side of the picture, yet it has its brighter side. To him who receives from his heart the doctrine, who believes that there are others, besides the angels, "ministering spirits sent forth to minister to the heirs of salvation"—to him, in apparent loneliness and desolation, how does the desert rejoice and blossom as the rose!—what sweet memories does he cherish!—on what inspiring recollections can he rest!—how is he sustained and upborne in his onward course in his pilgrimage Zion-ward!—how is the earth's dreariness relieved, its wastes peopled with the thronging forms of the great and good, who, with angels their fellow labourers, are intent on their holy and happy work, of prayer unceasing in behalf of their brethren, whose time is not yet fulfilled—who are yet in the flesh! If any distrust lest to ask the prayers of a saint departed be to dishonour God, let him know that equal dis-

honour is shewn in asking the prayers of a living saint; the principle in the two cases is the same—both are right, or both are wrong. If the latter be true, then there is an end of all common worship; we are left without a liturgy, without a priest, without a sacrifice.

A part of the same idea, though one on which the Church of England is silent, neither affirming nor denying, is the use of prayers for the dead. The highest judicial authority has decided that she does not forbid—it is equally certain that she does not enjoin them; and, coupled with their general disuse since the bond of unity was broken, the silence of the Reformers, so far as their judgment goes, is significant. Yet our conceptions of the reality of spiritual communion have lost much in vividness, our sentiments of reverence have been materially impaired by this disuse. A great deal of unsound doctrine and false morality have forced themselves into our sepulchral memorials since we relinquished this ancient practice, which while it lasted in vigour were kept out. Compare the average of modern and ancient inscriptions; the former generally contain a pompous enumeration of the virtues and excellences of the deceased, and fond regrets that to this lower world so much goodness has been lost; the latter rarely contain more than a recital of the name, age, relation, and quality, with the addition of these brief, touching

words, "*Ora pro nobis*" — Pray for us. Contrast the posture of their effigies; the modern are generally taken from the favourite occupations of those whom they delineate. The orator is sculptured pouring forth the strains of his fervid eloquence; the sage, in contemplation; the warrior, in the excitement of victory; the saint, standing upright, with his hand upon the cross. The ancient effigies wear always the character of a sacred and affecting monotony; represent they whom they may, they are ever found with clasped hands and tranquil features, stretched on the bed of death. Methinks that we lost something when a stern rule bid us erase from our tombs, and not inscribe there again, the plaintive appeal—"Pray for us." It is as it were the dead calling to us from their graves —the complement of what they would have said living, but could not, so fast their last agony came upon them; or it may be a reiteration of a last command—a saying it over again, and so beseechingly, as though it seemed to cry to us, —"The parting hour has come and gone—we are divided from each other now—we can no longer, as of old, walk together in sweet communion—we cannot read each other's thoughts in the bright or shaded eye, in the changing play of features, which we understood so well—the thousand little nameless acts, proofs of considerate tenderness and constant love you cannot shew me now; but one work of

charity remains—one thing you can do: when you kneel before your Father who is in heaven, and in the name of our common Lord and Saviour present your petitions to the throne of grace, then remember me." The memory of those whom we love would not so soon be lost, their virtuous lives pass away and leave no trace behind, had the indiscriminating zeal of our Protestant forefathers not spoiled us of this reverent use.

I will now revert to a part of the subject of the invocation of saints which I did not take in its proper order, because I thought it better to reserve it for separate remark. I approach it, I confess, with extreme reluctance, and great sorrow of heart; but I have not come forward to plead for Rome as Rome—it is the ministry of reconciliation, which, albeit most unworthy, I have, in my humble sphere, ventured to assume it is my part to remember therein, first truth, and then charity. The point reserved to this moment is the reverence paid in the Roman Catholic Church to St. Mary, the blessed Virgin, the holy mother of God. And here it is just that I should shew how far the Church of England confessedly goes in the reverence which she pays to St. Mary, by the testimony of one of her great standard authorities, Bishop Pearson, in his Exposition of the Creed. This learned prelate thus writes:—"The necessity of believing our Saviour thus to be born of the

Virgin will appear, both in respect of her who was the mother, and of Him who was the son. In respect of her, it was therefore necessary that we might perpetually preserve an esteem of her person proportionable to so high a dignity. It was her own prediction, 'From henceforth all generations shall call me blessed.' But the obligation is ours to call her, to esteem her so. If Elizabeth cried out, with so loud a voice, 'Blessed art thou among women,' when Christ was but newly conceived in her womb, what expressions of honour and admiration can we think sufficient now that Christ is in heaven, and that mother with him! Far be it from any Christian to derogate from that special privilege granted to her, which is incommunicable to any other. We cannot bear too reverent a regard unto the mother of our Lord, so long as we give her not that worship which is due unto the Lord Himself. Let us keep the language of the primitive Church —let her be honoured and esteemed, let Him be worshipped and adored."

The question which hence arises, and a most momentous one, is, Does the reverence which the Roman Catholic Church shews towards the blessed Virgin pass the bounds prescribed by the rule of the primitive Church? It may, as it will, be said, that a person external to the system cannot form a correct judgment on the matter. Let this objection have all its weight, still, with a real and hearty

affection for much—very much, in the Roman Catholic Church—with a deep regret for the prejudices and prepossessions which, more or less, prevent all of us on the Protestant side from doing justice to its merits, one cannot enter a Roman Catholic place of worship and witness the devotion offered to the blessed Virgin, one cannot read the "Garden of the Soul," and other approved manuals for private use, or those designed for the public service, the "Missal" or the "Breviary," without having the painful conviction forced upon our mind that the rule of the primitive Church is transgressed—that an excessive and unwarrantable reverence is paid to the Blessed Lady, which, if it be not exactly worship, can scarcely be distinguished from it; and that, in this instance, a serious, but (one has that assurance in the over-ruling providence of God, that persuasion of the wisdom of the present supreme head of the Roman Catholic Church, that induces one to hope) not fatal obstacle, lies in the way of any true and lasting reconciliation. I forbear to quote, because the ocular proofs and written evidence are familiar to most on our side, through the many able books and pamphlets which have had this point for their subject, and because, should any on the opposite side glance over these humble pages, I should be sorry that they should find words and actions, which they may employ

with most innocent intentions, represented in what must to them appear an unfair and distorted light.

I will, in the last place, say a few words on the use of material objects as helps to devotion. On this point a difference of opinion prevails among Protestants themselves; the Lutherans retain, while we reject them. Were man all reason, he could dispense with a great deal which in his present less perfect, if so far less perfect condition it be, is necessary to him. If science would invent for us some vast machine which, without any preparatory labour, would teach our whole population at once the rudiments of knowledge, to read and write, we might perhaps get on better; at present, notwithstanding that the education of the people is, and for some years past has always been, uppermost on our lips, if not in our thoughts, we are still very far from having attained to this satisfactory condition. By recent gaol returns from a large and populous county, it appeared that out of a number of criminals not more than one half of the men, and not nearly so large a proportion of the women, could read at all: of what use is it to give such persons Bibles? But it may be said that, if they cannot read them themselves, their children or neighbours can read to them: but, with respect to their neighbours, it will generally happen that they are in no happier condition than themselves,

and if they be, this kind of assistance is a very precarious dependence; and as for the children, it is most often as with the parent so with the child,—the same pressure of poverty that compelled the parent in his tender years to give to labour that time which had been better spent in learning, compels his children to do the same. We who are under no anxiety about our daily bread, can urge upon the peasant excellent counsel upon this subject; but in hunger, cold, and nakedness, can he follow it? If religion is to be taught to the unlearned—to those who cannot read—it is experimentally certain that through the eye, and not the ear, is the shortest and best avenue to the heart. It has been said, that as we owe the invocation of saints to the pagan mythology, so is the introduction of pictures and images to be traced to the same source. If there be any truth in the statement at all, it is much overcharged. In regard to the invocation of saints, there clearly existed a Christian prior to the importation of the pagan idea; and with respect to pictures and images, their use admits of rational vindication. Because they may not appear in the primitive Church, it does not necessarily follow that they were a corruption. In the earliest struggles of Christianity, paganism, its essence being idolatry, was all-powerful; material objects could not then be used without hazard of misconception, even by the converts themselves:

but when paganism declined and sank into insignificance, and the principles of the Christian faith were generally diffused and adopted, material objects were as books to the unlearned, and helps to devotion might be safely resorted to.

We Protestants attach great importance to the Iconoclastic controversy; as, in general, we are (and it is no healthy sign) retentive chroniclers of all the divisions which the Church, through trying ages, has had the misfortune to have known. But this appears to have been more an affair of the State than of the Church, and the ultimate general resumption of the use seems to argue general approval. I have already alluded to the criminal returns, so far as they exhibit the state of education; but to the large proportion who cannot read at all, we must add—who are not a few—those who can hammer through the words and no more; and besides these you must include those who may be able to read fluently enough, with an exceedingly limited comprehension of that which they read. Our domestic servants are generally better educated than the day-labourer, yet what is the answer which we usually get when they return to us books which we have been at pains to procure for their especial use? It is commonly this,—"It is a very nice book; very pretty reading;" and when we question them further, setting aside the no uncommon result that they can give no detailed account of it at all, when

they do enter into detail, it is almost incredible the mistakes which they make, the unaccountable perversions into which they fall, of what appears to us the plainest meaning of the author. One must not lay the blame of this so much upon the reader, as the writer will often be found to have been most in fault; it is so very difficult for a mind trained in one way to sympathise with and make itself intelligible to one trained in another way; and it is very discouraging, but so it is, that when the educated try their utmost to write down to the uneducated, the issue, in nine cases out of ten, is decisive failure. Such being the fact, why so jealously maintain our prohibitions? why so exclusively stick to the distribution of Testaments and tracts? The Creed and the Lord's Prayer may be said to comprise the poor man's religion; and when we have gone the weary round of more elaborate devotions, to the Creed and the Lord's Prayer we are thankful to return at last. Now, give the poor man pictures as helps to devotion, whether descriptive of the life of the Saviour, or of his earlier or later disciples; let him place the picture before him at his hour of prayer, his heart touched and softened then, will be able to enter into and to feel the lesson which that picture teaches him: habitual use will engrave the virtue there taught upon his mind, and make it practical to an extent, and with a vividness of realisation, which for him, circumstanced as he is, no

reading of tracts will ever effect. As of pictures, so of images; but, on this latter point, our Protestant repugnance is so strong that they were best away, except in one instance, in which our obstinate prejudices have entailed upon us a most heavy loss. The great centre of the Gospel system —the point whence radiate whatsoever things are true, honest, just, pure, lovely, of good report—is Christ crucified: and yet how hard is it, by oral instruction and the teaching of books, to make the Christian who is no scholar clearly understand, savingly feel, and in all its bearings practically realise this vital truth! There is a medium which has perfectly instructed thousands upon thousands, in rapt contemplation before which the greatest saints, the glory of all lands, have confessed that they have learnt more than all their books could teach them. And to what a state has inveterate prejudice reduced us, that, addressing as I do my fellow Protestants, I hardly dare so much as name that medium? It costs me an effort to pronounce the word—*the crucifix*. Yet, who shall call to mind to what blest purposes this heavenly symbol has been turned! how it has rekindled the fires of Christian daring in drooping hearts, sustained the servants of God in hopeless and thankless toils, cheered the sorrows of the desolate, and revived the spirit of the contrite ones! how, uplifted, it has hushed the strife of words and sheathed the sword of contention,

soothed sinking nature in her bitterest hour, and, when every other sense has fled, caught the expiring eye and illumined the departing soul with a hope full of immortality!—who shall call these things to mind, and not be well-nigh cut to the heart to think that to us that symbol is a forbidden, and by some accounted almost an accursed, thing?

I will now bring these observations to a close. I am conscious that I have avowed opinions which, in the judgment of many, leave me neither place nor name in the Church of which I continue, and I hope I shall always continue, a member. But it has been my earnest endeavour to write in the spirit of charity, using fair liberty of speech, but avoiding as much as I could giving just occasion of offence to any. If, through inadvertence, I may have committed the fault it has been my effort to prevent, I desire here to express to whomsoever may feel himself aggrieved my sorrow for that fault; at the same time I think it right to express my conviction, that they who employ strong distinctive terms, do so from no unkindness towards their brethren, but because those terms are considered as the exponents of principles, and there is a fear lest the disuse of the term should imply a concession of the principle. I repeat that it has been my desire to write in a spirit of charity, and should any condescend to notice or comment on any thing

which I have written, I entreat that they will do so in the same spirit; I beg of them to bear in mind, that not only may there be strength without bitterness, but that it is certainly true, that whenever bitterness enters in, there invariably follows a proportionate loss of strength. If, in the endeavour to clear away the errors and mistakes of others, I have fallen into greater errors myself, let these be exposed, but according to the apostolic precept—"in meekness." Do you blame me because that to the already vexed world I have opened up another theme of discussion? If the Son of God left the bosom of his Father to reconcile to himself a world dead in trespasses and sins, may not pardon be extended to the most unworthy of his servants, when he goes on, peradventure, the vain errand of reconciling Christians one to another? Time was, when to have written thus might have exposed the rash penman to something harsher than ominous silence, or the lash of criticism; but these days have passed away; our lot is cast in times of change and wonder; science has descended from the regions of lofty abstraction to come and minister to the every-day wants of the humblest and the meanest; legislation has undone its finished works; and who shall say what may be in the womb of time? who shall venture to pronounce the notion, the dream of a visionary, that the Lord may yet "bind up the breach of his

people, and heal the stroke of their wound?" There are powers at work which give me confidence that such will be the result.

Protestants, start not at these words! let there not rise up in your minds visions of dark and deadly conspiracies, the fiendish work of those whose untiring task you deem that it is to weave the web of sophistry. These phantoms of a diseased imagination are not in my thoughts. The powers on which I rely are those which religion alone can invoke and inspire. Lately, on occasions of public distress, and at other times, we have used that beautiful prayer of our almost divine Liturgy, the prayer for Unity; thousands within our own Church daily, in their private and public devotions, and at the eucharistic sacrifice, now pray for Unity. And not only this, but—blest augury of concord more complete!—through the length and breadth of Christendom reverberate the echoes of prayer, at the solemn midnight hour, at matin and vesper time, in the sisters' sweet thrilling tones, with the brethren's deep, hoarser voices, from lands in which the memory of ancient feuds has lingered long, from the Vatican's proud walls, from France's jealous shore, from the faithful everywhere assembled in their churches, from gathered families in chapels of ancestral halls, from the lips of noble and humble, rich and poor, simple and sage, ascend heart-felt litanies, beseeching,

"O God the Father, Creator of the world, have mercy upon England:

"O God the Son, Redeemer of mankind, have mercy upon England:

"O God the Holy Ghost, Perfecter of the elect, have mercy upon England:

"O Sacred Trinity, three persons in one God, have mercy upon England."

Was ever Heaven thus besieged by prayer, and the Lord repented not, returned not, nor left a blessing behind? We may not live to see the day; our eyes long ere that may be closed in death; but God will have mercy upon England. Yes, the day will dawn, when, bidding a last farewell to the places of separation which kept us too long apart, we shall, a united people, assemble once again where in old time our fathers knelt, and worshipped, and adored. If it be too much to anticipate a golden age, when we shall turn our swords into ploughshares and our spears into pruning-hooks, and learn war no more, at least we may look forward to the time when the weapons of controversial keenness, now pointed at each other's breasts, may be turned to their only legitimate use—warfare against sin and infidelity. Then there will be a chance that our poor suffering country, whose wounds, amidst our hot disputes, have not been closed, nor bound up, nor mollified with ointment, may receive a just measure of our care. Then

there will be a chance that the overtasked mechanic and artificer, the care-worn sempstress, the pining labourer, the neglected child of wicked, because neglected, parents, the dwellers in filthy, suffocating hovels, to whom pestilence and famine are familiar guests, now too often the sport of capricious legislation and the fleeting objects of a hollow sympathy, may have their wants, and sufferings, and sorrows studied and mitigated by a thoughtful, discriminating, comprehensive Christian wisdom.

May God, in His infinite mercy, hasten the consummation of this glorious day!

London:—Printed by George Barclay, Castle Street Leicester Square.

SOME CONSEQUENCES

OF

THE BONN CONFERENCES,

FROM A CHURCH OF ENGLAND POINT OF VIEW.

(Reprinted from the "Church Review," Sept. 4th, 1875.)

Any attempt to estimate the full importance of the Bonn Conferences would be premature, and probably also misleading. For this we must be content to wait. But there are certain consequences naturally flowing from the principles laid down by Dr. Döllinger, and unanimously accepted by those who took part in those conferences, which are of the very greatest importance to the Church Universal, and which must have a direct and immediate influence upon the ecclesiastical affairs of our own country. To direct attention to them will, therefore, be neither inopportune nor useless.

In the first place, these conferences have made gigantic strides towards Church autonomy. They were initiated, organized, and conducted to a triumphant conclusion without any authority from the civil power. The consent of her Majesty's Ministers was not sought. The law officers of the Crown were not consulted. Yet an authority was acknowledged—an authority superior to that of any earthly empire—the authority of the undivided Church. All previous attempts at reunion were made by the recognized rulers in Church and State. Those who met at Bari, at Lyons, at Ferrara, at Florence, came armed with official powers delegated by popes, by emperors, by kings. While theologians wrangled, statesmen plotted and knights fought; and the deliberations came to nothing, or rather served only to embitter the quarrels they were designed to end, to perpetuate the old schisms and produce new ones. How different has been the result of these conferences at Bonn! And it is surely significant that the only approach to a discordant note came from those who had come armed with a *quasi*-official authority. The Russians and Orientals,

says the report now before us, although personally agreeing to the Sixth Article, yet "preferred to lay the matter before their Church authorities before giving their official consent." We all know how closely ecclesiastical affairs are bound up with politics in the East; how the authorities of the Church in Greece, in Roumania, and, above all, in Russia are hampered by the jealousies or the supposed necessities of statesmen. There is reason to fear, then, lest the labours of this latest and as now appears most successful of reunion conferences should be rendered abortive by the timidity or the treachery of "Church authorities at home." The cloud of suspicion is as yet no larger than a man's hand, its shadow faint and almost imperceptible. But we cannot conceal from ourselves the possibility that the bright heaven of our hopes may yet once again be entirely overcast and become black with clouds through the time-serving policy of State nominees. Whatever, then, may be the ultimate result of these conferences, one inevitable consequence will be to weaken the hold which the Church and State idol has long maintained over the minds of many well-meaning and pious Englishmen, and to destroy that fatal glamour it has cast over their imaginations.

A second matter, to which it would be impossible for English Churchmen to attach too much importance, is the opinion expressed by Dr. Döllinger and accepted by the conference *nem. con.* on the validity of Anglican orders. Of course everyone who cared to trouble himself about this question knew that the Apostolic Episcopate has come down to us by an unbroken line of succession. The inconsistency of Rome in admitting the validity of the Oriental and denying that of the Anglican ordinations was patent. The admission of English clergy as priests to the conference was a tacit decision in our favour. Yet, fortunately, the question was not suffered to rest here. It must be thoroughly investigated. And so for the first time since the day on which Pope Pius V. issued his bull of excommunication against Queen Elizabeth, and released her subjects from their allegiance, has the claim of the Anglican Communion to be an integral portion of the one Catholic Church been impartially examined. "It had been objected," said the learned theologian of Munich, "that while the Latins considered orders a *sacramentum*, and the Greeks looked upon it as a *μυστήριον*, or mystery, the English rejected the idea of its having any sacramental character. That arose, however, from one part of the English meaning that was attached to the word 'sacrament' at the Reformation, as being an ordinance in which all might have a part. But the English looked upon ordination as a Divine appointment; it was accompanied by the laying on of hands, there were words expressive of the communication of power and right, and a grace was supposed to accompany it." That is to say, we have the matter, the form, and the authorized administrator of the ordinance, whether it be commonly called a sacrament or not. What more can the most obstinate formalist require? Surely nothing, unless he be prepared to maintain that all ecclesiastical authority

emanates from the Pope and may be withdrawn by him *proprio motu*, which neither Orientals nor Old Catholics admit. The consequence is a complete justification of our attitude towards Rome, and an immense accession of strength in our conflict with the Papal Propaganda. Hitherto the Manning faction has flourished through its success in insinuating doubts as to the validity of Anglican ministrations. Henceforth it stands convicted, in the judgment of every impartial man, of schismatical intrusion into other dioceses, and of violent usurpation of jurisdiction in foreign provinces, contrary to the supreme law of the Church and in direct violation of the canons of œcumenical councils.

A third point not to be overlooked is the reception accorded to certain Nonconformist ministers. Dr. Hermann Adelberg, who called himself "a Bavarian Protestant clergyman," and Dr. Schaff, a well-known Dissenting minister and professor of New York, were permitted to address the conference at different times. But only as a matter of courtesy, since, as the President was careful to point out, they had there no *locus standi*. Nor could they possibly have any, for the conference had already virtually decided against them when it determined that its "basis of union must be Catholic and not Protestant." The consequence will be to open the eyes of discerning men to the baselessness of Nonconformist claims. Dissenters are never tired of asserting that Anglicans have widely departed from the primitive practices and corrupted the primitive faith. Dissent is never in want of texts to prove that it alone is Scriptural. Now an independent tribunal, chiefly composed of Old Catholic and Greek theologians, has decided that they are mistaken, that their views are novel, that their interpretations are erroneous, that they have neither part nor lot in the great society founded by the Apostles, that they have no *locus standi* except on the basis of a new revelation. None but the veriest dotards can now be led astray by ignorant declamations against Sacerdotalism, or cozened into the belief that ability to talk about Christ is sufficient witness of a commission from Christ, or that the assumption of "Reverend" is a proof of power to administer divinely-ordained sacraments.

A fourth point worth notice is the attitude of Protestants towards the conference. When permitted to speak, their champions opened a fire of adverse criticisms, and poured in volleys of Scriptural quotations condemnatory of the whole proceedings of the conference. They openly admitted that they did not want union, and laughed at the folly of attempting it: their aim is a "confederation of Churches," an "Evangelical alliance." Now, a very little consideration of this matter, combined with even a superficial knowledge of the New Testament, is sufficient to prove that the evils for which the conference has striven to find a remedy are the very sins against which Christ Himself uttered solemn warnings, and which His Apostles sternly condemned; the object at which it has aimed is that for which the Lord earnestly prayed, and which His Apostles were most anxious

to maintain. That Anglicans, Old Catholics, and Orientals are aiming at this and nothing else is plain from the terms they have used as well as from the tenour of their whole proceedings. That the Protestant leaders are aiming at something else is equally clear from the fact that the old terms—the words sanctioned and consecrated by Evangelists and Apostles—do not and cannot accurately express their ideas. They have been obliged to coin new words, to invent new phrases. Everyone who can speak English feels, as soon as the sounds fall on his ear, that "confederation" is not "reunion," and that "Evangelical alliance" is not "Apostolical unity." The difference is not merely formal and immaterial, but essential and fundamental. There is a difference in kind. But one set of terms and phrases is the language of the New Testament; the other that of modern sectarianism. The consequence is that the Protestants stand condemned "out of their own mouth" of repudiating that which the Scriptures inculcate, and of seeking after something else which they implicitly condemn.

Thus the principles, the proceedings, and the conclusions of these conferences at Bonn tend in every way to confirm the opinions and strengthen the position of the Catholic party in the Anglican Church. The wisdom, as well as the necessity, of repudiating the monstrous assumptions of the so-called Evangelicals is plainly proved. The justice of our antagonism to the unwarrantable claims of Romanism is fully substantiated. The righteousness of our opposition to the encroachments of the civil power is clearly demonstrated. High Churchmen are the Old Catholics of England. On all important points their views are the same as those of their brethren in the European continent and in the far off East. Their aims too are identical. In conjunction with these they will not only maintain their ground in the Anglican Establishment, but also ultimately achieve a glorious triumph for the cause they advocate, and inaugurate a new era for the Church.

Price 1*d.*, *or* 3*s. per* 100, *postage* 4*d.*

Printed by the Church Printing Company, 11, Burleigh-street, Strand, W.C.

SERIOUS REMONSTRANCE

ADDRESSED TO

THE REV. R. W. SIBTHORP, B. D.

FORMERLY CURATE OF ST. MARY'S CHURCH, HULL.

OCCASIONED BY HIS RECENT PUBLICATION

ENTITLED,

"SOME ANSWER TO THE INQUIRY—WHY ARE YOU BECOME A CATHOLIC?"

BY THOSE OF THE HULL CLERGY
WHO WERE PERSONALLY KNOWN TO HIM.

"NOW THE SPIRIT SPEAKETH EXPRESSLY, THAT IN THE LATTER TIMES SOME SHALL DEPART FROM THE FAITH."—1 TIM. IV. 1.

"LET HIM THAT THINKETH HE STANDETH TAKE HEED LEST HE FALL."—1 COR. X. 12.

"HOLD THOU ME UP, AND I SHALL BE SAFE."—PS. CXIX. 117.

LONDON:

L. AND. G. SEELEY, 169, FLEET STREET.

1842.

L. AND G. SEELEY, PRINTERS, THAMES DITTON, SURREY.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
Motives which influenced the writers	1, 2
Mr. Sibthorp's "Narrative of what passed in his mind"	3
False notion of the typical character of Jewish rites, &c,	5
Confounds types with patterns	5
The true question respecting Christ's institutions, one of fact	6
Fallacy of Mr. Sibthorp's reasoning from types	7—10
Correspondences between Jewish and Romish systems. Unity—Primacy—Orders of spiritual governors—Sacrifice—Real Presence—Ceremonies—Authority—Uniformity—Catholicity	10—18
Differences between these systems	19, 20
Mr. Sibthorp's argument concerning the unity of the church, examined	21—25
And also his argument for the necessity of a centre of union	26, 27
The supremacy of Peter argued from Scripture	27—36
Hypothesis respecting the developement of the Primacy	36
At variance with the analogy before pursued	41
And still more with historical facts	42—46
Harmony of the Romish Church, and discords of Protestants	46
Extracts from Mr. Sibthorp's Discourse in 1827	48—53
Want of a centre of unity not felt by Protestants	53
The recognition of the Primacy not a first step to unity	54
The Reformation from Popery no "disaster"	56, 57
Mr. Sibthorp's subsidiary arguments	57

PAGE

1. From the Church, as being a positive institution of Christ 58
2. From the supposed insufficiency of the union contended for by Protestants 59

Why do Protestants maintain their views ? . . . 63, 64
Mr. Sibthorp's charitable, but Anti-Romish admission . 64
His distinction between the body and soul of the Church, unsound . . . . . 65—68
Protestant differences do not make it necessary to return to Rome 68
Controversy with the Oxford Tract writers passed over 69
Mr. Sibthorp's self-delusion betrayed in the study of Protestant Writers . . . . . 69—71
He vindicates the entire system of the Papacy . . 71
His case very instructive, and monitory . . . 72
His declension gradual 72, 73
Romish private devotions, not to be mixed with the worship of the Anglican Church 74, 75
The English Church gives every needful aid to devotion 75, 76
Which Rome does not—either
By her daily devotions,—her hourly offices,—her confessions and penances,—her prayers to saints,—her prayers for the dead,—or her purgatorial fires . 77—81
Mr. Sibthorp veils the grosser errors of Romanism . 81
Yet yields himself to their worst influence . . 85
Represents Rome as inviting the Anglican Church to her communion 86
Curious motive for accepting the Invitation . . 87
The question "Why have you become a Catholic ?" improper 88
The true question 88
Concluding Remarks 89

A

SERIOUS REMONSTRANCE,

&c. &c.

Dear Sir,

If, in your recent proceedings, you have thought of us at all, you will, we doubt not, have supposed, that your letter explanatory of your secession from the Church of England, has been read by us, with deep and painful interest. And we think we should not be doing justice either to you or to ourselves, if we did not, with all openness and sincerity, inform you of the effect it has produced upon our minds.

We have known you in your earlier days, when "the candle of the Lord shined upon you," when, under the happiest auspices, you began your ministerial course in this town,* and won the affections of all, not more by the eloquence of your preaching, than by the simplicity of your

* Mr. Sibthorp was ordained priest, on a title given by the late Rev. John Scott, to the Curacy of St. Mary's in Hull.

faith, the fervour of your devotion, and the depth of your humility. It is impossible for us to regard your conduct with indifference, or to be affected by it no more deeply than we should have been by that of a perfect stranger, who, like you, had fallen into grievous error. *We* have strong feelings mingling with our firm convictions—feelings not of bitterness; or if so—not of the bitterness of anger but of grief, towards one whom we loved as a brother, with whom we "took sweet counsel together, and walked in the house of God as friends." Is it then possible that we could witness your gradual declension without regret, and your grievous fall without alarm? We have hitherto mourned over you in silence, but the time is come when we are constrained to speak; and even if our words should be uttered in vain; we shall not regret the measure we are now taking. If our advice and warning cannot reach you, yet our prayers may; and "God forbid that we should sin against the Lord, in ceasing to pray for you!"

You profess in your letter, to give only "*some* of the reasons" (p. 2.) which have decided your course, "though confessedly such as chiefly have weight" with you. We shall not, then, be deemed presumptuous, if we conclude, that, at all events, we have before us, in a condensed form, the substance of your argument against the church you have left, and in favour of that to which you

have now attached yourself. May we then hope, that if we can prove the fallacy of the reasonings, which, by your own acknowledgment, have induced you to take this course; you will submit with Christian humility to "the shame of one more recantation," and will retrace the steps by which you have gone astray?

We will follow you in the "narrative of what has been passing in your own mind, and has issued in" your present connexion with the Church of Rome. We do so, with the greater interest, because we are of the number of those who know from your own lips, that "in early life you sought admission into that church, and that but for the interference of the law, being then under age, you would have joined her." (p. 3.) And perhaps you will allow us to remind you, that in alluding to this event, you expressed yourself to us in the strongest terms of gratitude to God for having preserved you from the snare into which your youth and ignorance would then have betrayed you. Little did we who heard you thus speak, imagine, that after a lapse of fifteen or twenty years, you could so far forget the feelings to which, in our hearing, you gave most cordial and unsolicited utterance, as to declare that "the remembrance of the devotional feelings you *then* had, never entirely quitted you during subsequent years." Undoubtedly, you remembered your earlier feelings at the time to which we allude, as distinctly

as you can do now; but we are certain that you remembered them with a degree of horror, humiliation, and regret, strikingly in contrast with your present favourable recollections of them. When therefore you say: "An impression, and in the main a correct one, remained on my mind, that there was among members of the Catholic church, a dedication to the claims and duties of Christianity, an admission of the influence of their belief upon their ordinary life and devotions,—a sort of absorbing interest in their religion, which sustained in me a lingering affection towards them, while I openly condemned what I honestly believed to be the errors of their creed"—we can only infer that your present "absorbing interest" in Romanism, has obliterated or obscured your recollection of the actual feelings which you then so freely expressed. We should be glad if this suggestion might lead you to reconsider, with more care and attention than you have yet done, the thoughts which at the period referred to, were really passing in your mind.

We come now to the more important part of your narrative, in which you explain what appears to have been the turning point in your career. Your words are: (p. 5.) "About five years since, in the course of my ministry at Ryde, I was led to review the Jewish economy, or the church under the Old Testament dispensation. The subject came minutely under my notice, while engaged

in a series of lectures on the Levitical law and institutions. You cannot require proof that these had a typical character. It is universally admitted that they were typical of something better—' of good things to come,' from Israel viewed as a nation, down to the smallest ornaments of the tabernacle, respecting which Jehovah had said, ' See that thou make all things according to the pattern that was showed thee in the mount.' "

We here stop to show a double fallacy in your reasoning on the acknowledged typical character of the Levitical dispensation.

1. First, you have not the slightest ground from Scripture to conclude, that "*every thing* down to the smallest ornaments of the tabernacle," was typical of something future. That *many* things were, we allow ; that *all* things were, we deny; and if they were, some of them would tell strongly against you, as we may have occasion to show hereafter ; but it is enough for our present purpose to say, that your assertion is entirely without the capability of proof; and that it therefore will form no foundation whatever for an argument.

2. Secondly, your reasoning proceeds on an assumption altogether at variance with the true nature and significancy of a type. For a type, though it has some necessary resemblance to its antitype, is not of the same nature, but is manifestly and in every way inferior. A white garment, for instance, may in one dispensation, typify purity

in another, but it does not typify some other white garment like itself. Ornaments—the smallest ornaments—may typify something moral and spiritual; as the bells and pomegranates on the priest's vesture, may typify the union of profession and fruitfulness in the Christian church, but they do not and cannot typify any corresponding decoration of vestments. Now your reasoning all turns on the false supposition that a *type* is the same thing as a *pattern;* and by confounding things which differ, in the progress of your argument, you lose sight altogether of the true meaning of a type. Let this misconception be corrected, and your conclusion may be thus stated. "The Levitical system in every part, was designed to be an exact pattern or counterpart of the Christian system in every part; and as Moses was required to make all things according to the pattern showed him in the mount, so the founders of the Christian Church were required to construct the whole of the Christian system in exact correspondence with the Levitical." The command to Moses is clearly revealed in the word of God; show us the other, and we will acknowledge the validity of your argument.

It may be answered: There is no need for such a command; for Jesus Christ, being the Founder of his own church, was able so to construct it, without any revelation at all, and certainly without any of which we have the power to take cog-

nizance. We admit it ; but then the question is narrowed to one of *fact*, and we have but to inquire how Christ did frame his Church. Did he adopt the Levitical model ? Did he either, himself establish, or enjoin his disciples to establish such a scheme of worship ? In the law everything is minutely prescribed. Where is the Leviticus of the New Testament ? or where, in the New Testament, are we referred to the Leviticus of the Old as the model on which the Ecclesiastical system of the church is to be formed ?

The foundation then of your reasoning from the types of the Old Testament, sinks like a quicksand under the structure you are erecting upon it ; and consequently, we might leave all your reasonings on this subject to fall by themselves, without a single effort to give them further confutation. But as you seem to value the argument highly, we will proceed to take it to pieces, and to show you how completely worthless and insignificant it is in all its parts.

You first ask the question : (p. 6) " Where is the antitype of this typical dispensation ?" And then reply ; " I naturally sought it in a careful comparison of the Christian dispensation with these types, and I found one immediate answer to my inquiry, and full of holy and consolatory instruction. They had an accomplishment in Christ, as is largely shown by the Apostle to the Hebrews. He is the typical temple, high priest, and victim ;

his blood and righteousness, mediation, and intercession, ministry, character and offices were prefigured by what went before." Here we cordially agree with you ; nor have we much to question in what follows : "The types of the Mosaic economy have not their only accomplishment in the blessed Saviour, or in Christ personally. He, it is clear, was not the typified Israel, nor the mount Zion, nor the Holy City, nor solely the Temple; neither did the shew-bread, or incense, or seven-branched candlestick, or Levitical ministry prefigure Him, or his work and office only." It will, we suppose, be generally admitted, that most if not the whole of these particulars have typical reference to the Church of Christ; or to some blessings connected with that Church. Be this, however, as it may, we are not inclined to controvert the point with you; but we do most seriously object to the mode in which you reach the following inference. "If all the typical institutions," you say, "of the old dispensation found their sole and entire accomplishment in Christ; why are any continued in the Christian Church correspondent with them? Why are there any sacraments, any separate ordained ministry, any sacrifice, any visible form of the Church, &c. ? Would you not find it impossible to establish any of these Christian blessings or privileges without thus confounding *type* with *pattern*, of which you here furnish us with so plain an instance? Is not the positive command and appointment of

the Son of God, a better basis for sacraments, for an ordained ministry, and for a visible form of the Church, than is to be found in any mere resemblances, even though they should be really types, which yours are not? We say nothing about "sacrifice," because in the sense in which a Romanist uses the word, we acknowledge but one sacrifice, once offered to bear the sin of many.

Our reason for believing that Israel, Mount Zion, the Holy City, typified the Church, is simply that they are represented as doing so in Holy Scripture, and where we have not this divine light to guide us, we are in perpetual danger of mistaking our own fancies or those of other men for types.

As we feel that we have much stronger warrant for our views respecting the foundation on which the Christian Ministry, and sacramental institutions rest, than those to which you appeal, we are under no apprehension that, when your argument fails, we should be compelled to follow certain "sectarians," who hold that the Church should be "purely spiritual, without distinct ministry." *We* have the sure Word of God; *you*, nothing but *shadows*, which you dignify with the name of *types*. We are compelled then directly to negative your conclusion, that "the Church under the Old Testament was a close type of the Church under the New." (p. 8.)

From this false inference, which you style a

" guiding truth," you attempt to trace " some of the principal points in which this correspondence must (—this is your word, not *may*, but *must*)—exist between the typifying and the typified church." You never seem to suspect that there can be the slightest difficulty in accommodating the type to the antitype, or any ambiguity which leaves room for doubt, or any unbending difference between the two institutes of Moses and of Christ, which no ingenuity can reconcile, because they were never designed to harmonize? The similitude is to be plain and obvious throughout; and to an inattentive reader of your letter, it might seem to be so; but you must permit us to say, that this similitude could only have been produced by a most cautious selection of materials, and not by a fair and full examination of the whole question on both sides.

In order that proof of our assertion may not be wanting, we will pay particular attention to the various correspondences between the Jewish and Christian churches, which you have submitted to our notice, and then advert to other features, which, on your principle—that one is a close type of the other—ought to correspond, but which either have no agreement whatever, or stand in direct contrast and opposition.

1. Your first point of correspondence is that of UNITY; concerning which you thus state your sentiments (p. 8): " I found the former "—

namely the type—" to be a compact, united body, really and visibly united in all its parts, combining a number of provincial, and locally separate portions in one religious nation or people; combining them in a most strict, perfect, and evident unity of faith, of worship, of laws, of discipline, of religious ordinances, and even of minute ceremonies; no variety permitted,—no departure from the oneness demanded being sanctioned in any individual. Such was the ancient Israel, and if typical of the Church, such should be the Israel of God under the New Testament."

You will allow, we suppose, that the will and appointment of God is the true foundation on which each of these churches, with their several institutions, ultimately rest; and that God was not under any obligation, when he had formed one church after a peculiar model, to construct the other on precisely the same model. But if this reasonable concession be made—and we see not how it is to be withheld—then your reasoning is utterly inconclusive, for it goes wholly on the supposition, that the Christian must be like the Jewish, *because* the Jewish is the type of the Christian! How loose is all such argument! how contradictory to the plainest matter of fact! Let us turn from the shadowy region of hypothesis founded in imagined typical resemblances, " to the law and to the testimony." He who " runs may read " that for every minute particular re-

specting Jewish worship, there was express command from God; that command, not written on the sandy shore of tradition, to be obliterated by the successive waves of passing generations, but on the imperishable page of Inspiration. Give us the same authority for every religious observance under the Christian dispensation, and the controversy is at an end. But without such authority, it is the height of arrogance in any man, or in any section of the Church, to insist upon a kind of unity, extending to most minute ceremonies, which you say, ought to be found in the Church of Christ.

Permit us further to suggest, that in this paragraph, you unwittingly sanction that monstrous principle of persecution for which the Church of Rome ever has contended, and it is to be feared, ever will. "No variety," you maintain, was PERMITTED, in the typical Church; and the inference is not to be evaded, that none ought to be PERMITTED in that Church which is the antitype.

Should you here allege, that Christ and his Apostles gave us certain directions respecting Christian worship, as Moses, by divine command, had given respecting Jewish worship; we have nothing to do but to ask for chapter and verse, to settle the dispute; then, however, all your reasoning from the type to the antitype will be entirely needless. Such would doubtless have been your course, had you not known that there is nothing in

the New Testament, savouring of the precise and systematic arrangement of the externals of divine worship, but everything the very reverse.

2. Your second point of resemblance is that of PRIMACY, or Headship, which you maintain in the following language (pp. 8, 9): "At the head of this body, nation, or church, was one supreme dignitary of priestly order, invested by God with singular prerogatives, ruling in perpetual succession over Israel, until the Lord should come; in his person, offices and residence, a centre of unity to the whole nation, a representative on earth of the Divine High Priest in heaven."

Your own mental perceptions cannot have been very clear, when you penned this last sentence. What divine High Priest was there *then* in Heaven, for Aaron and his sons to represent? The Priesthood of the Son of God was not assumed, in any part of it, till he became a sacrifice for sin, nor did its office commence in Heaven, till he "ascended up on high, led captivity captive, and received gifts for men." Consequently, here your analogy or correspondence fails in its most essential particular.

On this point, a most complete refutation of your whole scheme of interpretation, might easily be collected out of the Epistle to the Hebrews alone. You grant that the types had an accomplishment in Christ, and rightly refer to this epistle for proof. We refer to it, for the further

proof, that with reference to the *High-priesthood*, they had in Christ their *exclusive* and *perfect* accomplishment. The Apostle teaches us, that *as High Priest*, Christ never would have any successor. He argues that succession implies the failure of Him who had preceded. For, while the priests of the law "were not suffered to continue *by reason of death*, this man, because he continueth ever, hath an *unchangeable*"—that is, as the reasoning implies, an *untransferable*—"priesthood."* He can need no successor, because "he ever liveth to make intercession" for his people.† He requires no vicar or substitute to fill his place on earth, because he himself never leaves it. How can he who has said, "Where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them,"‡ want a vicegerent upon earth? What greater absurdity was ever palmed upon the credulity of mankind?

3. Your third feature of resemblance (p, 9), is that which you suppose to exist between the PRIESTS AND LEVITES of the old dispensation, and the CHRISTIAN MINISTRY in its several branches, under the New. But, with the exception of such a remote kind of correspondence, as may be fairly presumed to exist between different institutions ordained by God, for ends in many respects similar, we shall find little or nothing of the kind of

* Heb. vii. 23, 24. † Ibid. vii. 25. ‡ Matt. xviii. 20.

parallelism, for which you plead. The Priesthood, in its strict and proper sense, continued only till the coming of Christ. Christian Ministers are nowhere called Priests in the New Testament; Christian people are called so, in a lax, yet important sense; "Ye are a royal priesthood."* As to Levites, there is no service in the Christian Church, in which persons bearing an official character similar to their's, can be employed. You represent them as being continually engaged "in the instruction of the people;" but this seems to be a mistake. The prophets, who were not necessarily, either of the Levitical or Priestly order, held this office. A fact of itself, at direct variance with the practice of that Church which avowedly adopts the Mosaic ritual as its model.

4. You pass hastily over the topic of SACRIFICE, (p. 9,) yet say sufficient to prove, that, in your judgment, the Christian Church, ought like its predecessor, to offer sacrifices—we mean sacrifices not of prayer and praise only—but of atonement. The Epistle to the Hebrews, on this subject also, is entirely against you. For it is there expressly maintained, that "we are sanctified through the offering of Christ, *once for all*,"—that, "by *one* offering Christ hath perfected for ever them that are sanctified," that where remission of sins is, "there is *no more offering for sin*." Yet the Church of

* 1 Peter ii. 9.

Rome, in defiance of such authority, declares, that "in the sacrifice of the mass is offered to God, a true, proper and propitiatory sacrifice for the living and the dead."* The Apostle argues that Christ does not need, as the Jewish High Priests did, "daily to offer sacrifice for sin, for this he did *once*, when he offered up himself;"† and again; "Christ is not entered into the holy places which are the figures of the true, but into heaven itself, now to appear in the presence of God for us. Nor yet that he should offer himself often, . . . for then he must often have suffered, since the foundation of the world; but now *once* in the end of the world, hath he appeared to put away sin, by the sacrifice of himself." "Christ was *once* offered to bear the sins of many."‡ After these testimonies, which no sophistry can set aside, will you, Dear Sir, allow yourself to be carried away by the dubious style of argument into which an excessive fondness for subtle analogies, may, in an incautious moment, have betrayed you? We would still hope better things of you, and things which accompany salvation, though, from real love to you, and from deep interest in your personal welfare, we are compelled to speak as we do.

5. Your fifth supposed correspondence (p. 9.) between the type and the antitype, though not stated with much clearness and precision, refers

* Creed of Pope Pius IV. † Heb. vii. 27.
‡ Heb. ix. 24, 28.

to what you call a "REAL and not merely spiritual, figurative or imaginary PRESENCE of God himself in his earthly temple." We have yet to learn that a *spiritual* presence is not quite as *real*, though it may be less perceptible than a *visible* presence. The type of the Shechinah had, as we conceive, its best and most perfect antitype in that spiritual presence with which God has promised to bless those in every age "who worship Him in spirit and in truth." If by coupling the word *imaginary* with the word *spiritual*, you would insinuate, as you seem to do, that purely spiritual blessings are imaginary, we can only regret that your new creed has already made such havoc of your older and better principles, as to render you insensible to one of the most important distinctions, in "the things that belong to your peace."

You speak of "sculptured cherubim," of which you make the angels, who are represented as being present in Christian assemblies, the counterpart or antitype. In this there is something more really typical than in any other of your adduced resemblances. Yet you return immediately to patterns which are no types.

6. In the Levitical dispensation, you inform us (p. 9.) "there was an IMPRESSIVE AND MAGNIFICENT RITUAL, every ceremony of which was symbolical and instructive." But instead of explaining the symbols, and shewing how they were superseded by that which they signified, you only

adduce them in evidence, that we should now have some other symbols of the same kind.

7. The questions of AUTHORITY, UNIFORMITY, *and* CATHOLICITY, come next under review. On the first, you show (p. 10.) that all, "from Dan to Beersheba, were in fealty and submission to the supremacy of the one High Priest;" on the next, that none might lawfully "recognize or use any other sacred ministry, than that of the tribe of Levi and the house of Aaron;" on the third, that "wherever an Israelite journeyed in that land, he found one creed, one faith, one religious rite, one harmonious agreement even in the minutest points of ceremonial worship."

These topics all bring us back to that which has been sufficiently discussed, under the head of *unity*. We are not to rest weighty questions like these, upon fancied typical correspondences, as you seem to do, without warrant of Holy Scripture to sanction our interpretations. Still less are we to condemn those who cannot *see* a type where we *fancy* one, or who are unable to agree with us, in "the minutest points of ceremonial worship." And we argue thus, without reference to those parts of the New Testament which enjoin us to regard the gospel of Christ as set in opposition to the law; which teach us that instead of being like the abrogated ceremonial of Judaism a grievous yoke, it is perfect freedom; that it is a "perfect law of liberty;" and which charge us to "stand

fast in the liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free and not to be again entangled with the yoke of bondage."

It now becomes necessary for us to remark, that while you carefully enumerate *correspondences* between Judaism and Christianity, you as cautiously avoid all allusion to their essential *differences*. Still less are you disposed to meddle with those differences which are to be traced between the hierarchy of Israel and that of Rome. We have here to remind you of your own position, that the Church of the Old Testament was a "*close* type" of the Church under the New.

We inquire then

1st, Since the priesthood of the law was a *married* priesthood, why does the Romish Church *forbid marriage* to her religious orders?

2ndly, Since in the type, the High Priest's office was *hereditary*, how comes it to pass that in the antitype it should become *elective?*

3rdly, What precedent does the Jewish Church afford for the College of Cardinals, in which is vested the mighty function of choosing Christ's vicar for him?

4thly, Whereas the High Priest among the Jews had, by the Mosaic Institute no legislative authority whatever; how comes it to pass that Popes claim the power not only to exercise temporal dominion in their own territories, but to give law to nations, to depose monarchs, to bear the

title of "king of kings and monarch of the world," to hold the two-edged sword of divine power, to excel the mightiest sovereigns of the earth as far as the sun excels the moon, to apply to themselves the language of God to the prophet; "See I have set thee over the nations and over the kingdoms to root out and to pull down, and to destroy and to throw down and to build up;"* to compel emperors to hold their stirrup, to lead their horse, to kiss their toe, and to receive from them the authority to reign over their own subjects? Is any parallel to be found to this, in the descendants of Aaron—at least till the Maccabean race, without any divine authority, became priestly warriors under extraordinary circumstances?

Surely, points of difference might more easily be multiplied than points of agreement; and we are certain you would have found it so, had you gone five years ago, to the consideration of the question, with an unbiassed mind. But even then, dear Sir, you had begun to tamper with the simple truth of the gospel, and hence were the more easily persuaded to see nothing adverse to, but everything in favour of Rome, in your investigations of the Levitical constitution. Without some prejudice of this kind, you would scarcely have discovered in the "seven-branched candlestick," a type of the seven sacraments of Rome; nor would

* Jer. i. 10.

have rushed to the conclusion, that the Saviour's prayer for the unity of his church, was to be answered by that kind of unity, which has at any time subsisted under the Papal hierarchy.

Here, a new field of inquiry opens before us. Because Christ had prayed for the unity of the Church, and St. Paul had declared, "There is one body and one spirit . . . . one Lord, one faith, one baptism ;" you first infer (p. 12.) that there must be such a church on earth, and then show that "no protestant sect" presents "the slightest correspondence with it. Having looked to the Anglican church, and found she was not *the church*, for she never *professed* to be more than *a part* of it; you glance at the multitude of sects among protestants and ask, "Could such disorder be the designed fulfilment of a type of such holy order? such disunion be the rightful substance of a shadow marked by an entire harmony of its parts, and perfect oneness of outline? Ingenuity could not trace a resemblance."

In these remarks you first overlook a distinction which you were not wont to esteem unimportant, —between the *visible* and *invisible* church; and then assume what is not borne out by facts.

We hold, that among all true believers in Christ, a vital and essential union with each other exists, as the natural effect of the connexion of each with that mystical body of which Christ is the Living Head. In this common bond, are many united in

spirit, who are yet severed in denomination, and discordant in their views of the nature and constitution of the visible church. And we look forward, with cheering expectation, to that period, when in our Father's house above, we shall associate with many who could not join our religious assemblies and services on earth. Yet we never cease to deplore the differences which prevail among us, and to desire those clearer manifestations of divine truth, which shall render the church of Christ visibly *one*, as we sincerely believe it will still become, notwithstanding all present appearances to the contrary. We must however, declare, with all seriousness of mind, that we much prefer the present condition of the Church, with all its lamentable divisions and separations, to that kind of unity of which Rome makes so bold and so unjustifiable a boast.

The perfect unity of the Church of Rome, is by you confidently *assumed* instead of being *proved* in the following words: "When I looked to the primitive church of the first six centuries, I found an exact correspondence with the type." What! were there no divisions, no separations in the church during these six ages? Was the Christian worship throughout this period, conducted with the exact uniformity of the Jewish worship? Did no unauthorized teachers protrude themselves into the ministerial office, without episcopal sanction? What means the early note of remon-

strance and complaint in the epistles to the Corinthians and Galatians? "I hear that there are divisions among you,"—"Every one of you saith I am of Paul; and I of Apollos; and I of Cephas; and I of Christ." Were all teachers subject to one acknowledged Head? Why does the Apostle exclaim: "I would they were cut off that trouble you?" As the stream of time rolled on, vexations of this kind were perpetually multiplied. The reiterated injunctions to unity contained in the writings of the early fathers, especially in those of Ignatius, are no insignificant tokens that divisions were continually becoming more common and more injurious; and all the authority of the most zealous and devoted bishops and martyrs of the church was insufficient to restrain the growing evil. Separation soon took a decided form; and the existence of Montanists in the age of Tertullian, and of Novatians in that of Cyprian, at the close of the second and the beginning of the third century, proves how impossible it was for the Christian Church to keep its members as closely within one visible communion, as the Jewish Church had done in preceding ages. So much for that "exact correspondence with the type," (p. 13.) which furnishes you with an occasion of depreciating Protestantism and of extolling Romanism.

You proceed; (p. 13.) "When I also looked back to the ancient Church of England, as first

formed by St. Augustine, I found the most entire agreement, and an actual, visible, professed oneness with that Apostolic Church, as it had existed for six centuries." We may here ask; Was the ancient Church of England first formed by the monk Augustine whom Gregory the first sent on his mission to this country? Have we no records of a Christian church in Britain of an earlier date? Can you be ignorant of the fact, that Augustine found, on his arrival, Christians and Christian Bishops, who were disposed to dispute with him against the papal claims? But for you to admit all this; for you to admit still further that the disputes between the parties about the keeping of Easter, proved the British church to be a scion of the Greek and not of the Roman church, would have marred the lovely picture of unity which you endeavour to present to the readers of your letter.

You grant that, at a subsequent period, (p. 13.) "the catholic body had been lopped of some of its limbs by the severing strokes of heresy and schism." Now this very admission proves, what makes against your analogical argument, that there was not an "exact correspondency between the type and the antitype." For no such "lopping" took place under the Mosaic institute. The reason of all which is very plain. God did not intend the Christian Church to be tied down by those stringent bonds of uniformity which, in his infinite wisdom, he had seen to be necessary for

the Jewish Church. The Romish Church did not understand this essential difference between the two dispensations, and therefore it took to the system of "lopping" by anathemas; by excommunications; by persecutions with fire and sword; by inquisitions with their accompaniments—racks and tortures and *Autos de Fé*.

Yet to such a church you join yourself under the notion (alas how vain!) that you thereby join yourself "to the church of the whole earth." Marvellous infatuation! Can you have persuaded yourself that the Church of Rome *really possesses* this comprehensive property, which she has so long arrogated to herself? Were there no churches in existence before the Church of Rome? Or was she the rod of Aaron which swallowed up all other rods? Did the Church of Carthage under Cyprian bow to her authority? Did the Greek Church yield to her lofty claims of Primacy? Have all the Eastern Churches taken refuge under her wing? *How* is she the church of the whole earth? You know, dear Sir, that she can only be called so, because she has dared to unchurch all Christian communities which have raised a voice against her tyrannical usurpations, and claimed for themselves the right to regulate their own affairs. Seriously ask yourself, we beseech you, as in the sight of Him who searcheth all hearts, whether you have not, by your late rash act, joined yourself to the most corrupt and withered

branch in Christendom, rather than to "the church of the whole earth!"

We have followed you at greater length than we intended, through your analogical argument in favour of the Church of Rome, inasmuch as, for two reasons, you lay considerable stress on it (p. 14), first, because you have seldom found it "more than hinted at in modern theological works:" and secondly, because it was "that which first influenced your own mind, presenting to it what seemed cogent reasons for regarding the Catholic Church in communion with the see of Rome, as claiming your avowed allegiance."

You now advance to another line of argument; in which you attempt to show the necessity of a "centre of unity" (p. 15). "Every well-established kingdom"—you observe, "has its central government, acting both as its effective executive, and as that which combines together, regulates and invigorates all the subordinate authorities and otherwise scattered parts. It cannot subsist without it, no more than the body without a head." You then infer, "It would be incredible that Christ should leave his kingdom in the world, without any fixed government, or that government without an essential to all governments, a supreme executive and centre of unity." Such is your argument from analogy. Now, it is clear, that all analogical reasoning must fail, at those very points where the analogy itself fails. Every kingdom

must have a head , the Church has a head. A kingdom must have a *temporal,* the Church a *spiritual* head. The head of a kingdom is the executive government; the head of the Church is Christ; and He is its only Supreme Governor. All power belongs to Him in heaven and on earth; and woe be to that man who dares to snatch the sceptre from his hand! So far the analogy holds, but press it to the point required by your argument, and it breaks down beneath you. Christ has not left his kingdom on earth without a government, because he has not left it at all. He has appointed no earthly centre of unity, because he ever holds in his own hands the reins of government over his church. All your reasoning takes for granted that Christ cannot perform his own work without a substitute. As Protestants, we deny that there is any such want of power or will to guide and keep his church; and this is our reason for rejecting those proud assumptions of Rome, which, in an evil hour, you have been induced to advocate. You charge Protestants with "setting at defiance the testimony of nature, reason, fact, antiquity, and scripture." We maintain that we yield *due* deference to each, and *supreme* deference to the last.

To scripture, however, you immediately turn, endeavouring to prove from it, that Peter was instituted the Primate of the Christian Church. (p. 16) In this argument little room is left for anything

new. Your first quotation is from Matt. xvi. 16—19; in which Simon Peter makes this noble confession, "Thou art Christ the son of the living God!" to which the Saviour replies, "Thou art Peter, and upon this rock will I build my Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it; and I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven," &c.

On this passage some important questions have to be answered before your explanation of it can be received. It is well known that from the earliest times, a different interpretation of it from yours, has been given. Can that text then, be so very clear as Romanists now contend, which, in the times nearest to the Apostolic age, was explained in diverse senses? Some, as Augustine, understood by the Rock, Christ himself, supposing the Saviour to point to his own person when he said, "Upon *this* rock will I build my Church." Others, among whom we may name Cyprian and Jerome, suppose Peter to be referred to, only as the representative of all the other apostles. But, perhaps, the most eminent of the Fathers, and we are happy to agree with them, regard Peter's *confession* as the rock—a rock of doctrine,—on which the whole superstructure of Christian truth was to be built. The names of Chrysostom, Hilary, Theodoret, and Origen, sanction this explanation * But

* See Barrow on the Pope's Supremacy. p. 87.

without entering more fully into this controversy, we may ask, is it not strange that so vast a power as that involved in the Primacy of Rome, should rest on the authority of a text, which was thus variously interpreted by the early Fathers?

Were we, however, to grant, that Peter is here meant by the rock, we should still be far short of the point necessary to connect the divine promise with the Roman see. For first, we have not a word in the passage referring to his *successors;* and, therefore, we have no ground for supposing that they are included in the Saviour's commission. Then the question occurs; Was Peter ever Bishop of Rome? The preponderance of evidence is against the supposition. The Apostles made others Bishops, but, unless James bore that title as presiding Apostle of Jerusalem, we have no reason to conclude, that any of them adopted it, or were in a condition to discharge its duties.

But if, as the Papal authorities contend, Peter received the Primacy from Christ, when the words now under consideration were spoken; then the Council of Trent has to extricate itself from a great difficulty; for that council compels men to believe under pain of *anathema*, that Christ ordained his Apostles Priests when he said, the night before his death, "Do this in remembrance of me." It follows hence, that Peter was *Primate* when he was no *Priest*. Supposing the dignity of which we speak to have been conferred at this early pe-

riod of Peter's course, how, was it possible that the disciples should be found afterwards disputing among themselves, "Who should be the greatest?" and how are we to account for the fact, that Christ solved the vexatious question, by setting a *little child*, and not St. Peter, in the midst? Or if St. Paul had known to whom he was speaking, how could he, in the presence of the Church at Antioch, have withstood the Prince of the Apostles to the face, and dared to censure his conduct?

It is impossible to answer these questions without coming to the conclusion that Peter had no such prerogatives as you contend for. But if he had, what has *Rome* to do with them?

The giving of the keys to Peter, is by some supposed to refer to his being the *first* to preach the gospel to Jews and Gentiles. But it is manifest that such an office is not and cannot be in perpetuity. It expires with the act by which it is accomplished; he could not therefore delegate it to another.

Yet on the supposition that Peter had received a grant, which could be conveyed to others; who was naturally his heir to this inheritance when he received the crown of martyrdom? Was Linus, and then Cletus, and then Clemens Romanus? What! while John the Beloved Disciple was still alive? Was *he* then subject to the authority of one who was no Apostle? Only think of St. John holding his see in fealty to the vicar of

Christ and the successor of St. Peter; amenable to the tribunal of Rome, and liable to be censured, or even deprived, if he failed in duty to the Sovereign Pontiff!

Again, if any such office as this was intended to be perpetuated in the church; how are we to account for the silence on the subject which pervades the Apostolic writings? Occasions are not wanting, on which various officers of the church are enumerated; and yet the chief officer of all, God's Vicegerent, Christ's Lieutenant, who (to speak in words appropriated to themselves by later Popes) "have all power in heaven and on earth," is entirely omitted. "Christ gave some Apostles, some prophets, some evangelists, some pastors and teachers;"* how naturally might he have added, "and over *all* a POPE!" But not a word of this great Dignitary. Was St. Paul jealous? or was the catalogue complete and the sovereignty of Peter's successor a figment then unknown?

Your next scriptural authority, John xxi. 15—17, need not detain us long; for what dignity or what commission, superior to that which Christ gave to the rest of the Apostles, could he intend to convey to Peter, by the charge "Feed my sheep, Feed my lambs?" As to the words themselves, they are so exactly like those of St. Paul to the elders of Ephesus, that we can scarcely

* Ephesians iv. 11.

suppose more to be intended by them in one instance than the other ; " *Feed* the church of God which he hath purchased with his own blood." And, as to the circumstances in which the words were spoken, they are, on the whole, rather derogatory to Peter's dignity than in favour of it. He had denied his Lord with horrid imprecations ; he had falsified his own previous boast of fidelity in the most shameful manner; and yet behold the mercy of the Saviour, who restores him after a fall so grievous, and renews to him his justly forfeited commission to preach the gospel, in common with the rest of the disciples. What can you make for Peter's Primacy out of such a fact ?

Your references to Acts ii. iii. iv., contain no proof of Peter's official superiority, but merely show the prominent part he took in the transactions of the day of Pentecost, and the immediately subsequent events. Some one must take the lead ; and if he was (as is generally supposed) the eldest, his age would give him a natural precedence ; or if, from a deep sense of his past defection, he was more forward than the rest to show his zeal for God's glory, and to attempt some reparation of the wrong he had done by his former faithlessness, or if his temper, constitutionally more ardent than that of his brethren, urged him into this more prominent position ; there is nothing, in any view of the case, to excite surprise at the part he took, and nothing to justify the inference, that either he

or any of his brethren, imagined him to possess any jurisdiction or any Primacy over them. Nay; we have positive evidence to weigh against these bootless presumptions, and decide the question of fact, that he had no such jurisdiction. "When the Apostles which were at Jerusalem heard that Samaria had received the word of God, they *sent* unto them Peter and John;"* that is, on your hypothesis, the subjects send their prince, the subordinate powers exercise authority over the higher, the holders of inferior offices command the services of him who holds the keys of heaven, who is Christ's vicar on earth, and whose prerogative it is to *exact* obedience from all, and to *yield* it to none. If St. Peter was in Christ's place, vested with His dignity, and exercising His delegated authority over all ecclesiastical causes and persons; the Apostles would no more have thought of sending *him* to Samaria, than they would have thought of sending Christ himself; "for the servant is not greater than his Lord, neither is he that is sent greater than he that sent him."†

Another of your references to the Acts applies to St. Peter's mission to Cornelius. He was sent, it is true, not by the Church, as in the preceding case, but by its Great Head. Yet such a fact affords no proof of Primacy, because, by the same

* Acts viii. 14. † John xiii. 16.

authority, Philip was sent to teach the Ethiopian eunuch, and St. Paul to preach to the Gentiles. As you direct attention both to the tenth and twelfth chapter of the Acts ; we naturally inquire, why you omit all reference to the intervening eleventh chapter ? Does it contain nothing about Peter ? The heading of the chapter in our version, and with which you must, from habit, be familiar, begins thus " *Peter accused, defendeth himself.*" What ! the Prince of the Apostles accused, and accused by and in the presence of his own subjects? Surely, they were marvellously ignorant of his dignity, or they must have expected an interdict, if not an anathema for their presumption. But, no ! he pleads for no irresponsible jurisdiction—*he defendeth himself!* How little did *he* understand his own position, if you and the church to which you have fled understand it aright !

What there is in the twelfth chapter, bearing upon the question, we are at a loss to perceive. Peter was cast into prison, the church prayed for him, an angel of the Lord set him at liberty; but these facts are strange evidence to prove that he possessed authority over the rest of the Apostles.

We will now request your attention to the fifteenth chapter, which you also appear to have overlooked. Rome claims to be " the mother and mistress of all churches." The *mother* she

cannot be, for then, as you will perceive from this chapter, she had a daughter older than herself. The mistress she has ever attempted to make herself, and has given ample evidence of the great difference which exists between the mother and the mistress. Jerusalem, the true mother church of all the earth, had too much humility to affect the mistress, and on the other hand, the tyranical mistress has too much pride and cruelty to allow her to indulge the tenderness of the mother. The name of step-mother is too good for her.

In this mother Church of Jerusalem, the first and best Council that ever sat, was assembled. But James, not Peter, presided in that counsel. Nor can it be pretended that James presided as Peter's delegate; for Peter himself was present, and took the subordinate part of an advocate, rather than that of the Primate; whereas, James summed up the evidence, and gave his judgment in a tone—which, though meekness itself compared with the subsequent thunders of the Vatican, was characterized by more authority than appears to have been anywhere assumed by Peter, or any other of the Apostles; "*My* sentence is," &c.

We should have thought the acts of this council decisive of the cause against Rome, and sufficient to overturn the very foundation of Papal dominion; and so it would have proved, had no other support

been sought for those foundations than that which the sure word of God supplies.

Such are some of the difficulties (by no means all) with which you have had to contend in yielding to the very slender argument from analogy, the fallacy of which we have endeavoured to expose. Truly, you have strained at the gnat, but the camel has gone down whole.

Having shown that the testimony of Scripture on which you rely, has entirely failed, we might hold ourselves excused from the task of following you any further, in the shadowy region you are in vain attempting to explore. But if we can still furnish you with fresh evidence, that whatever course of reasoning you take, you invariably land in some erroneous conclusion, we shall hope that our labour will not be in vain.

It is manifestly regarded as an object of some importance by you, to establish the position, that whatever authority Christ virtually gave to Peter, its true nature was not immediately understood, but was so gradually unfolded, that it did not attain its full development till the ninth and tenth centuries of the Christian era. "The Saviour," you assert (p. 18), "left his church in constant expectation of his return. What he left her, he expected to find her, so constituted and so united, whether he delayed his coming for twenty or two thousand years. Had this event occurred during St. Peter's lifetime, no *farther development* of a

primacy and centre of unity in the church had taken place, no successor of the Apostle been needed. But as it was otherwise, when he died to whom the special promise and charge had been given, *another took his position* to occupy it, and continue the church in her divinely arranged and existing constitution, if haply the Lord should come in his days."

The course of this argument will be obvious; but we interrupt it for a moment, to direct attention to the phrase, which we have put in italics; "Another took his position." How? Was it by Peter's appointment, as his own is alleged to have been by that of Christ himself? Surely the question of the appointment of Christ's vicar, was one of the most important which could have been proposed; yet the Scriptures contain no solution of it; the practice of the Apostles afford no precedent for it. We know not how Peter's first successor slipped into his place; but this we know, that it was not by any such mode as that which now prevails at Rome. You must own, that it was by an extraordinary kind of development, that Christ's appointment of Peter (supposing it real) should have at length resolved itself into a system of election by a whole college of cardinals, whose plots and cabals, and private piques, and family interests, and pride and covetousness, were to determine, under an assumed sanction of the Holy Ghost, who should fill the most important station

in the Church which Christ himself had founded. We now return to our quotation :—

You proceed ; (p. 18.) " Thus another and another have successively filled the chair of St. Peter for 1800 years, on the same warrant, with the same design, and the same darkness, as to the Lord's time of return : that warrant, Christ's words to St. Peter ; that design, the good rule and unity of his church and kingdom ; that darkness, the purpose of God ; (Acts i. 7,) herein accomplishing the type of the continuous high priesthood of the Jews, and no more than that type did, discrediting or displacing the high priesthood and rule of Christ ; neither the one nor the other entrenching on his prerogatives or usurping his power."

We need not repeat what we have already said concerning the " warrant " of the claim set up for Peter's authority, and the still more palpably defective warrant pretended for that of his boasted successors. Respecting the " design " of this Primacy, some information will be obtained as we advance, and we shall, at least show, that it has failed to accomplish " the good rule and unity of the church," of which you speak. The " darkness " respecting the time of Christ's coming is neither greater nor less, for the Pontifical succession. How all this, accomplishes " the type of the continuous high priesthood of the Jews," which, as we have seen, received its perfect accomplishment in Christ, it will not be easy to prove. But

when you add that the Romish Primacy no more discredits or displaces the heavenly high priesthood of Christ, than did that of Aaron, you revert to your original error—the error which pervades your whole book—of confounding subjects essentially different; and then you graft upon this confused statement, a palpable fallacy. A type precedes, and in a sense, predicts its antitype, and thus honours and brings it into notice. Nor does it displace the antitype, but rather is by it displaced. It is like the morning star which announces the approach of day, and then disappears in the blaze of that light of which it had been the harbinger. So the Jewish high priesthood having served its typical purpose, was for ever superseded by that of Christ. The Primacy of Rome, however, bears a very different character in itself, and a very different relation to the Saviour's priestly office, from that of Aaron. It discredits the high priesthood of Christ, by assuming to itself what belongs exclusively to Him. Under pretence of using *His* authority, it asserts, maintains and extends its *own*. It arrogates to itself the most presumptuous titles; claims the most universal homage; binds the heaviest burdens on the consciences of men; disposes of kingdoms, crowns and sceptres; tramples on the authority of princes and the laws of nations and the civil and religious rites of mankind; gives or sells dispensations to violate God's law, indulgences for sins past, present, and to

come, pardons and absolutions, without penitence or prayer, to all who can pay the price of such benefits; and in short makes a traffic of things sacred, in the name and by the assumed authority of Him who is "King of Kings and Lord of Lords." Was ever such authority pretended to by the sons of Aaron? But we have before shown that Christ never gave this office to Peter, still less to any who call themselves his successors. You rightly say "Another *took* his position," but saith St. Paul, alluding to the *type* on which you dwell so largely, "No man taketh this honour unto himself, but he that is called of God as was Aaron." (Heb. v. 4.) Hence the whole claim is a direct usurpation of the Saviour's high and inalienable prerogative.

You proceed; (p. 19.) "The development of this most wise and essential institution for the church's well-being, was, in the nature of the case, gradual. The strength, properties, and usefulness of a plant, can only be developed as time permits its growth, and natural influences elicit its generic or specific characters. Every added inch, and expanding leaf, and swelling bud leads the beholder to infer these. Thus it was not to be expected, that in the second and third centuries, there would be found, even had there been fuller documents, that clear perception of the designed succession to St. Peter, which the ninth and tenth centuries present; because, in a degree, its

continuance was the development of the perpetuity of the design, and its use, power and prerogatives were tested by the circumstances of the church."

The whole argument of this passage may be briefly stated thus: Neither Peter himself, nor the rest of the Apostles, nor any of the first disciples of Christ understood the Primacy of Peter so well as the fathers of the second and third centuries; nor did these understand it so well as their successors in the ninth and tenth centuries. The tree which budded in the *first* age, blossomed in the *third*, and brought forth its ripened fruit in the *tenth!* A very suspicious line of argument truly! It stands in direct opposition to your carefully wrought comparison between type and antitype. For the Jewish institute required not this lapse of ages for its development, having been indisputably clear from the moment of its promulgation. It proceeds on the absurd supposition that the waters of life, instead of being purest at the fountain head, became clearer and clearer as they passed through muddy and polluted channels; and is directly at variance with Tertullian's celebrated maxim that, "whatever is most ancient is most true." Did not your heart misgive you, when your pen struck against the tenth century, and recorded *that* as the culminating point of Romanism. For this is the very century which Baronius, one of Rome's most dis-

tinguished advocates, designates as the *dark age*, and yet, in your apprehension, it casts a flood of light on the succession to St. Peter. How ominous is such an argument! How painfully indicative of the intellectual obscuration to which even a short attachment to the Papacy can reduce the human mind! Doubtless the tenth century revealed in unblushing effrontery the power and grandeur of Peter's supposed successor. Was it not a singular coincidence, that the sun of papal supremacy should be in its meridian at the period when the darkness of ignorance, of superstition and of crime covered the face of the professedly christian world? But it was much more than a coincidence; the intimate connexion of cause and effect was plainly manifested in these concurrent events. Roman ambition promoted and cherished the moral, mental, and spiritual degradation, which enabled it to ascend its loftiest seat, and to triumph over the prostrate energies of mankind. And what could be expected from the nations of the earth reduced to such a state of intellectual and moral imbecility, but that they should proclaim the glories of that very power which had forged and riveted their chains, with a voice as loud and as unmeaning as that of the multitudes who in former times exclaimed, "Great is Diana of the Ephesians!"

We are unwilling, even in a tract, which we would gladly keep within reasonable limits, to

make a statement like the above, without adducing some evidence of its truth, or directing you to sources whence it may be obtained. If you now ever consult Mosheim whom you once deemed "a respectable historian;" * and who certainly was under no temptation to represent one age in darker colours than another, you will find that he reserves some of the deepest shades of his pencil for the tenth century. We quote his introductory sentence on this period: "It is generally acknowledged, that in this century the state of Christianity was everywhere most deplorable, as well from the prevalence of incredible ignorance which is the parent of superstition and moral turpitude, as from other causes." † And then, having related some successes which had attended the efforts to extend the profession of Christianity, significantly intimates, that the change was more nominal than real, terminating in certain outward observances, adding that, "this *barbarous age* did not even think of that inward and genuine change of mind, which Christ demands of his followers." ‡

He imputes the extreme ignorance and contempt for learning which prevailed in this age, partly to the wars which had desolated the world, and partly to the "vile character of the accredited

* See "The character and tokens of the true Catholic Church." By Rev. R. W. Sibthorp. p. 29. London, 1827.

† Moshemii Hist. Eccles. p. 354. ‡ Ibid. 356.

guardians of truth and virtue." * "The Latins especially were all enchained by the grossest barbarism. Most writers agree that this century merited the title of the IRON AGE of literature; and the Western world never presented a more melancholy spectacle." † And when, towards the close of the century, the chair of Rome was held by one learned Pope, Sylvester II, the ignorant monks ranked this eminent scholar among "the magicians and the disciples of Satan." ‡

Speaking more particularly of the state of religion, he says: "Nothing is more indisputable than that the *sacred order*, in this century, was both in the east and west, composed chiefly of men destitute of learning, of fools, of persons ignorant of everything pertaining to religion, licentious, superstitious, and addicted to the basest vices. Nor can it be questioned that the main causes of these evils, lay with those who wished to appear as the parents and guides of the Church. For certainly nothing was deemed too vile, wicked, and dishonourable, for the supreme Ecclesiastical Rulers to perpetrate. Nor did ever any other government addict itself to so many vices of every kind, as that which bore the title of most sacred." "The history of the Roman Pontiffs of this century, is the history not of men, but of monsters, . . . as the friends of the Papacy themselves acknowledge." §

* Moshemii Hist. Eccles. p. 361.
† Ibid. p. 362.
‡ Ibid. p. 364.
§ Ibid. p. 365.

Rome itself seemed, at the commencement of the century, placed at the mercy of a profligate woman, who by her influence seated John X. in the Papal chair. He was soon cut off by the still more profligate daughter of his patroness, who at length succeeded in securing this venal dignity for another Pope of the same name, the fruit of her own illicit intercourse with a preceding vicar of Christ. We ask, dear Sir, with all seriousness, as in the sight of Him to whom you and we "must give account," Was this the age, and were these the men to furnish the world with a clearer perception of the designed succession to St. Peter, than could be traced in the Apostolic, or in any intervening age?

Your concession that this centre of Unity has not produced "unmingled good," was perhaps intended to anticipate the kind of observations we have just made: but it is quite insufficient for that purpose. We have taken the precise age to which you refer as the example of your system in its *perfection:* and we have shown that no previous century ever equalled, and we may add that no subsequent century ever exceeded it in religious, moral and intellectual degradation. If then, your previous assumption that this was the pattern age of Roman Primacy be admitted, the conclusion is incontrovertible, that, out of your own mouth, the Papacy stands charged with an enormity of guilt, as a system productive not of the greatest

good, but of the greatest *evil*. No enemy of Rome ever uttered a more severe sarcasm against it, than you have involuntarily done, by holding up the tenth century to the admiration of the world. Speak no more of the Primate as a "pilot sent from heaven" to bring men thither, till you can prove that the Pontiffs of your boasted tenth century, the Johns and the Sergiuses, were themselves walking in the way that "leadeth unto life." Proclaim no more "the holy order and discipline" of that church which has created more wars, desolated more provinces, destroyed more lives, and diffused more vice, error and ruin, than any of those mighty empires which have in turn vanquished the world.

Your exaggerated representation of the harmony existing in the Romish Church, gives you the opportunity of adverting, by way of contrast, to the discords of Protestants, and to the unhappy effects which follow them. A few of these misguided men, you represent as getting safely on board the Romish vessel; (p. 20.) "but the most part—some on boards, and some on broken fragments, and some in solitary effort, struggling for life—present a sad spectacle of the distress, danger and ruin, which men bring on themselves by contempt of that order and rule, which God himself has sanctioned." The condition in which you describe us, appears indeed pitiable enough; but after all it is not so desperate as it seems. We thank you

for the allusion to St. Paul's shipwreck, and are glad to find, that in the storm you do not deprive us of a plank. We only desire that the comparison may hold to its close, and that at last, though it be "some on boards, and some on broken pieces of the ship, yet we may all come safe to land." This is, we are sure, more than you can say of the entire crew of your gallant vessel.

Yet do not imagine that we are in love with divisions, or glory in them as advantages, or cease to pray for their removal. And we believe that our prayer shall be heard; but not as you suppose, by our return to Rome. To a salutary union, *truth* is indispensable. God forbid that we should unite ourselves with a church whose creed is error, whose power is usurpation, whose government is tyranny, and whose end is destruction. There is, you know, at least one solemn command for *separation*, in the oracles of God: "Come out of her, my people, that ye be not partakers of her sins, and that ye receive not of her plagues." * Union with such a head and such a body we utterly disclaim.

We would not however, shrink from a consideration of the comparison at which you have hinted; and we are prepared to prove by a mass of evidence which cannot be overborne, that there is more true union among Christian Protestants than

* Rev. xviii. 4.

there now is, or ever has been among Romanists. You once thought as we do: and though you have changed your opinions, you have not destroyed your arguments. We will therefore, quote from a Sermon published by you, fifteen years ago, some reasoning more convincing, in our judgment, than any contained in your recent publication; and if in your words, we repeat any sentiments previously delivered in these pages, we shall only be the more glad to find our own positions confirmed by your former reasonings. Having referred to several passages in the New Testament, (Eph. iv. 4, 5; Col. i. 18; ii. 18, 19.) you proceed: "In these and many other passages one Head of the church and one only is spoken of, i.e. Christ, and there is not the slightest reference to any other. Surely it is, to say the least, singular if such a visible head existed as the Pope, designed by Christ to fulfil such an office in the church as to preside over it, that no reference should be made to him in those epistles, which as the church of Rome herself admits, were written to instruct men in the things which regard their salvation. It is most remarkable, that not one Apostle, in his letters, should ever refer to, or remotely hint at the existence of such an authority even in passages which naturally and almost necessarily led him to mention it. St. Paul, speaking of the church of Christ says, 'Now ye are the body of Christ, and members in particular. And God

hath set some in the church; first, apostles; secondly, prophets; thirdly, teachers; after that, miracles:'* compare with which a parallel passage, 'He gave some apostles, and some prophets,'† &c. It is extraordinary indeed, that in enumerating the overseers and instructors of the church, the Apostle should totally omit all mention of that authority which, if the Romanists are right, had been given by Christ and set in the church to be his own representative on earth, the chief overseer and ruler of bishops and pastors, the head of his body the church, and the recognition of whom is now held to be, and must ever have been, on their showing, essential to salvation. I call upon any Roman Catholic to produce one single passage from the Epistles of the New Testament which will admit of fair reference to any such supreme authority or visible head of the church as the Pope or Bishop of Rome, or of any other city. And this silence of these inspired writings speaks volumes against the divine right of supremacy claimed by the Popes."‡

Thus speaks the Mr. Sibthorp of 1827; little did he then imagine that Mr. Sibthorp of 1842, would meet him with such a reply to this reasoning as the following. St. Paul knew nothing about the primacy; how should he? It was not fully developed till the ninth and tenth centuries. And

* 1 Cor. xii. 27. † Ephes. iv. 11—13.

‡ Sibthorp's Character and Tokens, p. 13.

can he, even now deem such a reply conclusive? But let us return to your sermon of 1827.

You briefly review the creeds of the Primitive church, and conclude thus; "In all we find *one Head* spoken of, the *Lord Jesus Christ*, and union to him the character of his body the church. It has not two heads. And *Him* every true Protestant, in every part of the world, and all true Christians, to whatever particular part of the church, or outward denomination they may belong, recognise as the *one only Head*."

You show that "agreement in one faith is also an essential part of the unity of the church." It is, however, not the faith of Pope Pius IV., but that of Holy Scripture alone, of which the Apostles' creed is an acknowledged summary. "This unity, Protestants have. And"—you ask—"is this no unity? Are Protestants so immensely and inseparably divided? Is there no agreement among them, when all that the church of Christ, for the first four centuries publicly declared she held essential to salvation, they publicly and constantly hold? Is there no unity of faith among them, when one true and upright Protestant travelling through the earth, wherever he meets with another true and upright Protestant, shall find him believing in the same God, the same Saviour, the same Holy Ghost, the same way of salvation by faith in that Saviour's merits, the same necessity of holy living and of dependence on divine grace, and a re-

newal of heart and life, all the records of the same blessed volume of inspired truth, yea, everything in the Apostle's and other ancient creeds ?"* You then give the triumphant challenge : " And where, with the external appearance of concord so greatly boasted of in the Roman church, is her entire unity of faith? I speak not now of the unity of spirit, but I ask, where was the perfect unity of faith in the members of that church, when two of her most celebrated and zealous monastic orders, disputed respecting the immaculate conception of the Virgin, the Franciscans as vehemently maintaining as the Dominicans opposed it? When the Jesuits and Jansenists broke in upon the slumbers of their church, by long and loud contentions respecting the doctrines of grace? When it is a notorious fact, that not only Popes have decided against Popes, but councils against councils, and the church of one age against the church of another; and what canonized saints taught in one age as divine truth, and was received as such in the church for centuries, the Pope and his cardinals in later times condemned as pernicious error? On a point of fundamental importance as it respects the authority of the Roman church, and the obedience of her people, there is an entire disagreement among them; viz. where that infallibility resides, on which she supports her pretensions;

* Sibthorp's Character and Tokens, p. 25.

some placing it in the Pope alone, some in general councils, some in both united, and others sometimes in one and sometimes in the other."*

Again you declare: "Among all real Christians there is an entire community in the object of worship. They have all one and the same Father, one and the same Saviour, the Lord Jesus Christ, of whom the whole family in heaven and earth is named; and one and the same Holy Spirit. In them is strictly fulfilled that prayer of Christ, 'That they all may be one, as thou, Father, art in me, and I in thee, that they also may be one in us, that the world may know that thou hast sent me.' The union of the Father and the Son is not a visible, tangible, nor external union. It is mysterious and spiritual. And such is the communion existing between all true Christians. It does not exclude, but it does not necessarily consist in outward communion. They have all one object, to glorify God, serve their Saviour Jesus Christ, and save their own souls and those of others; they have all the same enemies, Satan, the world, and sin; the same hope; mainly, the same trials, cares, and temptations; they have a communion of interests, joys, and sorrows. One and the same blessed spirit dwelling in them all, knits and unites them to each other, in the communion of the church militant; and by his hallowing influences

* Sibthorp's Characters and Tokens, p. 26.

and holy affections, and blessed hope which he produces in them, knits them to the holy angels and spirits of the just made perfect in the communion of the church triumphant; and thus is fully effected the communion of saints." *

Now whatever qualification any of the statements in this animated passage may require; yet it is impossible for us not to admire the spirit which pervades the whole, as well as the general force and cogency of the reasoning. We would gladly, if space permitted, extend our extracts. Perhaps you will think them already too long, but you must excuse us, for we love to linger with you in "the green pastures," and "by the still waters" of plain and simple christian truth, rather than to track your steps through the tangled wilderness of error. The work, however, though painful must be done; and we return, yet reluctantly, to your unhappy recantation of the sound doctrine and the hallowed sentiments which we have just recorded from your former writings; and we do it in the hope that we may gain, or rather *regain* our brother, and if not, that we may deliver our own souls.

You allege that "many Protestants have owned the want of a centre of unity for the church." Perhaps they may, unwisely enough, in our opinion. We have one great centre of unity in

* Sibthorp's Character and Tokens, p. 28.

Christ, and neither want nor would endure any other. We are well satisfied with that Episcopal jurisdiction under which it is our happiness to live; and we would not have our own diocesan amenable to Rome or to any other spiritual tyranny whatever. The earliest episcopal churches knew nothing of such a centre ; and we may surely date the mighty evils which ultimately deluged the church, from the period when other bishops began to bow to the aspiring and ambitious claims of Roman supremacy.

We may grant you that the permanency of the succession of Roman pontiffs is not invalidated by the misconduct of individual popes, when you have made good your ground that this succession rests on as firm a basis as that of the Levitical High Priesthood. Till you have done this, it is fruitless to discuss a merely *minor* proposition, which perhaps might not stand with the greater, but certainly cannot stand without it.

From these observations you will perceive that we are at issue with you on your conclusion, which you thus state, (p 22.) "It is the recognition of this claim," namely, that of Rome to be the *one* true church—"arising from due consideration of the principle which it involves," namely, the principle of the Pope's supremacy—"which must be a *first step towards the restoration of unity,* and to any effectual measures *for remedying the disasters of the sixteenth century.*"

The restoration of unity is, we believe, to be effected by totally different means from that which you suggest. We look for it, not by the re-establishment of papal authority,—not by committing the keeping of our consciences, our liberties, our souls and bodies to him, who "as God, sitteth in the temple of God, shewing himself that he is God,"* —not by putting it into the power of any man, and least of all, into the power of a man who usurps the high prerogatives of Deity, to give or to withhold at pleasure, the scriptures of truth, to bind us again in those fetters, and subject us again to that yoke which our fathers were utterly unable to bear. No; the worst divisions which can disturb the peace of the church, are a less evil than such a tyranny. The unity which might be attained by committing into the hands of one man, a supremacy which enables him to anathematize and excommunicate, to burn and to destroy, is the unity of imprisonment and not of liberty, it binds men together by chains and not by the cords of love! What we desire and pray for is, a more abundant effusion of the Spirit of grace upon "all orders of men in God's Holy Church," for increasing zeal, earnestness and fidelity in the "ministers and stewards of God's mysteries," for the removal of existing impediments to the free

* 2 Thess. ii. 4. See an excellent discourse on this text, by the Rev. R. W. Sibthorp, preached at St. John's, Bedford Row, Feb. 11, 1829.

course of God's word,—for the enlargement and multiplication of the channels by which religious instruction is to be brought home to every neighbourhood and every door; and for the diffusion of that degree of sound information, which shall render men more averse on principle than they now are to needless separation. Then may we hope for a kind of unity worthy of the name; for a common bond of brotherhood among Christians which shall unite them much more closely together, than that of Romanism; for that holy, spiritual, and divine union which St. Paul implored on behalf of the church, when he prayed that its members might be "perfectly joined together in the same mind, and in the same judgment."

What *you* deplore as "the disasters of the sixteenth century," *we* shall never cease, we trust, to regard as the greatest blessing, civil and religious, which it has pleased God, in his great mercy, to bestow upon our church and nation. We too, could speak of "the disasters of the sixteenth century," but we should point to a different series of events from that which you intend. We should direct attention to the cruelties of *Her*, whom, you are said to have styled, "the much calumniated Mary!" Had you, dear sir, during the reign of this arbitrary queen, dared to preach the Sermons which you preached in Tavistock Chapel, in the year 1827, or in St. John's, Bed-

ford Row, in the year 1828, she would surely have sent you to the stake. Would you then have talked about the "much calumniated Mary?" Spirits of Ridley, and Latimer, and Cranmer! with "the noble army of martyrs" who mingled their ashes with yours, in the conflagration lighted up by that unhappy woman, what testimony have you to give to the character of her, whom a faithless son of your own church, standing in the pulpit of the Oxford University, could call "the much calumniated Mary?" But this is a note which strikes no responsive chord in British bosoms, and brings dishonour only on those who could harbour or give utterance to such a sentiment.

The Reformation from Popery, though accompanied, as great revolutions generally are, by many evils, we can regard in any other light, rather than that of a *disaster;* we cannot therefore think of it as needing a *remedy*. We only want to see its principles more widely spread, and more fully developed. We advert to it with admiration of the men by whom it was conducted, and of the divine mercy by which it was brought to a successful issue. We rejoice to call it the "Blessed Reformation," and pray God that our latest posterity may enjoy its happy fruits!

Your main argument being closed, you pass to some minor considerations, which, in your opinion still bear strongly upon the question of unity,

and corroborate your views of its nature. The church, you argue, (p 23.) is a positive institution of Christ, for the diffusion and maintenance of his religion throughout the whole earth: "That religion is harmonious and immutable truth. There is not one system or set of truths for one age or part of the world, and a different one for another;" and therefore you conclude, that there is but one form of government, and mode of worship and discipline; and that "every deviation from that government or form of his church which he gave it, and from that discipline and worship which he personally, or by his apostles approved, is a most presumptuous innovation, and a daring disregard of the divine will, and fraught with danger to the souls of men."

Are you aware, that you are here "laying the axe" directly "to the root" of your own argument? For if no "deviation" was to be permitted, what becomes of your great scheme of "development?" It will scarcely be pleaded, that the primacy of the tenth century was no deviation from that of the first, even supposing the validity of your own interpretation of Christ's commission to Peter. But what, if this interpretation be proved utterly invalid? Then the primacy, and Rome itself become "a most presumptuous innovation and a daring disregard of the divine will, and fraught with danger to the souls of men." You could not well have framed a

more accurate description of the character of the Papacy; and that not only in reference to the nature of its power and pretensions, but also in reference to the endless innovations which it has introduced into the "harmonious and immutable" religion which Christ and his apostles first promulgated. It is not necessary here to enter minutely into particulars; but we ask, where does Christ, by himself or by his apostles command us to pay homage to the Virgin Mary and the saints; where does he enjoin the worship of images; where does he insist upon the celibacy of the clergy, seeing that Peter the Prince of the Apostles, was a married man, and we do not even read that Christ reproved him for it, though he would in a succeeding age of the church have been accused of keeping his concubine; where does he enjoin the establishment of monkish institutions; where does he give Rome the authority to lay nations under ban and interdict, and to burn men's bodies for the good of their souls? Are not these innovations, monstrous innovations on the immutable religion of Christ, tending directly to violate its first principles, to destroy its beauty, and to subvert its firm foundations?

Your remaining subsidiary argument rests on the supposition that, in the opinion of Protestants generally, (p. 24.) "the only unity designed by Christ for his church is spiritual." . . . . "It is affirmed, that the family and household of Christ

may properly consist of a number of different families, varying extremely in government, discipline, laws, institutions, and worship." This you call "a strange idea of an united people, and not very accordant with St. Paul's description of the mystical body of Christ."

If you had said the *principal* unity, rather than the *only* unity designed by Christ for his church, is *spiritual*, you would more accurately have represented, as we believe, the sentiments of reflecting Protestants. The view we take is, that *spirituality* in religion is the great essential. "They who worship God, must worship him in spirit and in truth." Outward forms are to be valued, just so far as they promote a spiritual service; and outward unity to be appreciated for its tendency to produce spiritual unity and no further. The former may exist without the latter, and then it is comparatively worthless; the latter may exist without the former, and then though the unity wants that completeness which is most desirable, still it is a blessing of unspeakable worth.

But after all, has not the church ever been composed of "different families?" Was there not the family of Jerusalem, the family of Corinth, the family of Ephesus, as well as that of Rome? And did not these churches, with others after them, maintain their entire independence of the Roman see? Hence in the earliest periods of the church, "the idea" which seems to you "so strange,"

was actually carried out in practice. No common Head but Christ was then acknowledged or obeyed. The difference between Polycarp the martyr, Bishop of Smyrna, and Anicetus Bishop of Rome, on the controversy respecting Easter, shows the independence of the different churches; yet Anicetus did not presume, as some of his successors would have done, either to command, or to punish the aged disciple of St. John.

Nothing can be more false than the representations given by Romanists of the uninterrupted unity of the christian church, till the sixteenth century. The contests and animosities of different parties were quite as great, and attended with far more fearful consequences, than the separations of later times. The belligerent parties were generally, perhaps, kept within one inclosure, called the church: but this increased rather than diminished the mischief. The contest was attended with all the horrors of a civil war. It was a domestic strife, a "house divided against itself," and working by a gradual yet certain process, the ruin of the whole ecclesiastical system. The method pursued by those who had authority in the church, could not fail to issue in such a result. The whole papal system was one of restraint; if men could not be kept in order by threats, recourse was had to excommunications, to persecutions, to imprisonment and death. Freedom of thought was prohibited, conscience over-awed, men

were orthodox by profession while infidels at heart, the greater part sunk into the quiesence of abject slavery, and neither thought nor cared for anything in religion, but the observance of a routine of forms—and the absolution of their priest; others, with more active minds, caught eagerly at any point of contention which might be canvassed without peril of papal vengeance; and such topics as the immaculate conception of the Virgin set all Christendom in a flame, and divided the professedly religious into two great hostile powers beneath the banners of Dominic and St. Francis. Yet though they fought and cursed and anathematized each other, there was no breach of *Papal Unity!*

The great schism of the fourteenth century which produced three rival popes to launch their thunders against each other, and against the several adherents of each, might be deemed sufficient to silence for ever the claims of Rome to Unity; and to expose to eternal contempt the vain pretensions of that see.

But once more, the very existence of the mendicant orders is a proof that the unity boasted of, was but in name. For what was their province, but that of direct interference with the duties of the parochial clergy? Acting every where in complete independence of the Bishop of the Diocese, and that under the authority of the Pope, they strove to alienate the people from their resi-

dent pastors, and to diffuse among all classes the very worst principles of disunion. You may call this unity if you please, but it is destructive of all *spiritual* unity, it is virtual division under the pretext of union.

We can now answer the questions with which you wind up this part of your argument (p. 26.): "Is this position"—respecting the spiritual nature of the unity of the church—"so stoutly maintained simply for the sake of consistency; and that Protestants may not seem to allow their own foundations to be overthrown?" We reply, no; we maintain nothing on the subject for the mere sake of *consistency,* but for the sake of *truth.* We have got hold of something *real,* though not *visible;* you have grasped at something *visible,* but not *real.* We have an essential, though not formal unity; you are wandering after an *ignis fatuus*, a mere show of light which allures but to destroy. So much for your first question. You then ask; (p. 26.) "Or is it because that in most of these existing bodies of professed christians, some are found giving much proof of the reality of their personal piety, and of their individual participation of the grace of God?" Surely, this would be some ground for the conclusion that such persons, at least, were members of the one church of the living God. You, however, add: "I admit the fact, but I deny what it is supposed to prove."

We heartily rejoice in, and are thankful for

your admission; it is a lingering ray of Protestant feeling which still gives warmth and colour to your religion, however debased it may have become by the system to which you have attached yourself. We delight to hear you still dwell on the inspiring truth that "God is love,"—that He "so loved the world," as to give "his only begotten Son" to redeem it. We rejoice to find you saying, (p. 26.) "It is consistent with this fact, and not at all inconsistent with the maintenance of the supreme rights of the church, and of her sole claim to the incorporation with her of all the members of Christ and heirs of eternal life, that there may be out of her, those who yet are not necessarily to be deemed excluded from the final and most inestimable blessing of salvation."

We are glad, extremely glad for *your own sake*, that you do not deem the salvation of Protestants inconsistent with the validity of the claims of Rome; though we own, that to our apprehension, you are wrong in your charitable supposition. The proof lies in narrow compass. In the creed of Pope Pius IV. rendered imperative upon you by the last Roman council, the council of Trent, you are required to profess under the solemn sanction of an oath, all the doctrines which the Protestants have felt themselves bound in conscience to oppose; and then to add: "This true Catholic faith *out of which none can be saved*," &c. Here then the doctrine of exclusive salvation is, in direct

terms, maintained. None who hold doctrines contrary to those of the council of Trent can be saved. It is true you declare otherwise ; how you will reconcile yourself to your new master, whether it must not be with the souls of these heretics, we leave you to determine. In the mean time, it is a source of gratification to us, that your charity has got the better of your creed ; and we care not how many Romanists follow in your train ; for we may then hope, that you and they will join with us, in demanding that this hateful doctrine be expunged from the statute book of the Vatican.

It is right, however, that we should notice the ground on which you reach a conclusion so anti-roman, so genuinely protestant in its spirit. You allow, "there may be a unity of the spirit, where there is not the bond of visible communion." Very excellent, just what we could have wished you to maintain. But now for an illustration of your meaning: (p. 26, 27.) "The church has, so to speak, both a body and a soul; an outward and visible form, and an inward pervading spirit; the former God's institution—the latter his gift. The power and operation of the latter may extend beyond the sphere and limits of the former. Some, or many may belong to the soul of the church, who are not of its body. When we see persons loving truth, and desirous of embracing it as far as it is known to them, eschewing evil and doing good ; persons pursuing after holiness, and aiming

to live in the love of God and their neighbours; devout, benevolent, given to all good works,—these we may consider as bound to the church by unity of spirit, though not attached to her by the bond of visible union. They are pervaded by her soul, though not incorporated with her body. She claims them as her children, prays for their complete and outward union, and leaves them in the hands of that divine love, which has, she trusts included them in its wide and infinite apprehension, to associate them fully with her in time, or if not, in eternity."

Wherein, we would ask, does this distinction between the *body* and the *soul* of the church differ from that, to which protestant ears are much more accustomed, between the visible and invisible church, except in being obscurely expressed through a most incongruous metaphor?

We can understand that a person may belong to Christ's body mystical and spiritual, who is not in connexion with his visible body, the church on earth. But when you begin to explain this, or rather to mystify it, by an analogy drawn from the human body and its soul; we profess ourselves quite unable to follow you. Is there anything in nature corresponding with your supposition, that the soul can diffuse its own life and properties beyond the precincts of the body? Do you know of anything which belongs to the soul, before it becomes part of the body or after it is separated

from the body? If not, why attempt to illustrate a question like the present, by a metaphorical argument founded on an absolutely natural impossibility? Is it anything but the fear of protestant principles which has impelled you to hunt for an interpretation at once so fanciful and so absurd?

Yet, to meet you on your own ground, we remark, that to belong to the body of the church cannot avail, unless we also are pervaded by its soul, and to be pervaded by its soul is all that is essential to salvation, according to your own showing, whether we are in its body or not.

Did a distinction of this sort, think you, ever present itself to the mind of a Gardiner or a Bonner, or any of the fierce agents of the "calumniated Mary," when they dragged poor and rich, simple and learned, young and old to the fires of Smithfield? Did it once occur to them that some of these victims of their insatiable rage might be pervaded by the soul of the church, though now most cruelly cut off from its body; and might be on the point of ascending from a world which was not worthy of them, to join the "general assembly and church of the first born which are written in heaven?"—that, in truth, they were persecuting Christ in the person of his disciples? Verily, they were strangers to your distinction, and only thought that they were executing merited judgment upon men, who if they

did not belong to the body of the church, must be doomed to everlasting perdition.

As we sincerely believe the church to consist of all who agree in "fundamental truths;" we are under no necessity of troubling ourselves respecting the alternative which you suggest, that we must otherwise return to Rome. Yet you think, that there is no way of escape for us, from the difficulty in which you place us by the following statement: (p 28.) "Is it not singular, that no two of these denominations agree in fundamental truths? for they would not give you the same list of them. I doubt whether two ministers of any one of these bodies are prepared to say they entirely agree as to what these fundamental truths are, or how many the term comprehends. That is a strange test of agreement concerning which all are disagreed. Now in the Catholic Church, there is no disagreement whatever."

We beg now, without intending to say to you, what we could not with equal truth say to many others, plainly to state our acquiescence in the general outline of fundamental truths given by you in the sermon preached at Tavistock Chapel, to which we have before referred. We have only space to set down your concluding summary, "On every essential and fundamental point, on every doctrine which the Sacred Scriptures teach, as necessary to salvation, and which early creeds and early fathers confirm as such, there is among

true Protestants and real Christians of every church and age, a unity of faith, and such as is essential to the true unity of the church."* We like the old wine better than the new.

It is not our intention to fill our pages with an examination of your strictures on the writers of the Oxford Tracts; and especially of Tract 90. We leave them entirely to your mercy. But though we meddle not with the controversy between you and the friends by whom you were first induced to take the downward road to Rome; there is a passage in which you refer so directly to the creed and principles of Romanism, that we must offer upon it a passing observation or two. We first quote your words; (p. 36,) "Examining the ablest works of Protestant controversialists, and comparing them with the church's own authorized declarations of her doctrines, and the solid reasons in support of them which might be adduced, I was left with a sad impression of the misunderstandings and misrepresentation of the former. I know not a Protestant controversial writer (the authors of the *Oxford Tracts* alone excepted) whose works did not leave me more a Catholic than before; while I admit that there were some writings of Catholics, which, when I read them, threw me back upon Protestantism."

Such language betrays the lurking propensity of

* Character and Tokens of the true Church, p. 26.

the human mind to deceive itself on those very points, on which it seems to be acting with the greatest sincerity. The clause in the parenthesis enables us, in the present instance, to detect this mental infirmity. When was it, that you found protestant controversialists so blundering or so weak, or so completely in the wrong, as to drive your mind towards Romanism? Not surely, when you were availing yourself of their arguments in your *own controversial* discourses; not when we knew you, and heard you, and rejoiced in your success. Not till you had begun to read the *Oxford Tracts*, and to sit at the feet of the Oxford Divines, and to imbibe by degrees the sentiments they warily insinuate or boldly maintain. Yet so silently did the leaven of their doctrine work, that you were not conscious of that estrangement from Protestantism which was taking place in your mind, till under the influence of the false principles which they inculcate, you again took up the protestant writings, and read them with a jaundiced eye and an averted mind.

It would be a question of considerable interest, on which you alone are able to give information; who were those distinguished writers by whose inconclusive arguments you were driven towards Romanism; and what were the arguments themselves which produced an effect so contrary to their design? We might then be able to judge whether you had really consulted the best authors,

and had grappled with the strongest arguments. But you say "they made you *more a Catholic than before;*" this proves, that you had already swerved to Popery before you begun the examination of them; and therefore since even infidels will plead that the Bible itself *cherished*, if it did not *cause* their scepticism; so persons, who like you, acquire from any cause, a bias towards Popery, may easily delude themselves with the thought that protestant writers and protestant arguments have helped to make them what they are.

With regard to the "disputed tenets," between the church of Rome and Protestants, you say (p. 36, 37.): "I carefully examined them, I slowly received them, but I am convinced of the soundness of the Catholic doctrine concerning them all. I am satisfied that not one of them, nor all of them collectively, viewed even in connexion with the then existing abuses of them, were justifiable grounds of that separation from the church in communion with the see of Rome, which took place in the sixteenth century. And I concluded that if not warrantable grounds of separation then, they afforded not warrantable grounds for continuing that separation now."

When you have made good the premises that the reformers were not justified in separating from the church of Rome in the sixteenth century, we will at once concede the inference that we are not justified in continuing that separation now. Let

all the doctrines of that church be proved true, let her authority be established on the firm basis of Holy Writ, let her practices be shown to be in accordance with the law of God and the gospel of Christ, and we will no longer hesitate to follow your steps. But is this possible? Were the Reformers so blind, so ignorant, so infatuated as to venture their lives in a cause for which Scripture afforded them no sanction, and reason no support? Compare their writings with those of their antagonists, weigh their reasonings with those of the pontifical advocates, and their conduct with that of their persecutors; and without contending for the perfection of any one of them, we may boldly assert, that the aggregate of evidence from Scripture, from reason and from the character of the parties, will lie, with immense preponderance, in the scale of Protestantism.

Having said thus much, we cannot here refrain from the expression of our earnest hope, that the course you have taken may suggest a monitory lesson, which shall not be lost upon others, even if it be disregarded by yourself.

It is a fearful thing to begin by little and little to tamper with the plain and simple truths of Holy Scripture. Had you been told when first you began to speculate on types at Ryde, what would be the issue of your enterprise; you would have indignantly exclaimed, "Is thy servant a dog, that he should do such a thing?" But the wedge was

silently introduced, which in due time was to cleave the oak. A little more attention to external forms, a little stricter observance of times and seasons, a little advance towards cathedral forms of service, all harmless, perhaps, in themselves, was soon to be followed by the introduction of *doctrines* at variance with the simplicity of the faith of Christ, by the setting up of tradition as of co-ordinate authority with the Sacred Writings, by exalting the church at the expense of her great Head and everlasting Saviour; till, at length, you sunk into the arms of the enchantress, with scarcely an effort at resistance, when none of your most intimate friends suspected it, and when, if report speaks truly, you had undertaken to enter on a contest against her claims.

Be this as it may, we regret the step you have taken, dear sir, far more on your own account than on that of the church to which you lately belonged. Your continued services within her pale, ceased to be desirable, when you began to impugn the principles of the Reformation on which she is founded, and to approximate, as closely as possible, to the proscribed ceremonies and practices of the Papacy. If you could not be persuaded (as we once hoped you might) to return from this, as from former wanderings of heart, to the better views and sentiments of your early days, we verily believe it to be for the good of the Church, that you should leave her; though we fear, not by any

means for your own good. Perhaps, dear sir, and it pains us to think so, an example like yours was needed to convince multitudes among us, that the human heart is in great and continual danger from the enslaving principles of popish superstition. Many persons have thoughtlessly approached much too near the precipice down which you have fallen. They have been attracted by a religion which addresses itself to the senses and to the imagination, rather than to the judgment; and by gazing on beautiful pictures, listening to fine music, and admiring a pompous ceremonial, have been led to suppose that Popery was the true religion, and have been ready to commit themselves to its deceitful guidance. Happy may it be for such persons to behold the spectacle which your fall presents before them; happier still, if they take warning by your fate, and flee for their lives from the threatening danger!

The following passage from your pamphlet, bears strongly on this point; (p. 44, 45.) "It seems indeed the hope of some, that parts of the Catholic system may be so engrafted on the Anglican discipline, and connected with its worship, that this great desideratum"—of fervency and punctuality in devotion—"may be supplied without joining the communion of the Catholic Church. It remains to be seen, whether the attempt will succeed." . . . . . "I confess while I utterly repudiate all idea of claiming any degree of pursuit

of piety, above others of my late brethren, that I sought in vain to satisfy the longings of my soul, by any combination of Catholic forms with Protestant doctrines, of Catholic devotion in private with the Anglican public worship. It was like the sewing of new cloth upon an old garment, whereby the rent is made worse." We accept this reproach as the true honour of our church, and glory in the concession which these words contain—on the part of one who has painfully tried the experiment—that the Anglican Church and that of Rome are the antipodes of each other. Never can they be amalgamated; never again, we trust, after so signal a failure, will the vain attempt to combine them, be made. Yet we deny that the Anglican Church leaves her children destitute of any kind of provision which is essential to the greatest fervency and steadiness of devotion. She has rejected from her services much which men easily mistake for devotion, but which is often nothing more than sentimentalism under a devotional form; she has taken away the intervening objects which eclipse the glory of the Sun of Righteousness, the saint-worship, the image-worship, the idolatry, the superstition, which all work powerfully on the human mind, and produce a false fire of devotion in the breast. But this is her true excellence. She enforces a simple, pure, rational, vigorous piety, which fits men for all the arduous duties of the present life, and for all the glorious hopes of that

which is to come. To adopt your own language: (p. 45.) "There are those"—even among Protestants—"whom the infinite and rich grace of God has led to desire the knowledge of, and communion with him, as their chief and only satisfying joy. They wish, but scarcely dare say, they aim to live to and for him alone, he has presented himself as the admirable and most excellent object of their affections; they seek to be holocausts to his glory in his daily service; to keep their souls like altars whereon the fire of devotion goes not out; their bodies like temples, from which the presence of the Spirit departs not: to be able to say with truth, to me to live is Christ, and to die is gain."

Was it necessary to go to Rome for all this? Were not these the very things which your recently adopted church, seated in her pride upon the seven hills, and "drunken with the blood of the saints," had well nigh banished from the face of the earth, by her impostures, her superstitions and her cruelties? Were not the men who earnestly sought such blessings persecuted by the hierarchy, even unto death? Go to some poor cottager, with his Bible in his hand, and the love of the Saviour in his heart, and you will find much more of what you here profess to seek, than in the narrow cell of the recluse, the gorgeous temple of the Imperial City, or the chair of St. Peter.

We return to our quotation; (p. 45, 46.) "Have such," you ask, "tried and found that the Catholic

Church alone, in her glowing daily devotions, her hourly offices, her symbolic rites, her inestimable practice of confession, with its attendant sacramental privileges, her soul-engrossing intercourse with the spirits of the just made perfect, her pious recognition of the less perfect departed faithful, whose purification for bliss is still proceeding,—in her inseparable connection with the glorious company of the Apostles, the noble army of martyrs, the admirable band of confessors, her wholesome, rich and well-connected truths, that this church I say, alone presents what can satisfy their high, holy and heavenly desires and aims? It cannot but be, that, in this circumstance they find also, besides other considerations, that which commends her to their regard, their adhesion, their dutiful and devoted allegiance. They find and admire in her, the beauty of the spouse of Christ, they love and serve her for her own sake, and for His, whose beloved Bride she is. They find her equally the school of heavenly wisdom and godly simplicity; of Christian dignity and childlike humility. She presents combined, the characters of the serpent and the dove."

We have here given extracts at greater length, than perhaps, may be deemed necessary; but we wished, first, to allow the case the full force of the eloquent language in which you so well know how to adorn it; and secondly, to show how very easy it is, by a careful suppression of darker fea-

tures, and a judicious disposition of those which are more attractive, to make even a hateful object appear sufficiently lovely and captivating.

Let those various parts of the Romish system which you have suppressed, but which are absolutely essential to its full development, only be supplied, and let the portions of it which you have put forward, be exhibited in their true colours, without varnish or tinsel to set them off; and it will excite the aversion and disgust of all true and well-instructed disciples of Christ, of all calmly reflecting minds, who make the word of God their rule of judgment and their ultimate standard of appeal. We are certain that you yourself could never have taken the view of Romanism which you now present with so much ardour of feeling, and so much decoration of style, had you not first declined from that deep reverence for, and entire reliance upon the testimony of Holy Scripture, which has ever been the basis of genuine Protestantism.

We do not question the fact that many *devout* worshippers are and have been found in the Romish church. But we contend the numbers are comparatively small, and that the devotion itself is of a strangely mixed and dubious character. Some there are, we acknowledge, who enter with warmth of devotional feeling into the several parts of Romish worship; and we fully believe you to be of the number; but the religion of the many, you

will soon find to be of a very different character. With them the "glowing daily devotions" of which you speak, are nothing more than the rapid and wearisome repetition of Pater Nosters and Ave Marias, of prayers recited not for the purpose of awakening devotional feeling, but for that of accomplishing a prescribed task, of making compensation for sins committed, or of earning, by a merely perfunctory discharge of outward duties, a future recompense of reward.

Her "hourly offices," what do they mean in the lips of the major part of those who use them? Do they not too much resemble the vain repetitions of the heathen, who "think they shall be heard for their much speaking?" But there is one vicious ingredient in all these services, which defiles and deteriorates the worship of the most devout, and that is, the adoration paid to other beings than the One living and true God, who has said, "My glory will I not give to another."

Is it to be endured, that a creature shall be worshipped in such language as the following: "We fly to thy patronage, O holy mother of God, despise not our petitions in our necessities, but obtain our deliverance from all dangers, O ever glorious and blessed virgin! Pray for us, O holy mother of God, that we may be made worthy of the promises of Christ."*

* Garden of the Soul, revised and approved by the Right Reverend the Vicar Apostolic in the London District.

Her "symbolic rites" too often intercept the clear light of divine truth, teaching the worshippers of the Romish communion to rest in the shadows and symbols with which the services abound, rather than to look forward to any substantial blessings which they may be thought to represent.

Her "inestimable practice of confession" to a priest, on which Scripture is entirely silent, has always been the means by which the Roman Priesthood has held the laity in bondage, by extorting family secrets, rendering them the arbitrators of family differences, the dispensers of pardon, of grace, and of punishments, and the arbiters of the eternal destinies of men; while it has given occasion to the most shameful vices in the clerical order itself. "Its attendant sacramental privileges" are a mere nullity—the inventions of men, and not the institutions of Christ,—the product of the latter and more degenerate ages of the church, and not of its earlier and purer times.

Her "soul engrossing intercourse with the spirits of the just made perfect," means nothing more, when stripped of its poetic dress, than prayers to saints and angels; as if it were not enough for Christians to have "one Mediator between God and man, the man Christ Jesus;" but we must be aided by a host of intermediate mediators, to make our One Great Mediator the more propitious!

Her "pious recognition of the less perfect departed faithful," is a well-turned periphrasis to describe prayers *for* the dead; a practice resting solely on Apocryphal testimony. Their "purification for bliss which is still proceeding," is a very mild and gentle phrase to explain, or rather to veil the flames of purgatory.

Are these, dear Sir, attractions to a pious mind? Yet these are, by no means the whole of that mass of error, which, as we are persuaded, you have on very slight and untenable grounds, been prevailed upon to embrace.

Do you not expose yourself to the curse denounced against those who add to, or take from the word of God, by adopting the sentence of the Tridentine Council which declares the Apocrypha to be of equal authority with the canonical Scriptures; and by "firmly admitting and embracing apostolical and ecclesiastical traditions, and all other constitutions of the (Roman) Church," since many of those constitutions are wholly repugnant to the revealed will of God? Do you not attribute to the two sacraments instituted by Christ, a meaning, and a virtue which their Great Author never assigned them, by supposing them to convey grace, *ex opere operato*, through the mere outward performance of the rite; while yet you cause the validity of these sacraments in their administration, to depend upon the will of the priest, so that if he be evil disposed, he has it in his power,

without seeming to do so, to nullify every sacramental act which he performs, and to place the salvation of souls in the greatest uncertainty and peril? Do you not deny the sacramental cup to the laity, though it never was withheld in apostolic times, or for ages afterwards? Do you not transform their blessed ordinance by which Christians are permitted to enjoy the most cheering communion with the Lord and Saviour, into an awful and *terrific mystery*, requiring the consecrated elements to be honoured with the same adoration which is given to Christ himself? And is not this,—if nothing besides in your worship can be called so,—a direct act of idolatry? Do you not add to these sacraments, five others, none of which has the nature, or serves to answer the purpose of a sacrament? For, these are the words which the Council of Trent puts into your mouth: "I profess also, that there are truly and properly seven sacraments of the new law, instituted by Jesus Christ our Lord, and for the salvation of mankind, though all are not necessary for every one; viz. baptism, confirmation, eucharist, penance, extreme unction, orders, and matrimony; and that they confer grace." Do you not also engage to "receive and embrace all, and every one of the things which have been defined and declared in the holy Council of Trent, concerning *original sin* and *justification*," whereas, on these articles especially, the church of Rome, in that

council, augmented its guilt,—already awfully great,—by consolidating and sanctioning the scattered fragments of heterodoxy on that subject, which had floated down the stream, from the times of the schoolmen ; denouncing an anathema against all who should dare to dissent from their perverted interpretation of these fundamental doctrines of the Gospel ? Contrast the following language of the council with the statements of Scripture on the same subject : " If any one shall say that the good works of a justified man are so the gifts of God, that they are not also the merits of the same justified person ; or that he being justified by the good works which are performed by him through the grace of God and merits of Jesus Christ, whose living member he is, does not truly merit increase of grace and eternal life, and the attainment of that eternal life, if he shall depart in grace, and even the increase of glory, *let him be accursed.*"

Do you not here, dear Sir, commit yourself to a doctrine absolutely subversive of that so strenuously maintained by St. Paul, that we are " justified freely by God's grace, through the redemption that is in Christ Jesus ? "

On this unsound foundation, what wonder is it, that you should build the " wood, hay, and stubble" of a state of purgatory after death, to supply the deficiencies of the one atonement offered by Christ for the sins of the whole world ? or that you

should look aside from the great "Apostle and High Priest of our profession, Christ Jesus," to such powerful intercessors as the Virgin Mary, St. Jacobus, and St. Thomas à Becket? or that you should believe that the priest in elevating the host offers to God an *unbloody* sacrifice for the remission of sins? or that you should contend that "the sacrifice of the mass," does not interfere "with the one sacrifice of Calvary," while it pretends to accomplish the very same thing with that sacrifice, and daringly violates the great apostolical axiom that "without shedding of blood, there is no remission?" or that you should believe, under the authority of this council, in an inexhaustible store of indulgences held by the Roman Pontiffs, the use of which is "most wholesome to all christian people?" or that you should acknowledge with this council, "the Roman church to be the mother and mistress of all churches," and should "promise and swear true obedience to the Roman Bishop, the successor of St. Peter, the Prince of the Apostles, and vicar of Jesus Christ?" finally, that you should "undoubtedly receive all other things delivered, defined, and declared by the sacred canons and general councils, and particularly by the holy council of Trent," and should "condemn, reject, and anathematize all things contrary thereto, and all heresies whatsoever, condemned, rejected, and anathematized by the church?" The only true cause of surprise is, that

having gone thus far, you should just hesitate at the last step, and in most obvious contradiction to the decrees of a council, which now commands you with oracular authority, and to which you profess such devoted and even abject submission, you should still hold, that it is possible to be saved out of "this true Catholic faith."

May you retain this happy inconsistency, so long as you retain your connexion with Rome. Yet we must observe that you are acting in opposition not only to the Fathers of Trent, but to the whole current of Romish authority from Thomas Aquinas to this last of the councils of the Papal church. The words of Aquinas are, "It is of necessity to salvation, to be subject to the Roman Pontiff." And a decree of Pope Boniface VIII. in the year 1294, extant in the canon law, runs nearly in the same words; "We declare, say, define, and pronounce that it is absolutely necessary to salvation for every human creature to be subject to the Roman Pontiff." But enough has been said on this topic.

We believe you, when you acknowledge that it cost you much to cross a Rubicon like this; that "the step was full fraught with trial;" and we regret to think, that it is still more fully fraught with *danger* to your own soul. Oh! that you should have done so much, and endured so much, to shake the very foundations of your hope, and to bring a cloud,—a dark and portentous cloud,—over the evening of your life!

You tell us of approaching critical times, of a "war against Christ and his Church;" and we accept the solemn admonition. But you also tell us that the Romish Church is "repairing her time honoured walls; strengthening her ancient battlements and defences; presenting her compact and insulated position as the city of God, in the midst of the earth, and that she is calling, especially on the Anglican Church, to join her, and to find protection under her shadow." Dear Sir, it is the Syren's song; and in the name of our God, we refuse to listen to it for a moment! Shall the olive leave her fruitfulness to seek protection under the shade of the bramble made only to be burned? It has pleased God to raise up our highly-favoured church as a barrier against the corruptions of past times, and the laxity of the present. On all sides she has been assailed; but having survived many a storm, we know, and are confident, that she will survive that which has swept you before it into the unfathomable abyss of Romanism. And although there may be others, who like yourself, shall prove unable to resist its force, the English church shall only be the more confirmed in her pure faith, in her holy purposes, in all the duties of her sacred calling; like the tree, whose topmost branches may be broken, while its roots are strengthened by the fury of the tempest!

You have one passage on this subject, so very

remarkable, that we must quote it before we conclude. You represent Rome as closing her invitation to our Church, with these words: (p. 50.) "Your return to me will be like health to the feeble, and strength to the faint; like an infusion of young blood into an aged frame. You will be welcomed with gladness, and rejoiced over with singing, and the joy of the earth shall be re-echoed and sustained by that of heaven; the devout thanksgiving of the sixteenth Gregory, for the recovery of the strayed sheep of his flock, will be taken up by the first of his name, the saint in heaven, for the renewal of that conversion of England, for which both he on earth so fervently prays, and he in heaven so continually intercedes."

Now, as we did not happen to know, that St. Gregory I., "ever liveth to make intercession for us" in heaven, having supposed that office to belong exclusively to One greater than he; we should never have thought of such an argument, to persuade British christians to return to their allegiance to the sixteenth of his name. The latter no doubt, would be very glad to receive us, whether he "prays fervently" for us, as you say; or *curses* us once a year at Rome with all other heretics, as is more generally asserted. Having, however, no wish to infuse youthful blood in the aged frame of "the Man of Sin," and no desire to gratify any Gregory from the first to the last of those who as-

sume the name; we can only regret, as we do most sincerely, that it should ever have entered into your mind to pen such absurdity, or to expect that it could produce any desirable impression on the mind of your readers. The present Pope has enough to do, to keep Spain, and Austria, and Italy in order, without seeking again to filch Peterpence out of Englishmen's pockets, for the glory of his tiara, and the good of their souls.

We have written to you with all the plainness which christian regard demands at our hands. When we began this letter, our design did not extend beyond that of making a private appeal to you; but our pages grew beyond the limits of a manageable correspondence, we reflected that the publication of your letter might do harm, especially in this neighbourhood, where your former services were so highly appreciated, and we indulged the hope that we might by publishing our observations, serve the great cause of true religion and Protestantism; and therefore, we have adopted the present mode of addressing you.

We know not by whom you have been asked; "Why have you become a Catholic?" Our question would rather have been: "Why have you ceased to be a Catholic?" Why have you forsaken the catholic church of England, for the Anti-catholic, the exclusive, the monopolising church of Rome? Why have you deserted "the

pure and reformed part" of the universal church established in these realms, for the corrupt and decaying part, which proudly arrogates to itself the title of the WHOLE? Why have you forsaken the fountain of living water, to drink of the muddy stream of the Tiber, or to drain a few drops from the broken cisterns of Romanism which can hold no living water?

We have done! May God follow with his blessing, this our earnest remonstrance with our friend and brother. Painful indeed has been our task; but if it should please God to awaken you from your present slumber, to show where you have begun to go wrong, to bring you back, step by step, to the point from which you set out on your devious course, if it should please Him to sound in your ears the solemn warning once given to the angel and church of the Ephesians: "Remember from whence thou art fallen, and repent, and do the first works; or else I will come unto thee quickly, and will remove thy candlestick out of its place, except thou repent;" and to attend you, by the still small voice of mingled mercy and reproof, till you shall say, "What have I to do any more with idols?" then shall we again rejoice over you as a sheep restored by infinite and everlasting mercy to the Saviour's fold; as a child, brought back to your heavenly Father's house, after all your wanderings.

With the deepest feelings of sorrow for your fall, and with fervent prayers for your recovery, we subscribe ourselves:

Yours most sincerely,

THOMAS DIKES.
JOHN KING.
WILLIAM KNIGHT.
JOHN SCOTT.

Hull, Feb. 10, 1842.

To the Rev. R. W. Sibthorp, B.D.
&c. &c.

L. and G. Seeley, Printers, Thames Ditton.

WORDS FOR TRUTH:

REPLIES TO ROMAN CAVILS AGAINST THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

BY

RICHARD FREDERICK LITTLEDALE, LL.D., D.C.L.

Quid te, Tucca, juvat vetulo miscere Falerno
In Vaticanis condita musta cadis?
Quid tantum fecere boni tibi pessima vina?
Aut quid fecerunt optima vina mali?
MARTIALIS Epigrammatum I., 19.

Why wilt thou blend the noblest of old wine
With trash new-bottled at the Vatican?
What good is that vile stuff to thee or thine?
Hath the best wine e'er done thee evil, man?

REVISED AND ENLARGED.

LONDON:
KENT & Co., 23, PATERNOSTER ROW, E.C.
THE CHURCH DEFENCE INSTITUTION,
9, BRIDGE STREET, WESTMINSTER, S.W.

NEW YORK:
JAMES POTT & Co.

1888.

PRICE SIXPENCE.

VACHER & SONS, Printers, Westminster.

PREFATORY NOTE.

THE following papers (reprinted from the NATIONAL CHURCH) are not a consecutive treatise. They are separate and independent replies to several pamphlets against the Church of England recently published, and chiefly issued by a body humorously calling itself the "Catholic Truth Society." A certain sequence of argument, however, has been observed in their arrangement, and the repetitions which occur in their course are intended to meet similar iterations in the papers which they controvert.

R. F. L.

Epiphany, 1888.

CONTENTS.

No.		PAGE
I.	The Old Religion	5
II.	Catholic—Not Roman Catholic	16
III.	The Four Doctors	25
IV.	Was the British or Anglo-Saxon Church Roman Catholic?	33
V.	What the Reformation did in and for England	40
VI.	Was St. Peter ever Bishop of Rome? ...	47
VII.	Papal Authority in Fact and in Fiction ...	54
VIII.	The Anglican Ministry	66
IX.	Jurisdiction	75

No. I.

"THE OLD RELIGION."

IT is the habitual boast of Roman Catholics that theirs is the "Old Religion," and that the Church of England is modern in belief and usages in comparison with the Church of Rome. And this way of putting the case is widely accepted in popular literature, whether history or fiction, which happens to touch on the events of Tudor and Stewart days, for Roman Catholics are often referred to therein as adherents of the "old religion," in contradistinction to other English Christians. This has proved of much advantage to the Roman cause, for religion is one of those matters wherein "the old is better," and wherein novelty and error are interchangeable terms. But what are the facts?

They depend entirely on the meaning put on the word "old." A dog is old at ten years of age; a man is hardly counted old till sixty; a piece of money does not rank as an old coin under a couple of hundred years; an old abbey is likely to be five or six hundred years built; and an old seal from Egypt or Assyria may be three or four thousand years in existence. There is no difficulty at all in finding what can rightly be called "old" when we are speaking of the Christian religion. Whatever belongs to the time, eighteen hundred and more years ago, when the Gospel was first preached, and to the time immediately following for the next century or two, this is the real genuine old Christianity. As we come further and further away from this early time, opinions and practices becoming more or less preva-

lent amongst Christians, but not discoverable in the very ancient records of our religion, have less and less title to be called old, and therefore less and less claim to be accepted as true. And there is one point more to be kept in mind: that it often happened that some opinion or practice not regularly authorised or enjoined by any Church council or creed was left unchecked, if not actually encouraged, and thus spread widely in popular acceptance, often winning formal approval at last. Such changes are often set down to the principle of growth, or, as it is called, "development," which means that the Christian religion does alter, and cannot help altering, as the Church grows older and has more accumulated wisdom and experience. But the Roman Church does not admit this principle. It alleges by decrees in the Council of Trent and in the Vatican Council, that the faith of the Roman Church has been unchanged from the very beginning, and that it cannot be lawfully altered as if it were an invention of human wisdom, instead of being a Divine revelation.* And this statement is made binding on all Roman Catholics, under pain of anathema.

What test, then, can be conveniently applied to discover which of the two, the Church of England or the Church of Rome, holds to the old religion, which of the two has brought in changes in doctrine and practice? There is a very simple and convenient one provided, which, though far from covering the

* Thus, the Council of Trent decrees: "This truth and discipline are contained in the written order and the unwritten traditions which, received by the Apostles from the mouth of Christ Himself, or from the Apostles themselves, by the dictation of the Holy Ghost, have come down even to us, transmitted as it were from hand to hand." (Sess. iv.) And the Vatican Council decrees: "The doctrine of faith which God hath revealed has not been propounded, like a philosophical invention, to be perfected by human ingenuity, but has been delivered as a divine deposit to the spouse of Christ, to be faithfully kept and infallibly declared. Hence also that meaning of the sacred dogmas is perpetually to be retained, which our Holy Mother the Church has once for all declared; nor is that meaning ever to be departed from, under the pretence or pretext of a deeper understanding of them." And again: "The Holy Spirit was not promised to Peter's successors that they might make new doctrines, but that by His assistance they might inviolably keep and faithfully expound the revelation or deposit of faith delivered through the Apostles."

whole of the ground, is yet quite sufficient to decide the main question. It is this. There are three ancient Christian creeds, received by both the Roman and the English Church, namely, the Apostles' Creed, the Nicene Creed, and the Athanasian Creed. As to the reception of these three, and all the doctrines contained therein, no dispute or difference exists between the two Churches. But to these three creeds the Church of Rome has added a fourth, named the Creed of Pope Pius IV., which is more than a thousand years later in date than the youngest of the three older creeds, for it was not published till 1564, and at first was intended only for office-bearers in the Church, though it has long been imposed on all converts from other Christian bodies. And further, whereas the three older creeds contain only the same matter, differently worded, and do not add anything to the list of doctrines to be held; contrariwise, the Creed of Pius IV. contains twelve articles of belief which are in none of the former creeds, and were not proposed as matter of faith till comparatively recent times.

None of these twelve articles make part of the belief of the English Church, which is content to keep to the old creeds as sufficient for her children. Let us now see what are these twelve additional articles, and when they first came into notice and reception. The single question before us just now is not, Are these twelve articles true or false, right or wrong? That is a very serious question, deserving careful examination at a proper time, but the one question to be considered now is, Are these articles new or old?

Article I.—"I most steadfastly admit and embrace apostolic and ecclesiastical traditions, and the remaining observances and constitutions of the same [Roman] Church."

On the face of it, this article bears witness against itself on the score of antiquity, by adding "ecclesiastical" to "apostolic" amongst the traditions binding as matters of faith, for all such further traditions, of which there are hundreds, must needs be later than apostolic times. And, in fact, most of them are very much later, and are not denied to be so by their maintainers, so that to make them binding as items of belief is to innovate, to depart from the ancient standards, exactly in proportion as these various

"traditions, observances, and constitutions" severally belong to a later and still later time than the date of the old creeds.

Article II.—"I also admit the Holy Scriptures, according to that sense which Holy Mother Church has held and does hold,* . . . neither will I take them and interpret them at any time save according to the unanimous consent of the Fathers."

On this head it will suffice to say that the last clause is no older than 1564, for the decree of the Council of Trent, whereon it is based, is worded in this very different fashion: "No one shall presume to interpret Holy Scripture . . . *contrary to* the unanimous consent of the Fathers." That is to say, the Council barred Catholics from one special way of interpreting Scripture; the Creed of Pius IV. practically bars them from any way whatever, there being no such unanimity of consent in patristic commentaries on Scripture, though there is a large measure of practical unanimity as to the doctrines deduced thence.

Article III.—"I also profess that there are truly and properly seven Sacraments of the New Law, instituted by Jesus Christ our Lord."

There is no trace discoverable of this enumeration of the Sacraments as just seven, and neither more nor fewer, till the writings of Peter Lombard, Bishop of Paris, who died in 1164. The Eastern Church now agrees with the Roman in counting seven Sacraments, but no old Greek Father does so, and this is merely one of several points wherein the East has copied the West in comparatively recent times.

Article IV.—"All and everything which the Holy Council of Trent hath defined and declared in the matter of original sin and justification, I embrace and receive."

What the Council of Trent has said on these subjects occupies sixteen chapters and thirty-three canons. And a large part of what is so contained was opposed as novel in the Council of Trent itself by a strong minority, including Cardinals Contarini, Serip-

---

* These words "does hold" refer every interpretation of doctrine not to the standard of the ancient Church, but to that of the modern Roman Church, and take for granted that the two standards are identical.

andi, and Reginald Pole, the last of whom quitted the Council because of its decision on these matters. Clearly, then, whether the Council was right or wrong in its decision, it imposed a new standard of belief upon Roman Catholics, limiting their former liberty, so that this article goes back no earlier than 1547, the date of the decree.

Article V.—"I profess that in the Mass there is offered to God a true, proper, and propitiatory sacrifice for the living and the dead . . . and that there is a conversion of the whole substance of the Bread into the Body, and of the whole substance of the Wine into the Blood, which conversion the Catholic Church calls Transubstantiation."

It is necessary to touch on the last clause only of this article, that on Transubstantiation. The nature of this opinion is constantly mistaken, even by professional theologians. It is not a theological doctrine at all. The theological doctrine is simply that of the Presence of Christ—we are not here concerned with the mode of that Presence—in the Holy Eucharist. Transubstantiation is merely a philosophical theory, intended to meet certain subtle intellectual difficulties as to the manner of that Presence (which it has signally failed to do), and depends entirely upon the notions entertained by the Realist school of philosophers as to the nature of Substance and Accidents, that is to say, the properties or qualities of substance or body of any kind. This school did not spring up in Western Europe until the eleventh century; the word Transubstantiation was not adopted until the Council of Lateran in 1215, when also the theory it denotes was first formulated as a dogma; and the virtual oblivion into which Realism has passed (overthrown centuries ago by great Roman Catholic thinkers of the opposite school of Nominalists) has resulted in the practical abandonment of Transubstantiation (though the name is still retained) by Roman theologians. For whereas they formerly taught that only mere phantasms of bread and wine survive after consecration, now the received teaching is that no physical change whatever, of which the senses can take cognisance, is effected by consecration, but that all the accidents of the bread and wine in the Eucharist remain as they were before. This

is the Anglican doctrine that "the bread and wine remain in their very natural substances," expressed in other but equivalent language. For the Realist view is that "substance" is a something with an independent existence of its own, apart and distinct from the "accidents," qualities, or properties, whereby anything possessing substance is known by and to us; so that, conceivably, the size, shape, weight, colour, taste, chemical constituents, and so forth, might all be taken away from a piece of bread, for instance, and yet the substance of the bread would still remain.* But now the contrary (Nominalist) view prevails everywhere, that "substance" is nothing else than a collective name for the sum of all the accidents or qualities of a body, so that if all these were taken away, the body would wholly cease to exist, and its substance would be annihilated. Consequently, in acknowledging that all the accidents or qualities of bread and wine do truly remain after consecration, and are not mere deceptive appearances, Roman Catholic theologians thereby practically admit that the bread and wine themselves remain too—which is the denial of Transubstantiation, for they did not admit the actual truth of these appearances in former times, but burnt men for asserting it (and notably the nutritive power of the Sacrament as bodily food), though believing in the Real Presence. And thus this article of the Creed of Pius IV. is at best late mediæval, and has long diverged from the sense at first put upon it. The Anglican doctrine is in minute verbal agreement with that of Pope St. Gelasius (492—496), in his treatise against Eutyches, "On the Two Natures," whose authenticity (disputed by Ultramontanes by reason of the words about to be cited) is certified by the fact of its being quoted as his by his contemporary St. Fulgentius, and by his successor Pope John II. He says: "The Sacraments of the Body and Blood of Christ which we receive are a divine thing, inasmuch as through them we are made partakers of the divine nature; and yet the substance and nature (*substantia et natura*) of bread and wine ceases not to be."

* Thus, when a red-hot bar of iron cools, the substance of the iron remains after the heat and redness, accidents of that substance, have disappeared.

Article VI.—" I confess that under either kind alone, a whole and entire Christ and a true Sacrament is received."

This article is intended to uphold the usage of lay communion in one kind only. But communion in one kind is denounced as a Manichæan heresy and as " sacrilegious " by Pope Leo the Great (440—461) and as " a great sacrilege " by Pope Gelasius I. (492—496), the latter stating that the reason why it is so is that it is a " division of one and the same mystery " ; it was forbidden, save in cases of necessity, by Pope Urban II. in the Council of Clermont in 1095 ; and again by Pope Paschal II. in 1118, save in the case of infants and very infirm old people, who cannot swallow bread, and may therefore be communicated with the *chalice* only. And the first ruling the other way (wherein it was acknowledged that Christ's institution required reception in both kinds) was at the Council of Constance, on June 15, 1415, when the Council had deposed the reigning Pope or Popes, and had not yet elected another. This, consequently, is a very late innovation upon ancient doctrine and practice.

Article VII.—" I constantly hold that there is a Purgatory, and that the souls therein detained are assisted by the prayers of the faithful."

Pius IV., who drew up this creed, mentions in his Bull against the Greeks that they " reject Purgatory," and they did so, in fact, at the Council of Florence in 1439, as unknown to Oriental theology. And Cardinal Fisher, in his book against Luther (A.D. 1535), says: "Since it was so late before Purgatory was admitted into the Universal Church, who can be surprised that at the earlier period of the Church no mention was made of indulgences ?" Accordingly, this article also is new.

Article VIII.—" In like manner I hold that the Saints reigning with God are to be venerated and invoked, and that they offer prayers for us, and that their relics are to be venerated."

There is not quite such overwhelming evidence against this clause as against those cited previously, for there is some seeming warrant for invocation of the Saints found in Fathers of the fourth and fifth centuries—even this, however, being far too late to rank as part of the primitive Christian belief and practice. But when these earliest examples are tested, they prove to be sermons on

the anniversaries of Saints' Days, and the like, in which merely a sort of poetical call is made upon the Saint commemorated to unite in the worship being offered by the Church, exactly analogous to the mention of Ananias, Azarias, and Misael in the *Benedicite*, which no sane person supposes to be addressed as a prayer to them. This develops somewhat later into the "Pray for us," when the Saints are asked to intercede, as living friends might do, but with better knowledge and more power. But invocations of the modern kind, asking the Saints to confer favours and graces, as from themselves directly, are not to be found till the ninth century. In the standard commentary on the Roman Breviary, that of Gavanti and Merati, it is stated that the earliest discoverable use of the "Hail Mary" as a prayer, and not as a mere anthem, is in the diocesan statutes of Odo de Sully, Bishop of Paris from 1196 to 1208, and that the latter clause, as now said, "Holy Mary," &c., is not found till 1508; while the earliest mention of the "Hail Mary," as used devotionally in England, is in 1237, according to Dr. Rock ("Church of our Fathers," iii. 318). This article, consequently, is no part of the ancient faith of the Catholic Church.

Article IX.—"I most firmly assert that the images of Christ, of the ever-Virgin Mother of God, and of the other Saints, are to be had and retained, and that due honour and veneration are to be rendered to them."

The cultus of images was first licensed by the pseudo-General Second Council of Nice (a packed and fettered assembly) in 787, and was promptly repudiated and condemned by the Western Church in the Council of Frankfort in 794; while the so-called "Caroline Books," a theological indictment against image-worship, drawn up at the instance of the Emperor Charlemagne, are still extant to testify to the opposition this novelty met at the outset.

Article X.—"I most firmly assert that the power of Indulgences has been left in the Church by Christ, and that their use by the Christian people is of the most salutary character."

There is no trace whatever of Indulgences, save as mitigations of canonical penalties imposed by human ecclesiastical law, discoverable till the year 1084, when Pope Gregory VII. offered

remission of sins to all who would take up arms against the Emperor Henry IV., with whom he was then at feud. Even then and for long afterwards indulgences made no part of the canon law of the Roman Church, nor was it till 1391 that "plenary indulgences" were first granted. Accordingly, Cardinal Fisher, in his book against Luther, says: "There was no use of Indulgences for the first twelve centuries; they began after people were affrighted with the torments of Purgatory." (And see above, under Article VII.) This is, therefore, a new doctrine.

Article XI.—"I acknowledge the Holy Catholic and Apostolic Roman Church to be the mother and mistress of all Churches."

This article is one which has to be tested by facts as well as by dates. As it is certain that the Gospel was first preached from Jerusalem, it is to Jerusalem only that the title of "Mother of all Churches" can historically or theologically apply. Rome itself was evangelised from Jerusalem, first by the "strangers of Rome," who reported St. Peter's Pentecostal sermon there, and after by St. Paul, who first organised the Roman Church. And Rome was not a missionary centre for a very long time. It is just possible that North Africa was evangelised thence, but, after that, Anglo-Saxon England, in the sixth century, is the first-fruits of Roman missionary enterprise. None of the many hundred Churches founded in East or West up to that date were the result of Roman missions, or could have supposed for an instant that they were so; and it is thus impossible that a belief of the Roman Church being their "mother" could have made any part of their creed or tradition. As to its being the "Mistress of all Churches," the word "mistress" may stand either for "sovereign" or for "teacher." In the former sense, though many strenuous efforts were made to establish such supremacy, yet the Eastern Churches never accepted it at all, and several of the Western Churches—and notably the Church of England—resisted it in principle and in detail. In the sense of teacher, the facts are plainly all the other way. It was the East which taught Rome, which gave Rome the Gospel, the Nicene Creed, its oldest Liturgy, and created nearly all the theology which was not supplied from Africa. It is not till Leo I., in the fourth

century, that Rome begins to have a local school of theology, or to be more than a learner at the feet of more erudite Churches. Consequently this claim lacks the mark of ancient consent, and is to be classed amongst innovations.

Article XII.—"I vow and swear a true obedience to the Roman Pontiff, the successor of St. Peter, Prince of the Apostles, and Vicar of Jesus Christ."

Here it will be enough to say that the Church of North Africa, in 419, and again in 424, enacted canons repudiating the Papal claim to interfere in the concerns of the African Church, and excommunicating all African ecclesiastics who should appeal beyond sea—that is, to the Pope, as that was the point at issue—from the decision of an African Synod, and the famous St. Augustine took part in both these rejections of Papal authority. And the Western Church deposed Popes several times, on the ground of the superior authority of the collective Church over any single Bishop, however exalted in station. The last case was as late as 1415. If the proposition in the Creed of Pius IV. were historically or theologically ancient or true, such an act would have been the cutting off its own head on the part of the body, and thus its own self-murder and annihilation.

It will be seen from this chronological survey that while several of the twelve articles of the specially Roman Creed may be called old in comparison with the tenets of various modern sects, they are not old in relation to the only standard of age which holds good for the Catholic Faith. And although Rome differs from the sects in this important particular: that she has not cast away any of the ancient articles of Christian belief, however she may have overlaid and obscured them, yet the passion for religious novelties is just as acute amongst Roman Catholics as amongst the most innovating of the sects. The only difference is one of procedure. In Protestantism the inventor of a novel opinion or practice starts a new sect for its propagation and maintenance; in the Roman Church it is not necessary to secede for such a purpose, since it can be effected by starting a new cult, supported by a guild or confraternity of some kind, and certain to obtain formal recognition in course of time, if it can first succeed unofficially in winning a sufficient

measure of popularity. That is how the cult of the Sacred Heart, for example, came in. And it was freely alleged, during the inception and course of the Vatican Council, by some of its ablest Roman Catholic critics, that one of the most powerful motives which influenced the advocates of Papal Infallibility was that it would provide machinery whereby, without the long delays of previous inquiry and conciliar procedure, a perennial flow of fresh theological definitions and new articles of belief could be supplied for the jaded appetites of devotees, craving for some ever-new fashion in religion.

It is thus clear that not one of the twelve additional articles of the specially Roman Creed can be traced back to primitive or even to very early times. What that means is this: that the only "old religion" to be found in the Roman Church is that part of its belief and practice which agrees with the standards of the Church of England. What is peculiar to itself, and what makes by far the largest portion of its practical working system, is at most mediæval, and sometimes not only modern, but extremely modern, as the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin, which dates as a dogma only from 1854, and that of Papal Infallibility, which was first enacted in 1870, having been repudiated up to the very last by eminent Roman Catholic theologians. Wherever, then, the "old religion" may be found, pure and unmixed with modern additions, it is not in the modern Church of Rome.

No. II.

CATHOLIC—NOT ROMAN CATHOLIC.

EVERY time an English Churchman attends Morning or Evening Prayer in church he joins in the Apostles' Creed as part of those services. Every time he goes to Holy Communion he joins in the Nicene Creed as part of that service; and in both those Creeds he professes his belief in the Holy Catholic Church.

Hereupon Roman Catholic proselytisers say:—"That means the Roman Church, which is the only Catholic Church. We are everywhere, all over the world, recognised amongst all nations; your communion is only for England first, and then for English-speaking people elsewhere. At best, even if it is a Church at all, it is a mere local one, and so not the Catholic Church. And because it is not merely local, but separated from those Churches all over the world which are in communion with the Roman Church, the mother and mistress of all Churches, it is no true Church, but only a sect and a schism. There can be no such things as independent National Churches, for that would make against the unity of the one Church; but even if there were such Churches possible, they would still have to be in union with the Church of Rome, in subjection to the Supreme Pontiff, the successor of St. Peter, in order to have any just title to their name and rank."

This is a very large claim, and needs to be tested carefully before it can be allowed. And the first thing which has to be ascertained is the meaning and use of the word "Catholic."

It is not a Bible word. It never occurs either in the Greek Old Testament (the LXX.) or in the New Testament. Consequently, it is not, as a title of the Church, divinely revealed, but is only of man's invention and application; and thus its exclusive use, if the Roman Church could prove it to be hers alone in fact and by right, would not also prove her superiority to all other Christian bodies.

The first appearance of the word in a Christian writer is very early It is in the Epistle of St. Ignatius to the Church of Smyrna, and there it means the Universal Church as distinguished from any local portion of it; in which same sense it is used just after by the Church of Smyrna itself three times in its Letter on the Martyrdom of St. Polycarp. These examples belong to the second century. In that same century, later on, St. Justin Martyr speaks of the "Catholic—*i.e.* general—Resurrection;" and just in the third century we find the sense of orthodoxy, of the faith of the whole Catholic Church, as being opposed to the doctrines of local and heretical sects, beginning to be attached to the word by St. Clement of Alexandria and others. Two schisms —the Novatian and the Donatist—which arose severally in the third and fourth centuries, and were occasioned by disputes about the rightfulness of lenient Church discipline towards sinful and fallen members, brought the word into yet more prominent use and a more carefully defined meaning, so that it came at last to signify (1) the Church of the whole world, as distinguished from any portion or portions thereof; (2) this same Church, as distinguished from the sects; (3) the teaching of this Church, as containing the whole of the Divine revelation and precepts, instead of choosing only portions thereof; and (4) as applicable to all sorts and conditions of men. This is the fourfold sense in which the word is used by St. Cyril of Jerusalem and by St Augustine, who replies to the Donatists—claiming as they did to be the true Church, because the only persons of whom the third definition just given (which they urged as complete in itself) held good—that geographical universality is an essential element of Catholicity. None of the more ancient Fathers who define the word include communion with the Roman Church as a factor of the meaning. This is true, for instance, not only of the writers already mentioned, but of St. Cyprian, St. Theophilus, St. Pacian,

St. Chrysostom, and several others, though if they had known of it they could scarcely have avoided saying so. A well-known passage of St. Irenæus (written about A.D. 183) is often cited as though asserting that it is necessary for all Churches to agree with the Roman Church, as the sole depository of Apostolic tradition. But this meaning can be forced out of the words only by a serious mistranslation—that of "agree with" instead of "assemble at," the only sense of which the phrase used (*convenire ad*) is capable in Latin (the original Greek of all this part is lost, and only an old Latin version remains)—and by the omission of a decisive piece of the context, quoted below. The real force of the passage is this: that Rome was the best place wherein to ascertain the tradition of the whole Church, because, since it was the capital city (*propter potiorem principalitatem*), visitors belonging to all other Churches had occasion to resort thither, and could be questioned; so that, St. Irenæus goes on to say, the Apostolic tradition was thus kept up in Rome—not by the Pope as its appointed guardian and expounder, but—"by the multitude of the faithful from all quarters" resorting thither. That is, the tradition, being collected and attested from all quarters, was Catholic, not merely Roman Catholic, and thus was trustworthy. Another of the Fathers just named, St. Cyprian, is often quoted as if he did say that communion with the Pope is a necessary part of the true Catholic belief; but this can be made out only by misrepresenting the occasion of his language, and by concealing his own conduct in a famous controversy. The fact is that in his time there was a schism in the local Roman Church itself, with a true Pope and an Anti-Pope, and he writes to say that the Romans themselves, and also Christian visitors to Rome, should communicate with the true Pope only, and not with his rival. And as regards his own conduct, he presided, as Primate of North Africa, over two large councils which took an opposite line to the Pope and the Roman Church of that day on the question of re-baptizing heretics, and he would not give in, so that he was actually excommunicated by the Pope in consequence, and, to the best of what is known, died so, though he is accounted among the very greatest of the Saints, and is specially named as such in the Canon of the Mass by the Roman Church herself.

We do reach, later on, a time when communion with the Pope was looked on as a test of orthodoxy. It was in the time of the Arian heresy. This heresy was confined at first, and long so, to the East, and made but little way in the West, so that the Roman Church was unaffected by it, and therefore the Catholics in the East were not only glad to have the support of the most powerful Bishop of the Church on their side, but found it a convenient way of settling the question of true Church membership to ask which of two contending parties in any place was acknowledged by the Roman Pope. That is to say, it was not because of his being Pope, but because he held to the Nicene Creed when Arianism was rampant, that he was looked up to in this fashion. But what happened when the Pope himself was not sound in this faith may be simply put in the words of the great St. Hilary of Poitiers to a Pope who signed an Arian creed:—"Again, and a third time, I say, Anathema to thee, apostate Liberius."*

Further, it is to be noticed that the phrase "the Catholic Churches" is very common in early times, both in Latin and Greek Fathers, meaning thereby the orthodox local Churches in each place, recognised as independent of each other in all matters of jurisdiction, but holding the same faith and united to one another by full inter-communion. That these local Churches in ancient times were independent of each other, though agreeing in all essentials, and thus that there was no authority which could constrain them till the General Councils began to legislate for all Christendom, is unquestionable. To begin with, the Seven Churches of Asia, to which St. John was commanded to write the letters in the Book of Revelation, have plainly no necessary relation to each other, nor is there any trace of a joint government. Least of all is there any hint of a tribunal on earth to which they

---

* So damaging is this testimony, that the genuineness of the letters wherein it occurs was roundly denied for the first time by the Jesuit F. Stilting (1703—1762), who has been followed by Bishop Hefele, never impartial on points affecting the Papacy. But the far weightier names of Tillemont, Dupin, Natalis Alexander, Fleury, Montfaucon, Ceillier, Möhler, and Constant, amongst Roman Catholic critics, are in favour of their authenticity, as is also Cardinal Newman in his "History of the Arians." The fact of Liberius having apostatized is attested for us by St. Athanasius, St. Hilary, St. Jerome, and the historian Sozomen. But F. Stilting denied that too.

are all alike subject; there is no word of their being bound to refer to St. Peter's successor for the solution of difficulties and the avoidance of error. Not very much later come the extremely ancient Church laws known as the "Canons of the Apostles," the earliest rules of the kind known to exist. The thirty-fourth of these canons runs thus:—"It is necessary that the Bishops of every nation should know who is first among them, recognise him as such, and do nothing important without his assent." Here, though we have the first beginning of Metropolitans or Primates, there is no hint of any yet higher ecclesiastical authority, or of an appeal outside the limits of each such national Church. St. Cyprian, already referred to, when the Pope interfered in the affairs of the African Church, and demanded its submission, gave his opinion on one important issue in the following terms of his opening speech at a council of eighty-seven African Bishops in 256:—"None of us sets himself up as a Bishop of Bishops, or by despotic threats compels any of his colleagues to obey him as a duty, seeing that every Bishop has his private right of exercising his liberty and power freely, and can no more be judged by another than he can judge that other himself." This was a direct and intentional repudiation of the Pope's authority over the African Church. And considerably later a still more emphatic rejection of it was made, in which St. Augustine was concerned. A deposed African priest appealed to Rome, and obtained an order for his reinstatement from Pope Zosimus, who admitted him to communion. The African Church met this by enacting in 419 a canon (cxxv.) forbidding for the future all appeals beyond sea, or to any authority save that of African councils and primates, under pain of excommunication, and by sending a synodical letter to the Pope repudiating his jurisdiction in the matter. And in 424 they did the like to another Pope, further declaring that they, as on the spot, were much more competent to manage their own affairs than he could be, and called on him to withdraw his legate. These facts settle the question of the existence of National Churches independent of Rome, but none the less Catholic on that account. Clearly, then, Rome was not the whole Catholic Church in those days, nor is she now. It is quite true that she is the largest of all Christian bodies, and the

most widely diffused, but that is not the question now and here. Her having small garrisons in countries where she is in a tiny minority, as in Russia, for instance, does not make her the Church of those countries, with their hundred millions of Church members; just as the Queen of England is not Queen of Spain because the English hold Gibraltar, nor Empress of China because they hold Hong-Kong. And unless Rome is the whole Church, she cannot speak with the authority which belongs to nothing less than the whole Church. What is more, the authorised and official style and title of the Latin Church is not broadly "The Catholic Church," but only "the Holy Roman Church," or the "Holy Catholic Apostolic Roman Church," both which styles occur in the Creed of Pius IV. But the "Roman" Church is plainly and necessarily only a localised part of the Universal Church, something smaller and narrower than the whole body. The Eastern Church calls itself the Apostolic Catholic and Orthodox Church, thus bringing in no geographical limitation, and so having a wider style and claim than the Roman.

But there is a yet more weighty matter still to be considered. As there is a Catholic Church, so there is a Catholic Faith. When we recite the Athanasian Creed we declare what that faith is, and it does not say a word about the Pope or the Church of Rome. There is a famous book called "A Commonitory against Heresy," by St. Vincent of Lerins, who wrote it about the year 434, as a guide whereby the true Catholic Faith might be distinguished from all erroneous doctrines. And the rule he lays down is this: "We are to hold that which has been believed *everywhere, always, and by all men.* . . . And that we shall do, if we follow universality, antiquity, consent. Universality shall we follow thus, if we profess that one faith to be true which the whole Church throughout the world confesses; we shall follow antiquity, if we depart in no respect from the interpretations prevalent with our predecessors and fathers; and consent, if in this ancient time we hold to the opinions and definitions of all, or at any rate almost all, the priests and doctors." He does not seem to have so much as heard of agreement with and obedience to the Pope as a part, not to say the whole, of the safeguard against doctrinal or practical error, and never hints at a Papal decision

as being the final appeal, or any appeal at all, in matters of the kind.

Now, what we learn from this ruling is, that "Catholic" is not only a word denoting geographical *place*, but also unbroken duration of *time*. And that, because the Church and a General Council of the Church are in one most serious particular unlike any secular kingdom or Parliament. With us any Parliament can repeal every law of former Parliaments, and enact others directly contradicting them; and the new Acts would thereby become the binding laws of the country. But the Church cannot proceed in this way. She cannot make new doctrine, nor alter the ancient faith; though explanations of statements which have been misunderstood or wrested from their true meaning can be put forth as required. Therefore, when even a General Council comes together, its business is not to find out what are the private views of its members, nor to endeavour the discovery of the truth, but simply to ascertain from each Bishop present what has been the doctrine hitherto handed down in his diocese; and, if any considerable fraction declares that the particular tenet under consideration has been unknown amongst their flocks, it cannot be declared part of the Catholic faith, even if a strong majority is in favour of it. There must be virtual unanimity in its favour, because otherwise the doctrine would lack the two necessary warrants of universal diffusion and unbroken reception.

These, then, are the tests to be applied when we desire to know whether any given practice is Catholic or only Roman Catholic. No tenet or practice which is not known all over Christendom is Catholic; none which does not trace back to the most ancient times can claim to be received and followed as of right; any tenet or practice which is not merely unknown to the ancient Church, but contradicts Scripture or the ruling of the ancient Fathers, must be rejected as erroneous and even heretical. This is true, for example, of the worship of the Blessed Virgin, for, when that first appears, it is at once condemned as heresy; it is true of image-worship, also condemned as heresy (although both these late errors prevail now in the Greek Church as well as in the Roman); it is true still more of doctrines and usages unknown to the Eastern Church, and peculiar to Rome alone,

such as communion in one kind only, denounced by Pope St. Gelasius as sacrilegious; the doctrine of the immaculate conception of the Blessed Virgin, for that was not heard of for more than eight hundred years, and was freely denied as heresy by Roman Catholic divines down to 1854*; several other tenets in the Creed of Pope Pius IV., and Papal infallibility, for even in the Vatican Council itself there was so large a minority against that, including the most learned and able Bishops, and also the Bishops of so many great and populous dioceses, that the promulgation of the decree was null and void as a pure matter of canon law, to say nothing of the notorious falsehood of the tenet itself, repudiated till quite the other day by all the most eminent Roman Catholic theologians as a mere novelty and error.

The essential thing to bear in mind, then, is that as the Saints departed are not dead, but living, they form an integral part of the Catholic Church still, and their teaching is still part of "the living voice of the Church." Accordingly, when Roman Catholics say that they, as constituting the vast majority of Christians, as well as being in communion with the Pope, are the whole Church now, and have a right to speak and decide as such, the reply is that the Church of all the past ages has to be taken into the

---

* So high did disputes on the subject rise, especially between the Franciscans, as champions of the tenet, and the Dominicans, as its opponents, that Paul V. issued a Bull in 1617 forbidding any public preaching or discussion upon the question until such time as it should be formally defined by authority, both views being equally silenced. And in 1622 Gregory XV. extended this prohibition even to private conversations, and ordered that in speaking of the festival it should be simply called the "Conception," with no qualifying adjective, under pain of punishment for breach of this injunction, to be inflicted either by bishops or inquisitors. Hereupon, Caesar Carena, a canon lawyer of the seventeenth century, Auditor, Consultor, and Advocate Fiscal of the Inquisition, states, in his treatise on the mode of procedure in causes of the Holy Office (Cremona, 1636), that any one believing the Immaculate Conception to be an article of faith would thereby become a heretic; and he cites the work of Alfonso de Castro on the punishment of heretics as an authority; further adding that the proposition that while the Immaculate Conception was not *de fide*, yet it belonged to the class of things pertaining to the Faith, and that any one dying for it would be a true martyr, was condemned by the supreme Inquisitors in Portugal, with the approval of Paul V., in 1619.

reckoning, and that unless they can show that the great Saints, doctors, and martyrs of the purest times are in agreement with them, their case so far fails; for the "living voice" of those times was against them, and remains so, for we cannot suppose that the Saints in Paradise have altered their faith. Men are Catholics only so long and so far as they are in accord with the rule, "Everywhere, always, and by all," cited above. And while this one good thing can be said for the Roman Church, which cannot be said for the sects, that she has never denied or thrown away any of the revealed truths of Christianity, yet she cannot be acquitted of having overlaid and mixed them with much which is novel and false, and seriously abates their clearness and influence. On the other hand, too many of the sects have thrown aside whatever displeased them in Christianity, without stopping to consider whether it might not be part of Divine truth. Their conduct may thus be severally compared to that of two persons with each of whom a cask of pure wine has been left in charge, sufficient for use during a long time, but to be dealt out just as delivered to them. The Roman Church does not take away the wine, but thinks it not bright enough in colour, sweet enough in flavour, or strong enough in body, and therefore adds all sorts of drugs, more or less useless or noxious, to suit its own palate—coarse raw spirit, cloying molasses, foreign dyeing matter—and thus turns the pure, wholesome wine into a sophisticated and too often deleterious compound. The sectary, thinking all wine evil, adds little or nothing, but draws away the wine itself, and fills up the cask with water, till in some cases there is hardly more than the name of wine remaining, certainly neither its flavour nor its body; and in others there is only water left at last, and not a trace of wine remains.

The Church of England has kept the safe line between these two parallel errors, and has neither added to the faith of ancient Christendom, nor taken away from it, and, accordingly, while she is Catholic, which the sects are not, she is not Roman Catholic, with mere local and modern variations for the worse from the old teaching of the Church Universal.

No. III.

THE FOUR DOCTORS.

THE title of "Doctor of the Church" is one which means that the person so described is a theological writer of such eminence that his works have helped to mould the teaching of the Church itself, and have generally been accepted as standard authorities; thus differing from other writers of equal orthodoxy and piety, who have simply repeated the current teaching in their works, and have not enriched it with fresh matter. There are not many of these Doctors, and four of the most distinguished amongst them are known as the Four Latin Doctors, being St. Ambrose, St. Augustine, St. Jerome, and St. Gregory the Great.

All four are in the Kalendar of the English Book of Common Prayer, as Saints whom the English Church singles out for especial honour; and they are also in the Kalendars of the Roman Missal and Breviary. But although the Roman Catholic Church classes them among the great teaching Saints, yet that Church does not follow their teaching, but has practically abandoned it; while, contrariwise, the Church of England holds with the Four Doctors on every point where Rome and England are at variance in matters of religion.

As the two most salient and obvious points whereon the the Roman Church insists, while the Church of England rejects them, are infallible Papal Supremacy and the worship of the Blessed Virgin as the immaculately conceived Queen of Heaven, it will suffice to narrow the inquiry to these only, not because there is any lack of evidence upon the remaining points in the

Roman controversy, but because it is beyond all question that no one who does not accept infallible Papal Supremacy and pay acts of direct worship to the Blessed Virgin is a Roman Catholic, as that term is now understood by the authorities of the Roman Church. And of course if the Four Doctors did not believe these tenets, they also were not Roman Catholics, and if alive now would side with the English Church against Rome upon the matters in debate.

I. St. Ambrose.—This Saint wrote to the Emperor Theodosius the Great about a dispute as to the regularity of the consecration of one Maximus the Cynic, who had been intruded into the Patriarchate of Constantinople, but had been declared by a Canon of the Second General Council in 381 to be no bishop, but a mere pretender, whose ordinations were null and void. Maximus was a very artful and plausible person, and completely gained the ear of St. Ambrose, to whom he appealed after this sentence of deposition against him, wherein Pope Damasus had entirely concurred. St. Ambrose held a Synod at Milan in that same year 381, and, on the *ex parte* statements of Maximus, declared him innocent of all the charges against him, and to be the lawful Patriarch of Constantinople, to which dignity the Synod declared that he ought to be restored. In the letter to the Emperor, asking him to take action for this purpose, St. Ambrose and his fellow-bishops suggest that a Synod, consisting of both Western and Eastern bishops, should be convoked at Rome to examine the whole matter, and give as their reason that, in an earlier stage of the dispute, the case had been virtually put into the hands of one man, Ascholius, Bishop of Thessalonica, to decide, so that it was not unreasonable now to propose that the matter should be referred to the much larger tribunal of the Roman Bishop sitting with all the other Italian Bishops. The noteworthy points in this matter are, first, that St. Ambrose took upon himself to decide against the known opinion of the Pope, who had sided against Maximus, and that he proposed a new inquiry before a Synod wherein the Pope should be simply one of the members. No idea that the Pope had any right or power to decide the matter singly so much as crossed his mind; nor is there the

slightest suggestion in the letter that the Pope could in any way summon the parties before him, and sit as their judge, even in conjunction with other prelates. It is the Emperor who is asked to constitute the court, and then merely that a fairer hearing than was likely at Constantinople might be secured by appealing to those who were removed from the scene of conflict, and thus freer from partisan bias.

But not only did St. Ambrose testify thus indirectly against Papalism; he has denied the whole basis on which the alleged "Privilege of Peter" rests, in the following statements:—

1. "Faith, then, is the foundation of the Church, for it was not said of Peter's person (literally *flesh*), but of his faith, that the gates of hell should not prevail against it. (De Incarnat. 33, 34.)*

2. "Peter exercised a primacy, that is to say, a primacy of confession, not of dignity; a primacy of faith, not of rank." (De Incarn. 32.)†

3. "They do not possess Peter's inheritance who have not Peter's faith." (De Pœnitent. i., 7.) This, which is the reading of all old editions of St. Ambrose, is so dangerous a weapon against Papalism that the word *fidem*, "faith," has been altered in modern editions into *sedem*, "see," so as to make the passage read: "They have not Peter's inheritance who have not Peter's see." The context shows that the older text is the right one, for St. Ambrose is arguing that the Novatians cannot be the legitimate representatives of St. Peter, because they differ from him in doctrine, by denying that power of remitting sins which he believed in as a Divine gift.

---

* This excludes the gloss that St. Peter's faith is only a mode of denoting St. Peter himself, exercising that faith, just as we speak of a general's valour (that is, the general himself) achieving a victory. St. Ambrose clearly sets that view aside, even if it so much as came before him at all.

† An attempt has been made to explain this away as referring to the single point of time when St. Peter made his confession of Christ, and before the grant of supremacy was made in his favour. But there are no qualifying words in the context to limit it thus, or to imply that St. Peter afterwards did exercise a primacy of rank and authority. And a similar passage in St. Cyprian, Ep. lxxi,) goes yet further, stating that St. Peter never claimed any primacy at all, nor exacted personal obedience to himself from others.

Again, if the treatise on the Sacraments ascribed to St. Ambrose be his, there is a strong passage in it against the whole Roman theory. Speaking of a usage whereon Rome and Milan differed, the writer says: "I desire to follow the Roman Church in all things; but, nevertheless, we too are people with understanding, and therefore whatever is more correctly observed elsewhere, we are more correct in observing. . . . . In this particular, we follow the Apostle Peter himself, we adhere to his devout practice. What answer can the Church of Rome make to that?" (De Sacram. III., i., 5, 6.)

On the point of Mariolatry there is in St. Ambrose this one pregnant sentence: "And lest any one should divert this"—the act of worship, of which the previous paragraphs speak—"to the Virgin Mary, Mary was the temple of God, not the God of the temple. And therefore He only is to be worshipped Who wrought within that temple." (De Spirit. Sanct. iii., 80.)

II. St. Augustine.—1. "I most frequently have thus explained what the Lord said, 'Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build My Church,' that it should be understood as upon Him whom Peter confessed, saying, 'Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God.' . . . . For it was not said unto him, 'Thou art the rock,' but 'Thou art Peter.' For Christ was the Rock, whom Simon confessing, as the whole Church confesses Him, was called Peter." (Retract. i., 21.)

2. "For the rock is not from Peter, but Peter from the rock, just as Christ is not called from Christianity, but Christianity from Christ. . . . . For Christ was the rock on which foundation Peter himself was built." (In Evang. Johann. cxxiv., 5.)

St. Augustine did not confine himself to abstract opinions upon this matter. Pope Boniface I. had received an appeal from a priest in Africa who had been deposed for misconduct, acquitted him, and ordered his restoration, at the same time sending a legate to assert the Papal right of so acting, in virtue of certain canons of the General Council of Nice. A synod of African bishops, in which St. Augustine took a leading part, told the Pope civilly, but firmly, that he had decided wrongly, and requested him not to interfere in such a manner

again, as it was no concern of his, Africa not being under his jurisdiction, but under that of its own bishops and metropolitans; and as to the alleged Nicene canons, they would inquire into their genuineness, and let him know the result when they received attested copies of the Nicene canons from the archives to which they had applied. Pope Celestine, successor of Boniface, took up the deposed priest anew, and imitated his predecessor's conduct exactly, whereupon St. Augustine joined in another strongly worded protest, telling the Pope plainly that his pretended canons were not discoverable anywhere, that his plan for hearing appeals could not possibly work well, that he was to be good enough to send no more legates to Africa, where they were not wanted, and wound up by enacting a canon deposing any African ecclesiastic who should venture to appeal beyond sea against any regular decision of an African authority.

So much for discipline; now for doctrine. Pelagius and Cœlestius, the authors of the Pelagian heresy, having been charged therewith and condemned, appealed to Pope Zosimus, who took up their cause warmly, acquitted them in full as good Catholics, and severely censured their accusers and judges. Hereupon St. Augustine got a Synod convened, repeated the condemnation of the Pelagians, and compelled the Pope to retract his heretical decision. This is so crushing a fact that the conduct of this Pope has been studiously falsified in Roman books, alleging that nothing more than forbearance to proceed to extremities against the heretics, and treating them gently in hopes of reclaiming them, can be ascribed to Zosimus; but this is knowingly false, because his own letter is extant, wherein he says, in the plainest way, that Pelagius and Cœlestius were innocent of the charges against them, and were sound Catholics, unjustly accused.

St. Augustine has often been quoted as if he upheld the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin, by reason of the following passage:—

"Except the holy Virgin Mary, concerning whom, for God's honour, I wish to have no discussion when sins are the topic, for how can we know what additional grace was bestowed on her to overcome sin on every side, who attained to conceive

and bear Him who certainly had no sin?" ("De Natura et Gratia," 42.) But the evident meaning of this must needs be, that reverence keeps him from touching on the sinfulness of her own conception, since, if he could have asserted its immaculate character, there would have been no reason for him to avoid discussion on the ground of reverence, rather he would have brought it prominently forward. And that such was in truth his attitude appears from his language elsewhere.

"The Lord took flesh from that mass which had merited death by sin. That I may put it more tersely, Mary, sprung from Adam, died because of sin; Adam died because of sin, and the 'Flesh of the Lord,' sprung from Mary, died to blot out sin." (Serm. II., in Psalm xxxiv., 3.)

III. St. Jerome.—There is one passage of this writer which, taken by itself, makes very strongly at first sight for Papal Supremacy. He says, writing in A.D. 376 to Pope Damasus:—

"I speak with the successor of the Fisherman and a disciple of the Cross, I, following no chief save Christ, am counted in communion with your Blessedness, that is, with the chair of Peter. On that rock I know the Church is built. Whoso eats the lamb outside this house is profane."

But he learnt better as he grew older, and so we have language of his in 393, to the following effect:—

"But thou sayest the Church is founded on Peter, albeit the very same thing is done also upon all the Apostles, and they all receive the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, and the strength of the Church is established on them all equally." (Against Jovinian, ii.) And even the earlier passage, when examined with its context, proves to be concerned with Trinitarian doctrine, and against the widespread Arianism of Eastern Christendom, from which the Roman Church had on the whole been remarkably free, and will very fairly bear, if it does not actually force on us, the meaning that St. Jerome made a point of his communion with Damasus, not because he was Pope, and thus sovereign of the Church, but because he was orthodox on the doctrine in dispute. Sundry other of St. Jerome's later writings contain passages alleging Christ only to be the Rock of the Church. That St. Jerome recognised no supremacy of jurisdiction as

vesting in the Roman Pontiff or Church is plain from these words of his:—"If you look for authority, the whole world is greater than the City [of Rome]. Wherever a bishop is, whether at Rome or at Gubbio, at Constantinople or at Reggio, at Alexandria or at Tanis, he is of the same dignity and the same priesthood . . . . all are successors of the Apostles, ... But you say that at Rome a priest is ordained on the testimony of a deacon. Why do you quote to me the custom of a single city? Why do you urge the small number"—of the Roman deacons—"as though it were one of the laws of the Church?" (To Evangelus.) As to the Blessed Virgin, not a word that he says can by any ingenuity be tortured into a recognition of any cultus of her, and his mode of speaking concerning her is always what an English Churchman could contentedly use, but which would seem cold, restricted, and almost doubtful doctrinally, to one reared in Ultramontane religion.

IV. St. Gregory the Great.—This Saint, though he held very high views of the authority vesting in his see, and in himself as its Bishop, contradicts in explicit terms the Vatican decrees assigning a universal Episcopate of immediate jurisdiction over the whole Church to the Pope, for he says, rebuking some who had offered this very dignity to himself:—"This title"—Universal—"is profane, superstitious, haughty, and invented by the first Apostate . . . . and if one Bishop be called Universal, the whole Church falls if he should fall." (Epist. vii. 27, to the Patriarch of Antioch.) And again, to the same purport:—"St. Peter is not called Universal Apostle . . . . The whole Church falls from its place when he who is called Universal falls. . . . . But far from Christian hearts be that blasphemous name. . . . . I confidently affirm that who so calls himself, or wishes to be called, Universal Priest, is in his pride a forerunner of Antichrist." (Epist. v. 20; vii. 33, both to the Emperor Maurice.)

There is noticeably little said in St. Gregory's works concerning the Blessed Virgin, but there is one passage which, though not making special reference to her, tells clearly how he would have judged the modern cult if it had existed in his days. Writing

to Serenus, Bishop of Marseilles, whom he thought to have been too hasty in destroying some images which had been superstitiously misused, he says that there should be no prohibition against making images, "But in every possible way avoid worshipping images . . . . and let the people humbly prostrate themselves in honour of the Almighty and Holy Trinity alone." There can be no doubt what he would have thought, and said, and done, if he had seen a crowded congregation on its knees praying to a huge doll, representing the Blessed Virgin, if such a proceeding had been possible anywhere in the Church Catholic during his lifetime. Accordingly, St. Ambrose, St. Augustine, St. Jerome and St. Gregory the Great, the Four Latin Doctors and most eminent Western teachers of and witnesses to the Catholic Faith, were not agreed in doctrine with modern Roman Catholics, but do agree with the Church of England.

No. IV.

WAS THE BRITISH OR ANGLO-SAXON CHURCH ROMAN CATHOLIC?

THIS is a question which Roman Catholic controversialists are asking just now, and answering thus: "Of course they were, that is too evident to be disputed by any honest and fairly read person; and as all the ancient endowments were given to, and all the ancient churches built for, Roman Catholic purposes, the Anglicans who possess them now are mere usurpers and robbers, so that if right were done, these donations would be reconveyed to the Anglo-Roman body in communion with the Pope."*

There are two leading flaws in this statement, apart from several minor ones, which seriously weaken its force. In a former paper we showed that there is a clearly marked difference between what is Catholic, and so common to all Christendom from the first, and what is only Roman Catholic, and peculiar

* The Roman Catholic Bishops of England issued in 1826 an "Exposition of Faith and Declaration," wherein these words occur: "British Catholics are charged with entertaining a pretended right to the property of the Established Church in England. We consider such a charge to be totally without foundation; we declare that we entertain no pretension to such a claim. We regard all the revenues and temporalities of the Church Establishment as the property of those on whom they are settled by the laws of the land. We disclaim any right, title, or pretension with regard to the same." This language cannot be explained away as meaning only a disclaimer of any right which a secular law court would recognise. It covers the whole ground.

to the Church of Rome alone. We also pointed out that what is Catholic must belong to all *time* as well as to all *places*, so that even a doctrine or custom which at any given date is seen to prevail over all Christendom is not therefore Catholic, unless it can be traced back to the first Christian ages. If we can put our finger on the date when it begins, and show that it was unknown previously, then it is not Catholic.

So, then, before we are called on to say whether the ancient Church of this country was Roman Catholic, our opponents have to answer the far more serious and difficult question—Was the Church of Rome itself Roman Catholic when St. Gregory the Great sent his missionaries to England?

Now, without going into minute details, it may be briefly said that the most obvious and broad marks of distinction between Roman Catholics and Anglicans in the present day are these:—Roman Catholics hold (1) that the Pope is, by Divine charter, sovereign ruler of the whole Church, supreme judge of the faithful, bishop of every see, and infallible in deciding matters of faith and morals; (2) that the Blessed Virgin Mary and other Saints are to be invoked in prayer, and solicited for the bestowal of grace and favours; (3) that the Blessed Virgin was immaculately conceived; (4) that images and pictures may receive secondary worship and homage, in honour of the personages they represent; (5) that the laity must never partake of the Cup in Holy Communion; (6) that the souls of departed Christians are tortured in Purgatory; (7) that the way to release them is by means of Indulgences, which can be obtained by the recitation of certain prayers or the performance of certain outward acts, to which a fixed scale of merit is attached, and which can be applied to the profit of any given person, living or deceased. There are many other points of difference, but it will be agreed on all hands that a communion which did not accept or practise any of these seven would certainly not be Roman Catholic, whatever else it might be.

But that is precisely the case of St. Gregory the Great and the Roman Church in his days. We have his own direct and express testimony on 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5 against modern Roman Catholic doctrine; and the indirect evidence of his total silence

as to 6 and 7, where he must have spoken about them, had he believed them, or even so much as heard of them. Here are the proofs in his own words:—

1. "This title 'Universal' was offered during the Council of Chalcedon to the Pontiff of the Apostolic See. . . . But no one of my predecessors ever consented to use so profane a title" (Ep. V. 43). "This title (Universal Bishop) is profane, superstitious, haughty, and invented by the first apostate" (Ep. VII. 27). "I confidently affirm that whoso calls himself, or desires to be called, Universal Priest, in his pride goes before Antichrist" (Ep. VII. 33).

2 and 4. "In every possible way avoid worshipping images . . . and let the people humbly prostrate themselves in honour of the Almighty and Holy Trinity alone" (Ep. IX. iv. 9).

3. "What human being, then, is without sin, save He who was not conceived in sin? Therefore the Ark was finished in one cubit, because the Author and Redeemer of Holy Church is alone without sin" (Hom. in Ezech. II. iv.).

5. "What the Blood of the Lamb means ye have now learnt, not by hearing, but by drinking. And that Blood is put upon both doorposts, when it is not merely swallowed by the bodily mouth, but also with the mouth of the heart" (Homily to the people, in Evang. II. xxii.).

Plainly, then, St. Gregory the Great was not what is now understood by the term Roman Catholic; and, therefore, we may be sure that the Church of England, founded by his carefully chosen messengers, was not Roman Catholic either. And, as regards the British Church, which St. Augustine found in possession here in the non-Saxon parts of the island, he held two conferences with its Bishops, the end of which was, that after he had called on them to acknowledge his authority, they answered decisively, "We will do none of those things which you demand, neither will we have you for our Archbishop" (Bede, "Hist. Eccl. Angl.," ii. 2). So the old British Church here was not only not modern Roman in its doctrine, but was not Roman even in the sense that St. Augustine and his companions were, that of acknowledging the jurisdiction of the Pope over them.

It may be added here that it is sometimes urged that in behaving thus towards the Pope's legate, the British Bishops were falling away from what more ancient British Bishops had done, because some of them who were at the Council of Sardica in 347, more than two hundred years before St. Augustine's mission, joined in enacting canons giving a right to the Pope of hearing appeals from all the Churches, and in addressing a letter to the Pope of that day, saying that "It is most fit that the priests of the Lord from each province should refer to the Head —that is, to the See of the Apostle Peter." But the canons in question are almost certainly a Roman forgery, for no trace of them is to be found till an attempt was made by a Pope in 419 to palm them off as Nicene, when they were at once rejected as spurious, and could not be found in any of the archives where search was made for them (see above, No. III., pp. 28, 29). And the letter is most probably a forgery too, for it is quite unknown to all the ancient Church historians (Theodoret, Socrates, and Sozomen) who have written about this Council, and record only its Synodical Letter to the Church at large. And, besides, even were this not so, the above clause in the letter has been challenged as a late forgery, detected by its bad Latin; and the learned Roman Catholic Bishop Hefele, who mentions this objection, does not attempt to disprove it, as he would have done were it possible.

The next flaw in the Roman argument is that it takes for granted that people have no right to put things straight which have once gone wrong. No doubt the mediæval Church of England was in full communion with the Pope of Rome, and acknowledged him as the principal Bishop in the world; and it is true that little by little Roman abuses and corruptions made their way into this country; but it is also true that many bad civil laws and customs once prevailed in this country, which have been wisely repealed and done away with. Why should it be impossible or sinful to correct things in open conflict with the revealed will of God? It is very much more certain that it is sinful to worship images or to deprive the lay folk of the cup in Holy Communion, than it is that St. Peter was master over the other Apostles, or that the Pope is heir of St. Peter. And if

admitting the infallible and autocratic power of the Popes as a result of such heirship compels us also to admit the lawfulness of image-worship and of half-communion (as is said to be the case), it simply leads us into heresy and rebellion against God.

The present Church of England holds the same doctrine as St. Gregory the Great and the Roman Church in his days did, and therefore more truly represents the Church of St. Augustine than the Anglo-Roman body, which has got a new creed that St. Gregory never heard of, and would have condemned if he had heard of it, besides being unlike the old English Church in several other ways.

And there is a further consideration of no slight importance: that even in respect of several particulars wherein the mediæval Church of England for the most part agreed with the modern Church of Rome, and so far differed from the Church of England to-day, there was no hard-and-fast rule laid down, since they were rather floating "pious opinions," not positively binding, than formal dogmas imposed by authority. But the Council of Trent changed all that, and hardened into positive law much which was previously open and indeterminate, thereby laying a heavy burden on the modern Roman Catholic's conscience from which his forefathers were free.

Even in the days when England was in communion with Rome, the Pope could not do as he pleased here, but was often resisted, not by the kings only, but by the Bishops also. Thus, at the Synod of Easterfield, in 702, Brihtwald, Archbishop of Canterbury, with other prelates, deposed Wilfrid of York from the episcopal dignity, mainly on the ground that he had chosen to appeal to the Pope, instead of being content to abide by the decision of the English episcopate. And Wilfrid himself, in his speech on this occasion, charged them with having opposed the Pope for two-and-twenty years. Pope Paschal II. wrote in 1114 complaining that the English Church showed small reverence for the Roman See, sent no appeals to it, and did not ask its advice. And a legate he tried to send to England in 1115 was stopped by means of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and not allowed to come. Archbishop Lanfranc was commanded by Pope Gregory VII. to present himself at Rome,

under penalty of suspension from his office if he did not arrive within four months. He paid no attention to the order, and was not suspended. Archbishop Langton, who led the movement against King John which extorted Magna Charta, refused in 1216 to comply with the order of Pope Innocent III. to excommunicate the barons, and all the other English Bishops supported him save two, one of whom was a foreigner and the other a dunce. And the same Archbishop ten years later refused to obey the Pope's orders, sent by a legate, to make over to him in perpetuity two stalls in every Cathedral, and two monks' portions in every monastery. Archbishop St. Edmund of Canterbury, a man of gentle and peaceful temper, went into exile in 1240 rather than obey the commands of another Pope, also to plunder the Church for the Pope's advantage. Bishop Grosseteste of Lincoln in 1247 refused to allow a collection to be made in his diocese for the Pope, though the Papal mandate for the purpose had been sanctioned by the King. Somewhat later he refused to comply with another Papal mandate, appointing the Pope's nephew, a young man not in Holy Orders, to a canonry in Lincoln Cathedral, and he wrote to the Papal Commissioners saying that the very respect and obedience he owed to the Apostolic See made it his duty to oppose so wicked a job, which was akin to the deeds of Lucifer and Antichrist. Archbishop Chichele, when censured by Pope Martin V. (about 1420) for not disregarding the English laws which prevented the Pope from appointing to English benefices, told the Pope that he himself was the only Bishop in England who did pay any attention to orders from Rome; and when Martin V., by way of reply, took away from him his rank of *ex-officio* legate (that is, legate in right of his archbishopric, and without need of any other special appointment to the post), and bestowed that title on another Bishop, proceeding further to excommunicate all the other prelates and to threaten an interdict, his Bulls were stopped in 1427 by the Government, and the Archbishop appealed at once to a General Council, while the new legate was never suffered to act in that character. These are merely a few examples to show how very unlike the pre-Re-

formation Church of England was to the present Anglo-Roman communion in its attitude towards the Pope. It did not account him either absolute or infallible, and opposed him stoutly whenever it thought him in the wrong. On the other hand, the Church of England now has no quarrel with him further than this same limit. If he would only come back to the doctrine and practice of Pope St. Gregory the Great, she would freely give him the honour and precedence that were given to St. Gregory by the Anglo-Saxon Church. For the Church of England has stated her view on this subject plainly in Canon XXX. thus :—

"So far was it from the purpose of the Church of England to forsake and reject the Churches of Italy, France, Spain, Germany, or any such like Churches, in all things which they held and practised, that, as the Apology of the Church of England confesseth, it doth with reverence retain those ceremonies which do neither endamage the Church of God, nor offend the minds of sober men; and only departed from them in those particular points wherein they were fallen both from themselves in their ancient integrity, and from the Apostolical Churches which were their first founders."

Not one ancient endowment now held by the Church of England, not one building for her worship, was conveyed to her upon any condition or understanding, express or implied, that she should be subject to the authority of the Pope, and should forfeit it otherwise.* They were all given for ecclesiastical uses in each place for the benefit of the Church of England, not of the Church of Rome in England; and the right of the Church of England to them is in no way, legally or morally, weakened by her having remedied various abuses which had crept into her system, and having returned to the faith of her first evangelisers. Rather, as she is thus more truly a Church, more truly Catholic, by complying more nearly with the Divine will, she is better entitled to retain such possessions now than when she was less Catholic and more Roman.

* There are some Anglo-Saxon charters which do make submission to the Church of Rome a condition of the gifts conveyed. But these are grants to monasteries, all of which were alienated from the Church under Henry VIII., and a Papal Bull in Queen Mary's reign confirmed the new holders in possession of them. None of them are held by the Church now.

No. V.

WHAT THE REFORMATION DID IN AND FOR ENGLAND.

IT is the policy of Roman controversialists, when arguing against the Church of England, to lay great stress on the violence which marked various proceedings during the Reformation era, the departure from former tenets and usages, the destruction of buildings devoted to religious purposes, the disappearance of sundry picturesque observances and customs, the persecutions inflicted by the State on those who refused to conform to the changed condition of things. And the conclusion they draw from all these particulars is that the old Church was violently destroyed, a mere new sect intruded by the brute force of the civil power into its place, and a virtual apostasy from the Catholic faith committed by the nation through its consent thereto. And, of course, there is no difficulty whatever in showing that the existing Church of England does not maintain certain peculiarities of teaching and worship which prevailed here before the Reformation, and still prevail amongst Roman Catholics; while the goal at which the objectors desire to arrive by this kind of argument is that the Anglo-Roman body here is the true Church of the country, and consequently has alone the moral right to the churches, endowments, titles, and status which the Established Church enjoys by mere human law.*

No sensible person at this time of day would seriously undertake to defend everything that was said and done during such a

* On this see the Declaration of 1826, cited above, No. IV., p. 33.

time of upheaval and excitement as the Reformation, when even good men on both sides found it almost impossible so much as to understand the attitude of their opponents. But there is one broad issue which the controversialists we are speaking about fail to take into their reckoning—that, after all, God is the Ruler of the world, and the Disposer of events. If the pre-Reformation Church was what we are constantly told it actually was, much purer and sounder in doctrine and practice than the modern Church of England, why did He suffer such a change to come about? It does not matter for this immediate question whether the change was good or bad in itself, a blessing or a punishment; the point to consider is, Why was it permitted at all? We cannot suppose God to have acted without reasons whose force we should have to admit did we know them; and of this much we may be sure, that He must have intended either to bless or to chastise, or else to mingle blessing and chastisement together, in allowing the Reformation to come about. He either changed the then existing state of things religious for a better one, to the spiritual gain of the nation, or He punished us for our sins by taking from us blessings which we had despised or misused. Either way, the Reformation came by His permission, and must have been needed for some wise purpose. If it was, on the whole, a blessing, then the entire Roman case fails; if, contrariwise, it was a chastisement only, then the pre-Reformation Church must have been guilty of sins which drew that chastisement down, just as was the case with the Jewish Church when it was destroyed the first time by the Babylonians, and a second time by the Romans. We can hardly imagine that if it was doing God's work in God's way He would have so interfered. We are bound therefore to look carefully into its condition, and to find what grounds of blame could have existed; and we are also bound to see what the practical result of the change has been, by comparing the moral, social, and religious condition of England now with that of those countries which have continued Roman Catholic. If we find that the teaching and practice of the mediæval English Church were more in conformity with God's will, as revealed in His Scriptures and observed by the Saints of His early Church, than those of the present Church of England are; or if we find that the spiritual condition of the

Roman Catholic nations, or of the Roman Catholic part of our own people, is plainly better and happier than our own, then we must sorrowfully confess that we have been in the wrong, and must make such amends as we can by repentance and change of conduct.

But when we look into these questions, we find nothing to warrant any such conclusion as that which Roman controversialists would have us draw. On such broad issues as clerical immorality and neglect; popular ignorance of Holy Writ; the obscuring of the meaning of public worship by conducting it in an unknown tongue; the setting up a whole host of lesser objects of worship in addition to, and, for the most part, to the depreciation of, God's due homage; the mutilation of Christ's institution of the Holy Eucharist by the withdrawal of the Cup from the laity;* the preference given to the rich in the matter of prayers offered for the repose of their souls; the burden laid upon the people by numerous rites and observances for each of which a tax was imposed, and other such like matters contrary to Scripture and unknown to the Saints of early days—the main matters which attracted the attention of the Reformers—it is enough to say that no sound defence has ever yet been set up for them, and that it was not merely lawful, but our bounden duty, to amend them. No doubt, in the course of the amendment, carried out by human agents with their full share of human weakness and error, many mistakes were made, and some good and beautiful things were unwisely cast away for a time, which in these happier days we see restored, and that without the misuse, which is the probable reason why we were forced to lose them for a while; but that the change was in the main and in its results healthy and profitable, that it was a return to the faith and practice of the ancient and undivided Catholic Church in most of its details, is a simple historical fact. There are things which might have been more wisely ordered, in particular there was too little provision for the

* This was effected, not by direct enactment excluding the laity as such from communion in the chalice, but by limiting its reception to the celebrant only, even other priests, if then communicating, being given communion in but one kind. But all priests can receive the chalice by becoming celebrants in their turn, whereas no means exist in the Roman Church whereby a laic can obtain it.

emotional side of religion made, and there was no very satisfactory discipline provided ; but we can say truly now what no Roman Catholic who holds the new Creed of Pope Pius IV. can truly say, that we are one in doctrine with St. Athanasius and St. Chrysostom, with St. Augustine and St. Jerome, with St. Ambrose and St. Gregory the Great, and other great lights of ancient Christendom. We may compare what was done at the Reformation to the act of the owner of a large and beautiful old castle or mansion, noticeable for its stately aspect and artistic ornament, but with the defects of old age visible in two ways—faults of original construction, or faults of wear and tear—making it less healthy and less habitable. For example, when it was built, nothing was known about sanitary science, and it had no drains whatever ; glass was dear, and the value of light and air as conducive to health not thought of, and so the windows were made small and the rooms dark and gloomy ; besides which, the roof has since fallen into disrepair and the walls bulge dangerously in parts. The owner sets himself to put all this to rights ; but, while he takes all proper precautions for the sanitary improvement of his dwelling, he has not got at all so keen a sense of art and beauty as he has of health and comfort, and at the same time that the drainage is thoroughly rectified, the blessed sunlight let into the dark rooms, to the increase of bodily and mental well-being for their inmates, and the roof made weather-tight, he has made other changes which are less happy, as diminishing the beauty and picturesqueness of his house ; perhaps putting in an ugly square window in place of a graceful arched one, or papering over a fine carved oak wainscot with a cheap and common wall-hanging. But it is his own house, and he has a right to deal with it as he pleases, so long as he does no man wrong thereby. It does not cease to be the same dwelling, nor he to be its lawful owner, because he has made these alterations ; and it would be a very poor argument if a cousin of his, who did not see any use in drains, light, or ventilation, and who had kept up his own neighbouring mansion in the old unhealthy fashion, were to say: "You have fallen away from all the traditions of our family ; our forefathers, who first built, and afterwards added on to, this old house, knew better than you do, and they never intended to have such things done as you have been doing. You have no moral

right to possess it any longer, and you should give it up to me, who have not taken up with any new-fangled ways; and, when I get possession, I shall pull up your drain-pipes, replace the pretty old lozenge-paned casements, and get rid of your staring sheets of plate-glass." The owner might very fairly retort: "You fail to distinguish between what is essential and what is superfluous, or even hurtful. A house is meant to be lived in, not looked at from the outside, and I want to live a healthy life in my house—not to die there of typhoid fever before my time. I grant that your house may be prettier to look at than mine, but you are never without sickness within it, whereas I can show a much cleaner bill of health."

And this reply exactly meets the second part of the inquiry we are making. For the case of the Church of England as against the Church of Rome is that England is at this moment, after three hundred and fifty years of Reformation, in a far healthier moral and religious condition than any Roman Catholic country in the world. We have plenty of faults and sins to be ashamed of and to amend, we have no title to play the Pharisee, but it is the plain fact that infidelity in England is altogether unlike in extent and in virulence to what it is in France, in Spain, and in Italy, where Roman Catholicism has had a practical monopoly for centuries past. It was after the whole educational system of France had been for more than a hundred years in the hands of the Jesuits, who were able and accomplished teachers, that the French nation made a public profession of atheism in 1793, and the Christian religion was put under ban for several years, a disaster never yet repaired. And at the last census in 1881 seven millions and a half of Frenchmen (or more than a fifth of the whole nation) returned themselves as of no religion.* Of Spain, once the leading power in Europe, a Spaniard has said that the clergy and the Inquisition have made that country "the Turkey of the West;" and in Italy the gulf between the

* The exact figures, as given in the *Statesman's Year-Book* for 1885, page 65, are as follow: "The population of France, at the census of December, 1881, consisted of 29,201,703 Roman Catholics, being 78·50 per cent. of the total population; of 692,800 Protestants, or 1·8 of the population, as compared with 584,757 in 1872; of 53,436 Jews, and 7,684,906 persons who 'declined to make any profession of religious belief.' This was the first

Church and the nation gapes widely with none to bridge it. Moreover, in all these countries a foully immoral literature is current and popular; and political disturbances, aiming at social anarchy, are of incessant occurrence, either in open manifestation or secret plots. It is not we who say so, to make a case for our own side; the witness who has testified most plainly for us is no other than Cardinal Manning himself, who confessed, in an article on "The Church and Modern Society," in the *North American Review* of February, 1880, that the most Christian civil society now extant is that of non-Papal England, contrasting with that of France, Italy, and other Roman Catholic countries. Here are some words from a sermon of his, quoted in the *Times* of July 17, 1884, p. 10, col. 5. "What made England? He did not ask what made it a Christian land, but what made England great? It was not warfare, nor conquest, nor politics, nor legislation. *It was that one faith and that one love of God and our neighbour* which made a united England. The same might also be said of English freedom and liberty." And the same kind of statement is made with equal clearness by Mr. St. George Mivart, an eminent Roman Catholic scientist, in a paper on the "Conversion of England," in the *Dublin Review* of July, 1884. On the other hand, there is one exception to the reign of morals and order in the United Kingdom, and that is Roman Catholic Ireland, where a conspiracy to promote assassination, public plunder, the mutilation of living animals, and the cruel persecution of innocent persons, is either actively encouraged by the Roman Catholic clergy or silently acquiesced in, with rare exceptions. And on this the late P. J. Smyth, a prominent Roman Catholic and Nationalist M.P., said in a paper on the "Priest in Politics" (Dublin: M'Gee, 1885), which he wrote on his death-bed, and desired his wife to publish—

"The system is one, though multiform in character; and so regarded it is a repudiation of the Decalogue, an outrage on the

---

census at which 'non-professants' were registered as such. On former occasions it had been customary to class all who had refused to state what their religion was, or who denied having any religion, as Roman Catholics. The number of persons set down as belonging to 'various creeds' was 33,042." As the total population of France in 1881 was 37,672,048, the infidels were a good deal more than a fifth.

fundamental principles of morality, and a negation of the dogmas of Christianity. . . . One of the most eminent Catholic divines in Europe, contemplating the spectacle which Ireland presented lately, is reported—and I believe correctly—to have said that the Catholic Church had failed as a moral teacher in Ireland."

We may add that the Roman Catholic Church has failed scandalously as a religious and moral teacher everywhere in this century, for, besides the wide spread of rabid atheism in all Roman Catholic lands, the criminal statistics of every country where there is a mixed population of Roman Catholics and non-Romans (as in the United Kingdom, Australia, Canada, the United States, Prussia, and Holland) shew a disproportionately large ratio of Roman Catholic offenders, although all the mere heathen outcasts with no religious belief of any kind are reckoned on the other side. And as Christ has said: "If any man will do His [the Father's] will, he shall know of the doctrine whether it be of God" (St. John vii. 17), telling us thereby that sound doctrine and holy living are parts of the same whole, we may fairly infer that this universal failure in wholesome results from Roman teaching is because the doctrine it propounds is not pure Christianity. "By their fruits ye shall know them" (St. Matthew vii. 20). What we have gained as a nation by the breach with Rome, and by refusal to ally ourselves with the sects, is that here only has the old belief of historical Christendom been maintained, the old Church system kept up, with no division of the country between two religious factions, no gulf between the clergy and laity, no divorce and hostility between art and literature on one side and religion on the other, no compulsion upon the ordinary layman to choose between blindly childish credulity and equally blindly childish scepticism, but with the unequalled musical diction of the English Bible familiar to high and low, and the stately periods of the Book of Common Prayer providing a reasonable and intelligible worship, capable of suiting the needs of educated thinkers and of devout emotional believers alike. That has been the result, on a survey of the whole question, and we do not seem to have the worst of the bargain.

No. VI.

WAS ST. PETER EVER BISHOP OF ROME?

IT is well known that the Roman Catholic Church rests its claim to supremacy over all Christians upon the alleged inheritance of St. Peter's privilege and primacy by the Popes of Rome, on the ground that St. Peter, by finally settling in Rome and dying there as its Bishop, constituted his successors in the See his heirs, not only to his local authority in Rome itself, but to his universal jurisdiction over the whole Church, bestowed upon him by Christ Himself, over and above the apostolic commission which was common to the rest of the Twelve. It is needless to do more than briefly point out that no trace of any such exceptional commission to St. Peter as that of ruling the entire Church is mentioned in Scripture directly, or is indirectly to be discovered there by the fact of actual exercise; and that even if this were otherwise, the very fact of such an exceptional authority being conferred on any one person would make the privilege a "personal" as distinguished from an "official" one, and for that reason not transmissible by its holder, but dying with him, and incapable of being exercised by any other person without a fresh grant from the original grantor. This is the rule strictly laid down by Roman Catholic ecclesiastical law in all cases of claim by privilege: that a personal privilege does not admit of the introduction of any name or names except such as explicitly occur in the deed of grant; that such a privilege dies with the decease of the person or persons thus expressly named; and that no power of delegation or transmission can exist in the case of privilege, unless such additional power is expressly

given in and by the deed of grant. And yet again, if this were not so, it would at least be necessary that any other person claiming to exercise the privilege in right of any sub-grant or delegation from the original holder should be able to produce evidence that such sub-grant had really been made, and that in such a public and binding manner as to disable objection.

Not so much as one of these conditions is satisfied in the case of the Roman claim of supremacy. For besides the absence of any proof in Scripture that St. Peter actually did exercise authoritative jurisdiction over the other Apostles and the whole Church, there is further to be noted that not one syllable occurs in the three texts alleged to embody the Petrine Privilege (St. Matt. xvi. 18, 19; St. Luke xxii. 31, 32; St. John xxi. 15, 16, 17) which empowers St. Peter to convey the privilege, whatever be its nature, to any other person. And if this plain fact be set aside, there remains the additional difficulty that not one scrap of evidence is producible that he ever did confer and transmit his peculiar privilege and authority. No hint of the sort is discoverable for centuries after his death, and then it begins in the most suspicious quarter, the assertion of Popes in their own interest, instead of coming from any external and independent source.

Added to all these flaws in the Roman claim, there comes up the crucial question, Is it true, as a matter of historical fact, that St. Peter ever was Bishop of Rome at all? If it be true, there must be something to shew for it—something that would be accepted nowadays in a court of justice as proof in any claim of heirship. But here comes in a difficulty. Very few people who have not been specially trained seem to understand what is evidence in proof of anything, and what must be rejected by a judge as having nothing to do with the matter. But it may briefly be said that mere hearsay, second and third hand, is no evidence at all, and that evidence dating long after the time concerned is, if not to be entirely rejected, yet weaker and weaker as the time is longer, and is less to be relied on. If people who lived at the time when some event is said to have taken place never say anything about it, and we hear of it first a hundred years or so later, we do not pay much heed to it; and

the only thing that would make us pay heed to it is the discovery of some unknown or forgotten papers written by people who did live at the time, and had opportunities for getting information, and who thus confirm the later statements for us.

Now let us see how the facts stand as to the evidence for St. Peter having ever been Bishop of Rome. If it is really such an enormously important fact in the history of Christianity, if the salvation of hundreds of millions is bound up with it, if the vast temporal and spiritual powers claimed and exercised by the Popes depend upon it, we are fairly entitled to expect that the proof of it will be early, clear and abundant. Is this so? Not in the least.

First, if we search the New Testament, we find Rome mentioned by name just nine times,* of which seven have to do with St. Paul and one with his friends Aquila and Priscilla; while the only one that has any connexion with St. Peter is the mention of "strangers of Rome" amongst his hearers on the day of Pentecost.

"No," a Roman Catholic disputant replies, "there is that other text of St. Peter's own penning: 'The Church that is in Babylon, elected together with you, saluteth you' (1 Peter v. 13), and Babylon means Rome, as has been held from the time of St. Papias, a contemporary of the Apostles." But at any rate St. Peter does not *say* Rome, but Babylon, and the rest of the Epistle wherein the word occurs is written in a plain, straightforward style, without any similar figures of speech, so that it is much more natural to suppose that he meant just what he said, for Babylon was in his time still inhabited, and that largely by Jews, who were strong enough to defeat a powerful band of robbers that infested the neighbourhood, about twenty years before St. Peter wrote the Epistle somewhere about A.D. 63 (Josephus, "Antiquities," xviii. 9). Next, it is a mistake to suppose that the very early testimony of Papias to the guess that Babylon means Rome does really exist, for this notion has arisen from a mistake as to the meaning of a passage in the ancient Church historian Eusebius. Here one writer after an-

* Acts ii. 10; xviii. 2; xix. 21; xxiii. 11; xxviii. 14, 16; Romans i. 7, 15; 2 Tm. i. 17.

other has copied the blunder, without verifying the original passage, which proves to consist of two separate clauses, the first of which gives Clement of Alexandria and Papias as authorities for the tradition that St. Peter gave his sanction and approval to St. Mark's Gospel, and for that point only; while the second clause, which is the identification of Rome and Babylon on the ground of the text already cited, is placed after the reference to these two authors, as an independent statement, and not as warranted by them, but merely as a current opinion in Eusebius's own day. Put the case, however, that the guess is right, and there remains the difficulty that there is nothing said about St. Peter's personal relation to this Babylon or Rome, certainly not that he was Bishop there, any more than we take for granted that St. Paul must have been Bishop of the "Churches of Asia," whose salutation he sends to the Corinthians (1 Cor. xvi. 19), which no one has hitherto asserted. And St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans (written in A.D. 58) obviously takes for granted that no Apostle had yet reached them (Rom. xv. 20), while his silence about St. Peter in his other Epistles, written from Rome itself as late as A.D. 63 or 65, shews that St. Peter had not arrived there even then. When we come to the age next to that of the Apostles, we are met by the silence on the point at issue in the letter of St. Clement, Pope of Rome, to the Corinthians, written in the last quarter of the first century. Though he twice refers to St. Peter, on neither occasion does he say a word to connect him with Rome, while this is exactly what would be the most natural thing for him to do in the circumstances if the fact were so, since it is hardly credible that he should fail to appeal to the teaching of the Apostle as still vesting in some degree in the Church he had ruled. And the like silence is found in the Epistle of St. Ignatius to the Romans, written in the first quarter of the second century, when he was actually on his road to martyrdom at Rome itself. He says, indeed, to the Romans, "I do not issue commands to you, as did Peter and Paul," but (apart from the obvious remark that "commands" may be sent by letter, and do not imply utterance by word of mouth only) he does not say a word implying that he was hoping to fulfil his own course in the same place where St. Peter had done so, and in a like fashion; and yet it is most difficult to suppose him to have omitted such a

reference, if the fact of St. Peter's episcopate and martyrdom at Rome had been known to him. The earliest mention of St. Peter in connexion with Rome is in a fragment of an Epistle to the Romans from St. Dionysius of Corinth (about 171), wherein he says that St. Peter and St. Paul both went to Corinth as well as to Rome, "and taught us in the same way as they taught you when they went to Italy." But this makes against St. Peter's episcopate at Rome, since it is not pretended that he or St. Paul was ever Bishop of Corinth, and there is a clear line of difference between the teaching attitude of a passing missionary and that of the resident Bishop of a Church. They may teach the same things, but they do not teach in the same way, any more than an occasional lecturer teaches in the same way as the head-master of a school. Next after this comes the evidence of St. Irenæus, Bishop of Lyons, about A.D. 190, and that is decisive against St. Peter's episcopate at Rome. For he says that St. Peter and St. Paul preached at Rome, and laid the foundations of the Church there, and after doing so "committed into the hands of Linus the office of the episcopate." The particular Greek word here used cannot be made to mean "handed on" or "handed down," as if the phrase meant that Linus succeeded either or both of them after they died, but must mean that they, in their lifetime, appointed him to the office; which, consequently, cannot have been held by St. Peter when he died. There are altogether fifteen authors in the Christian literature of the three earliest centuries, down to the Council of Nice in 325, who say something in twenty-two passages bearing on St. Peter's connexion with Rome, five of which have been already cited. Out of the remaining sixteen, seven speak only to the fact of St. Peter having been martyred at Rome, and do not say anything of his relation to the local Church; three relate the legend of his encounter with Simon Magus there, and have to be struck out, because it has been known for the last fifty years by the discovery of a MS. in the Vatican Library in 1837, that all the earlier accounts of St. Peter's conflict with Simon Magus placed the scene of it in some Eastern city, and thus that the substitution of Rome was a later adaptation of the story; three speak of St. Peter ordaining Clement, not Linus, as first Bishop of Rome (thus contradicting the lineal order of their

names now accepted by the Roman Church); one (in St. Cyprian) mentions the Roman See as "the place of Fabian, that is, the place of Peter"; two more (also in St. Cyprian) call it "the Chair of Peter"; and the last (in St. Firmilian) speaks of Pope Stephen I. as claiming the succession of Peter. Further, only one of the three passages which speak of St. Peter's consecrating Clement as Bishop of Rome, is expressed in terms which seem to denote that St. Peter had himself been Bishop of Rome up till then, but, knowing his martyrdom to be near at hand, resigned in favour of Clement, appointing him as his successor in the See; whereas the other two passages make Clement the first Roman Bishop. The five last-named passages are thus the only discoverable quotations down to the fourth century which in any way suggest that St. Peter was Bishop of Rome. But three out of the four are in St. Cyprian, a writer who lived nearly 200 years after the time we are concerned with, and who was never at Rome, so as to have examined the Church archives there, and a fourth is in his contemporary, St. Firmilian; while it is not disputed that the story of St. Peter's episcopate at Rome had sprung up somewhat earlier, and was then gaining ground. And the first of the three passages in St. Cyprian is rejected by Rigalt and Fell, two editors of his works, as the marginal gloss of a scribe which has crept somehow into the text; while the statement by St. Firmilian that Pope Stephen claimed to be St. Peter's successor in his chair is evidence only that the claim was made, not that it was a just claim, and capable of proof. The remaining passage comes from the Clementine Homilies, a work which was condemned as a heretical forgery by Pope Gelasius I. in a council at Rome in A.D. 494 (chiefly because of its bitterness against St. Paul), so that this, too, disappears, and there is nothing left in the whole of the Christian literature of the first 300 years, except two words of St. Cyprian ("Petri Cathedram," *i.e.*, "the Chair of Peter")* twice applied to the

* Even those two words lie under the gravest suspicion as to their genuineness where they occur in a treatise of St. Cyprian's on the Unity of the Church, into which several spurious clauses, now detected and expunged, were foisted to make a case for the Papal claims. And this clause is most probably one of the series, for they are all of a similar kind. The best which can be said for it

See of Rome, and the claim of his contemporary Pope Stephen I., two hundred years after St. Peter's time, to bolster up the legend of St. Peter's episcopate at Rome. The story that he was martyred at Rome may probably be true, less because there is any strong and convincing evidence for it, than because no rival claim is known to have been set up for any other place; but we are entitled to say that he can never have been Bishop of Rome, or the ancient Church would have known it, and told us of it. It is to be noted, further, that not one of all the twenty-two references to St. Peter is a first-hand statement by any one who personally attests his presence at Rome. We get plenty of later assertions on the subject, no doubt, growing fuller and more precise as the distance from St. Peter's own day increases; but not one of these new witnesses professes to have found any older documents to confirm his story, and therefore we are bound by the simplest laws of evidence to reject it as a mere invention of later times, most probably due to this circumstance, that the original planters of Christianity in Rome must necessarily have been those Roman hearers of St. Peter on the day of Pentecost who preached his new doctrine there on their return, and who would thus naturally look up to him as the true founder of the Church there, though we can see plainly from St. Paul's language that it was not yet fully organised when he wrote the Epistle to the Romans, but needed the visit of the Apostle of the Gentiles to set all things in order.

If we can imagine any analogous claim made by any one in the present day, to be the lawful holder of some great office, on the ground of hereditary descent from its original tenant, but unable to produce evidence within two centuries of that person's lifetime that he had in fact held the office in question, it is impossible to doubt the legal result. The claimant would be non-suited, and the claim dismissed as incapable of being sustained.

---

is that it is not quite certainly spurious. And it does not help the argument in the passage where it occurs, being dragged in quite irrelevantly to the point at issue, which is not the rank of the Roman See, but the claims of rival Popes, each alleging it as his See. The other occurrence of the words, in an Epistle (lv.) to Pope Cornelius, has not been hitherto challenged.

No. VII.

PAPAL AUTHORITY IN FACT AND IN FICTION.

IN a sermon preached by Cardinal Manning on Sunday, July 3, 1887, being within the octave of the festival of SS. Peter and Paul, from the text St. John xxi. 17, "Feed My sheep," the preacher took occasion to set forward the Ultramontane explanation of that text, as well as of the other two commonly adduced in support of the Papal claims, St. Matthew xvi. 18, "Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build My Church," and St. Luke xxii. 32, "I have prayed for thee, that thy faith fail not, and when thou art converted, strengthen thy brethren."

The preacher points out that, "the Fathers of the Church have noted that when our Lord spoke these words, many other of the Apostles were present, but He did not address these words to them. In the presence of all He addressed them to St. Peter alone. That was a commission not given indiscriminately to all, but specially and personally to Peter." And then, after citing those powers and functions entrusted to all the Apostles alike, it is urged that to St. Peter singly were given prerogatives making him Prince of the Apostles, not in order only, but in authority, and Vicar of his Divine Master, "that is to say, that all the power and office that was communicable from his Lord to him who should stand in His place as the Head and Centre of the Apostles, was communicated to Peter, and to him was given the undivided pastoral care of the whole flock upon earth."

Note, then that this whole section of the sermon directly

implies, though it falls short of explicitly stating, that the interpretation just given is that of the Fathers as a collective body, meaning by "Fathers" all the more eminent Christian theologians from the contemporaries of the Apostles down to the twelfth century, and that this holds true, in particular, of the actual text of the sermon, "Feed My sheep."

What, then, are the facts respecting the meaning put upon this text by the Fathers? The literal truth is that no ancient Father whatever explains it in Cardinal Manning's fashion. There are three methods of interpreting it found in their writings. First stands the opinion that no new commission was hereby conferred upon St. Peter, but that he, who had fallen from the Apostolate by his sin of denial, and forfeited all powers and privileges of that office, was simply restored to his original position, and brought back to equality with the other Apostles, below which he had sunk for a time. That is how St. Ambrose, St. Augustine, St. Gregory Nazianzen, and St. Cyril of Alexandria, all take it. Thus St. Ambrose says: "By feeding Christ's flock well with the food of faith, he did away the guilt of his former fall. And for that reason he is thrice enjoined to feed, is thrice asked if he loves the Lord, that he may thrice confess Him whom he had thrice denied before the Cross." (De Fide, v. 2.) St. Augustine says: "Therefore He saith to Peter, whom He would make a good shepherd, *not in Peter's own person*, but in that of His body, 'Peter, lovest thou Me? Feed My sheep.' He said this once, twice, thrice, to Peter's sorrow." And later on in the same work the Saint adds: "But the Lord asks what He knew already, and that not once, but twice and thrice, whether Peter loves Him; nor is there anything else which He hears so often from Peter as that he does love Him; or enjoin anything else so often upon Peter as to feed His sheep. A threefold confession repays the threefold denial, . . . and it is to be the duty of love to feed the Lord's flock, as it had been the proof of cowardice to deny the Shepherd. . . . If thou lovest Me, do not think about feeding thyself, but My sheep; feed them as Mine, not as thine own; seek My glory in them, not thine; My authority, not thine; My gain, not thine." (Tract. in Evang. Joann. xlvii. 2; cxxiii. 5.)

A second, but not so usual, interpretation of the text is that some undefined precedence is thereby conferred on St. Peter, and this is the view of St. Chrysostom (Hom. lxxxviii. in Evang. Joann.), but he merely speaks of a *prostasia*, that is, a *precedency* of honour, like that of the permanent chairman of a Standing Committee, and never implying sovereign *authority*. This is also, naturally enough, the opinion of Popes Leo I. and Gregory I., but even they, who were both ardent champions of Papal prerogatives, say nothing that can be stretched fairly to the extent of the assertions made above.

And then comes the third view, that not primacy of honour only, but a supremacy, was conferred on St. Peter in the words, "Feed My sheep." But no warrant for this can be found in any Father whatever till St. Bernard, who is called the "Last of the Fathers" (A.D. 1091-1153), who was not even born till after the new despotic Papal monarchy had been firmly established by Hildebrand, Pope Gregory VII., and who thus was familiar with a state of things which did not exist in the ancient Church. He does quote St. John xxi. 17, in his treatise "De Consideratione" (iii. 8), addressed to Pope Eugenius III., as proving the supremacy of the Pope over all other Bishops and pastors. And yet in this very treatise, Ultramontane as is some of its language, he bears clear witness against yet later developments, for he does not hesitate to speak plainly to the Pope about the moral and practical mischiefs wrought by the system of appeals to Rome, the injustice with which such appeals were too commonly decided, and the Pope's own guilt in encroaching upon the rights of other prelates. He compares him to the man in Nathan's parable who took his poor neighbour's one ewe lamb, and to Ahab seizing Naboth's vineyard; he speaks of the corruption and simony prevalent in the Roman Curia, and of the manner in which the vilest criminals resorted to Rome, either to obtain or to secure the possession of ecclesiastical benefices at the hands of the Pope. Thus, he plainly regards the very Pontiff, whose privileges and authority he exalts so high, as a mere fallible man, who not merely might err, but who habitually did err, and whose great powers not only might be abused, but constantly were abused in a scandalous and criminal manner. He is thus witness alike against the later tenet

of Papal infallibility, and against the practical benefit of that very supremacy which he believed to have Scriptural warrant.

Immediately after the words already quoted from Cardinal Manning's sermon, the following occur:—"Peter, then, had full, ample, and unlimited power to act in his Divine Master's name. His brethren had a share and participation in those powers given them, but always in union with and in dependence on Peter, who was their head." And then the preacher proceeds to ask whether there is any Bishop now who stands to all the Bishops of the Catholic world in the relation that St. Peter did to the Apostles, of course answering his own query with the reply that Pope Leo XIII. does so, and asking if we do not read that during the first three hundred years of the Church the Popes, one after another, suffered martyrdom, and were acknowledged during all those years as the heads of the Church, chief among Bishops, and Vicars of Christ; answering these queries, too, in the affirmative. With one very small deduction, the whole of this is sheer fiction.*

There is none of the theories started to prop up Papal authority which is more frequently or clearly contradicted by Scripture than that St. Peter was constituted the intermediary between Christ and the other Apostles—that he was, so to speak, made the neck, joining the Head to the body. First of all, if this theory were true, there would be some plain evidence of it in a change of Christ's attitude and language to the Twelve generally, after His thus specially commissioning St. Peter. We should find either that His communications would have been made to St. Peter singly, with directions to impart them to his colleagues, or else that some words in His general addresses would indicate to

---

* Even on the minor point of the number of martyred Popes, Cardinal Manning does not give the facts; for the earliest Pope whose martyrdom is credibly attested is St. Fabian in 249, very near the end of "the first three hundred years of the Church." And St. Gregory the Great tells us plainly that in his time (544—609) there were no Acts of the Martyrs (apart from those in the writings of Eusebius) preserved in the archives of the Church of Rome, or in any Roman library (Epist. viii., 29); so that the later Roman lists are all forgeries. But this is only a detail, useful merely as showing what such utterances as the Cardinal's are worth.

the other Apostles the new relation thus established. But nothing of the sort is to be found: on the contrary, there is absolute equality in all the commissions He gives, "Go *ye* and teach all nations" (St. Matthew xxviii. 18); "I send the promise of My Father upon *you*" (St. Luke xxiv. 49); "As My Father hath sent Me, even so send I *you*. . . . Receive *ye* the Holy Ghost; whose soever sins *ye* remit, they are remitted unto them, and whose soever sins *ye* retain, they are retained" (St. John xx. 21-23). Not only so, but He expressly, as well as indirectly, asserts the equality of the Apostles by His repeated refusal to nominate one of them as head and chief over the others, when they were disputing as to that very matter—the last of these occasions being on the night before His death, and immediately before His utterance of the words to St. Peter, "I have prayed for thee that thy faith fail not; and when thou art converted, strengthen thy brethren" (St. Luke xxii. 24-32)—a juxtaposition which teaches us that the Ultramontane gloss put on these words cannot possibly be their true meaning. Next, when we observe what St. Peter and the other Apostles said and did in consequence of the charge given to him, no trace of any sense of peculiar authority on his part is discoverable, for although he certainly assumes the most prominent place in the earlier chapters of the Acts, and takes the lead upon several occasions, yet not one of his recorded words or actions points to any jurisdiction over the Apostles or the Church at large, while several point quite the other way—as in the election of St. Matthias, where St. Peter does not fill up the vacancy; the mission to Samaria, where he is sent and is not the sender; the Council at Jerusalem, where he is not the president who gives the final decision; and, above all, the dispute at Antioch, where St. Paul resists him, and compels him to retract his erroneous attitude on the great question then agitating faith and morals in the Church, the relation of Gentile converts towards the Jewish Law (Galatians ii. 11-14). Further, if the Ultramontane theory be sound, St. Peter constituted in his single person, and the Pope constitutes now, a separate order in the Church; the one having been above all Apostles, not in honour only, but in degree and kind, as the latter is considered by Ultramontanes to be above all Bishops. But St.

Paul, when enumerating the offices in the Church, knows nothing of such an arrangement. He says: "God hath set some in the Church, *first* Apostles, secondarily prophets," &c. (1 Cor. xii. 28); "Built upon the foundation of the Apostles and prophets" (Eph. ii. 20); with which latter saying may be compared that like one in the Apocalypse: "And the wall of the City had twelve foundations, and in them the names of the twelve Apostles of the Lamb" (Rev. xxi. 14). Clearly, all these passages must have been worded otherwise, on the supposition that the Papal view is right. We should have something of this sort: "God hath set in the Church first Peter, as His Vicar, secondarily Apostles," &c.; "Ye are built upon Peter the rock;" "The wall of the City had one foundation, and in it the name of Peter, Prince of the Apostles of the Lamb." There is yet one more disproof, almost stronger than all these put together—namely, that we have direct assertion in Scripture that, whatever may at first have been St. Peter's relation to the Universal Church, he was after a time formally limited to dealing with the Church of the Circumcision only, consisting of Jewish converts; while the whole Gentile mission was made over to St. Paul (Galatians ii. 7-9), and St. Paul himself is careful to tell us that he did not receive his Apostleship, as St. Matthias had done, from the other Apostles, but directly from our Lord Himself, and so too with his doctrine (Galatians i. 1, 12), so that St. Peter had no share whatever in commissioning or teaching him, and it was thus not merely "in union with and in dependence on St. Peter" that he achieved his great missionary work, but quite independently of him—a fact which seems to have been divinely intended to bar from the very first the Papal claim as false and untenable. The one small grain of fact in the part of the sermon now under discussion is that in the early centuries the Pope of Rome was regarded as "chief among Bishops"—that is, that since Rome was the capital of the Empire within which the enormous majority of all Christians dwelt, and contained the largest and wealthiest Christian community, a priority of honour was granted to its Bishop, but he was not invested thereby with any jurisdiction or authority over any part of Christendom lying outside the narrow limits of his own Patriarchate, which extended

no farther than over Central and South Italy, with the adjacent islands. We have upon this point the most indisputable and authoritative evidence that the case admits, the formal decree of the General Council of Chalcedon in 451, which enacted in its twenty-eighth Canon that as "The Fathers fitly bestowed precedence upon the throne of Old Rome, because that was the Imperial city; the 150 bishops most beloved of God"—*i.e.*, the Fathers of the Second General Council in 381—"moved by the same consideration, rightly bestowed equal precedency upon the most holy throne of New Rome—*i.e.*, Constantinople—wisely judging that the city honoured by the seat of empire and by the Senate, and enjoying the same [civil] precedence as old Imperial Rome, should be aggrandised like it in ecclesiastical matters also, ranking next after it." The evidential importance of this canon is accentuated by three weighty facts: (1) It was formally and unanimously reasserted by the Council after a warm protest on the part of the Pope's legates, and thus has the fullest proof of deliberate decision; (2) it has never ceased to be acted on by the whole Eastern Church, despite the refusal of Pope Leo I. to recognise its validity; (3) it was a decree of one of those very few Councils which were chiefly doctrinal in their scope, and which settled the faith of Catholic Christendom. The very Pope who refused to accept this canon just quoted is fervid in his praise of the perfect orthodoxy of the Council, and explicit in his agreement with all its theological decisions. Now, if the Petrine supremacy, and the jurisdiction of the Roman See over all Christendom in virtue of a Divine charter, be integral parts of the Christian religion, a Council which implicitly denied the existence of any Divine right in the matter, and alleged the priority of Rome to be a matter of mere human arrangement, and that upon none but political grounds, must have been heretical, and would have been repudiated by the voice of Christendom, as those Synods have been which were held in the Arian interest. As the exact contrary is the fact, as the Council of Chalcedon is one of the great pillars of the Faith, it follows necessarily that the Council was right and orthodox in denying the Roman claim, and so that claim is no part of the Christian religion. It may be just added here that there is a double sup-

pression in Cardinal Manning's statement that the Pope in early times was recognised as "the Vicar of Christ." In the first place, this title "Vicar of Christ" was common to all Bishops in early times, and is so used even as late as the ninth century by the Council of Thionville, in a letter extant in the Capitularies of Charles the Bald, tit. 2, while its restriction to the Pope alone was warmly opposed in the Council of Trent itself; and, in the next place, the Latin language has no definite article, as Greek and English have; no way of marking the distinction between "a" and "the," as Greek and English can do. Accordingly, when a noun, or a noun united to an adjective, stands in a Latin sentence, we have to gather from the context (which is not always helpful in the matter) whether we are to put "a" or "the" before it. Thus, "Vicarius Christi," so far as the Latin goes, may be either "*A* Vicar of Christ," or "*The* Vicar of Christ," just as the title given to Rome, "Sedes Apostolica," may, as mere Latin, mean either "*An* Apostolic See"—a title belonging to all the many Sees founded by Apostles,—or "*The* Apostolic See."* It is the invariable Roman practice to take the latter way, and to use titles, which are properly common to many, as if peculiar to the Pope of Rome alone and indivisibly, and thus as denoting some high exceptional powers. So with the title "Pope" itself, which is still used for every parish priest in the Greek Church, but which Pope Gregory VII., by a decree of a Roman synod in 1073, limited thenceforth in Western Christendom to the Bishop of Rome alone.

The sermon goes on thus:—

"As the Sovereigns of England have been the heads of the Parliaments of England, so the successor of Peter has been the chief legislator in nineteen Œcumenical Councils, which are the legislatures of the Church, gathered together from century to century, with long intervals between; and during those intervals who executed the law, and had in charge the canons and decrees which were then made? As in England the Sovereign, so in the Church the head."

This is all fiction. First, there is no See in the whole world

* However, it is true that Rome is the only Western See of Apostolical foundation, though there are many such in the Eastern Church.

wherein the succession has been so often and so fatally interrupted and broken as the See of Rome. It is a matter of absolute historical certainty, as will be shewn, that there have been not only a considerable number of minor and temporary breaks in the chain through invalid elections or intrusions, but three huge breaches of long duration, wholly voiding and disqualifying the Papal line. (See No. IX., pp. 82, 83.) Next, there have been only six true Œcumenical Councils; and even if the Second Council of Nice in 787 (the synod which authorised the cult of images) be allowed to be reckoned in, as the Greeks reckon it, there are only seven. For the meaning of the word "œcumenical" is "representative of all Christendom." But the twelve later Councils which make up the number to nineteen were exclusively Western and Latin, with the single exception of one held at Constantinople in 869, but repudiated a few years later by the Eastern Church, which has never received any of the other eleven, so that they have no claim to be styled œcumenical. Next, there is no more clear disproof of the Papal claims than the very small and, so to speak, subordinate part played by the Popes in all the true Œcumenical Councils. Let us take them in order.

I. Nice I., A.D. 325. This Council was not summoned by the Pope, but by the Emperor Constantine the Great, and there is no evidence whatever for the figment that he did so after consultation with, and sanction from, the Pope. It was not presided over by the Pope or his legates, but by Hosius Bishop of Cordova, who signs for himself only, while the Pope's legates state that they are signing on the Pope's behalf. This disposes of a theory that Hosius was in fact Papal legate. And the decrees of the Council were at once promulgated as binding, without waiting for any Papal confirmation; while so clearly has this been seen to affect the Papal claims, that a letter purporting to be addressed by Hosius, as president of the Council, to Pope Sylvester, asking him to confirm its acts, has been forged to supply the missing link.

II. Council of Constantinople I., 381. This Council was convoked, not by the Pope, but by the Emperor Theodosius the Great; and it was at first presided over by a Bishop who was actually disowned and excommunicated by the Pope—Meletius

of Antioch, who continued its president till his death. It enacted a canon, which practically goes as far as the canon of Chalcedon already cited, giving Constantinople the next place to Rome in ecclesiastical dignity, "because of its being the imperial city"; thereby implying that Rome's former rank as the seat of civil government, and not any episcopate of St. Peter there, was the reason for its primacy. Not one Western Bishop was present, personally or by proxy, so that the Pope had not even the tiniest share in the proceedings; and yet this is reckoned as a true Œcumenical Council, binding the whole Church by its decrees, though it was never confirmed by the Pope, as we know from the action of the Papal legates at Chalcedon, who alleged in their protest against the twenty-eighth canon, which refers to the above-cited canon of Constantinople, that no Constantinopolitan canons whatever were recognised at Rome. And this refusal to acknowledge the Council was persevered in at Rome for two centuries, though it is now admitted as Œcumenical.

III. Ephesus, 431. This Council was convoked by the Emperor Theodosius II. to examine the heresy of Nestorius, Patriarch of Constantinople. But Nestorius had been already tried and condemned by the Pope in a Roman synod the previous year, and declared to be deposed from his See. Nevertheless, the Council of Ephesus took no account of this action, but recognised and treated Nestorius as Patriarch still, and although the Pope's judgment was read at the Council, it was not regarded as in any way deciding the point at issue, but the case was inquired into anew, and the heresiarch was condemned, not in virtue of the Pope's judgment, but of proofs laid before the Council, establishing the falsity of his doctrine.

IV. Chalcedon, 451. Besides the canon of this Council, already cited, which disproves the alleged Divine primacy of Rome, it is to be noted that here too a doctrinal question was discussed which had been already decided by the Pope in a Roman Council. The famous "Tome of St. Leo," setting forth the Catholic doctrine of the Incarnation, was read in the Council; but so far was it from being treated as deciding the issues, that objections were taken to it by several Bishops, and

a period of five days (extended to seven) was devoted into inquiring into its orthodoxy, which resulted in its favour, not on the ground of its Papal origin, but of its agreement with the teaching of St. Cyril of Alexandria and other orthodox Fathers, as the Bishops in the Council were solicitously careful to state plainly. Moreover, this Council was not only summoned by the Emperor Marcian without any sanction had of the Pope, but against his express remonstrance and disapproval, which have nevertheless never for a moment affected its reception by the Church Universal. He was himself forced to make the best of it, and to send legates thither, but, as shewn above, they were not permitted to shape its decisions, though given a priority of rank there.

V. Constantinople II., 553. This Council, convened by the Emperor Justinian, directly traversed and contradicted, with anathemas, a doctrinal statement sent to it by Pope Vigilius —his "Constitution" on the controversy known as the "Three Chapters," which he had issued formally as his *ex-cathedrâ* judgment—and compelled him to withdraw and retract it, as well as to confirm its own contrary decision.

VI. Constantinople III., 680. This was the Council which, convoked by the Emperor Constantine Pogonatus, and attended by the legates of Pope Agatho, formally anathematized Pope Honorius I. as a heretic—a condemnation which was submitted to by the Roman Church, and renewed by every Pope for nearly a thousand years afterwards at his coronation. A record of it stood in the Roman Breviary (June 28) until past the middle of the sixteenth century, when it was struck out as too dangerous to the Papal claims, against which its evidence is conclusive.

VII. Nice II., 787. This Synod, convened and carefully packed by the Empress Irene, renewed the anathema on Pope Honorius.* It was exclusively Eastern, save for the presence of Papal legates; and in the great Western Council of Frankfort, 794, this was urged as one of the reasons for denying its Œcumenical character, on the ground that the

* A third great Synod, reckoned as a General Council by the Roman Church, that of Constantinople in 869, repeated this sentence upon Honorius.

Pope had no power to commit the Church in general; while that Council compelled Hadrian I., the same Pope who had sent legates to Nice, and who was also represented at Frankfort, to retract his assent to the Nicene decrees on image-worship, and to pronounce them heterodox. And lastly, at no time during the Conciliar era was it held that the Pope was the sole executive of the Church and guardian of its decrees in the intervals between the sessions of General Councils. He was bound by the decrees of those Councils himself, and it was of course his duty to enforce them within the area of his special jurisdiction, whether as Bishop, Metropolitan, or Patriarch. But outside the bounds of that jurisdiction (confined, as already stated, to part of Italy and the Italian islands), this duty devolved on the other Patriarchs, Metropolitans, and Bishops, not in the least as the Pope's deputies for the purpose, but in their own inherent right. There is the historical truth as to the General Councils and the Popes, and it could scarcely be made more unlike Cardinal Manning's assertion by any ingenuity whatever.

No. VIII.

THE ANGLICAN MINISTRY.

IT is a very noticeable fact that there are only two religious communions in all Christendom which Roman Catholic controversialists take the trouble to argue against; namely, the Eastern Church and the Church of England. They appear to consider that no case whatever can be made out in defence of any of the Protestant sects, and, in point of fact, they take little or no literary notice of them. But they are never weary of trying to pick holes in the two bodies just named, which is in itself ample proof that they recognise in both of them the presence of a very strong case indeed, perhaps stronger than their own, which accordingly must be discredited as far as possible, since it cannot be really broken down. The favourite argument with which English Churchmen not very well acquainted with history are plied, is to declare that the Ministerial Orders of the Church of England are invalid and merely nominal, there having been no true Bishops or Priests in the Anglican body since the time of Queen Elizabeth, after those of the old clergy who had conformed died out. And of course it is also alleged that the Orders of the Anglo-Roman clergy are of indisputable validity.

They do not confine themselves to one line of argument when striving to throw doubt upon Anglican Orders. There are four stock assertions which they bring forward, separately or together, as they think will best suit their purpose, as follows:—

1. Archbishop Parker, the first Primate appointed under Queen Elizabeth, was never consecrated at all, the whole account of his alleged consecration being a forgery.

2. Although some ceremony of consecration took place, yet it was null and void, because William Barlow, who had borne the style and rank of a Bishop ever since the year 1536, and who was the principal officiant at Parker's so-called consecration, was himself never consecrated at all, but was a mere titular prelate, incapable of conferring Holy Orders.

3. The form of service employed was insufficient for the purpose of consecrating a Bishop; and a change in its wording, made at the last revision of the Book of Common Prayer in 1662, proves that the authors of that revision were conscious of its defectiveness, but mended it more than a hundred years too late to save the succession, since the imperfect and invalid form of Edward VI. had been in use from 1552 till 1661.

4. Even if Bishops have been validly made in the Church of England, yet, even so, there are no Anglican Priests, because it is essential to the validity of priestly ordination that the Ordinal should expressly confer the power to offer the Eucharistic sacrifice of the Body and Blood of Christ, which is not done by the Anglican form.

Before discussing the first and second of these objections (which destroy one another, since they cannot both be true), it may be pointed out that one simple fact establishes the insincerity with which they are urged. It is that, while no such hitch or break as that alleged to invalidate Parker's episcopal character and that of all the Bishops deriving from him since, is alleged against the succession in the Anglo-Irish Church, which is manifestly unbroken; nevertheless Roman Catholics deny Irish Orders just as steadily. If they were in earnest on this matter, they would say: "We acknowledge that the Irish Orders are valid, though the English ones are not." But as they do nothing of the sort, they make it plain that these objections are mere pretexts, and do not express their real opinion, being simply used as convenient weapons against unskilful Anglicans ill-acquainted with the facts.

The first objection—that Parker was never consecrated at

all—is one of the oldest in date, and has usually taken the form of what is known as the "Nag's Head Fable." This is a statement, first put forward in 1603, to the effect that a mere mock ceremony, performed by Scory, took place at a tavern in Cheapside, when Parker and several others were designated as Bishops. It has been rejected by Lingard, Charles Butler, Estcourt, and other eminent Roman Catholic writers, as a clumsy forgery; but it is brought forward every now and then still by Roman controversialists, when they think that they have to deal with persons ignorant of the truth. The mere fact of using it is full proof of bad faith, and it need not be discussed further.

As to the second objection—that Barlow was never consecrated—the only serious argument adduced for it is that the particular document attesting his consecration is missing, though a large number of others, showing that he acted as a Bishop, and was always recognised as such, are producible. No doubt, if he were the only Bishop of that time whose record of consecration could not be found, that would be enough to warrant some suspicion. But the fact is that the same holds good of more than twenty Bishops in the reigns of Henry VII. and VIII., including two Archbishops of York (one of whom was also a Cardinal), against whom no such exception is taken. By way of accounting for the non-consecration of Barlow, it is alleged that Henry VIII. thought that he, as Head of the Church of England, could make Bishops by his simple mandate, without any consecration, and that Cranmer and Barlow, both being Erastians, were content to dispense with the ceremony. If this were true, there would be ample proof that no consecration did take place, instead of there being a bare guess about it—for Henry VIII. was not the sort of man to act secretly. If he had meant to shew that he could make Bishops by his mere patent, he would have taken care that it should be known as publicly as possible. What is more, we have certain knowledge of his views and will on the subject. He caused a statute to be passed in 1533 (25 Henry VIII. c. 20), wherein it is laid down, not that the royal mandate is as good as consecration, but that it shall be as good in law as any Papal bull or licence *giving permission* to consecrate; and it enacts that any Archbishop failing to con-

secrate the Bishop-designate, together with any abettors he might have, should incur the penalties of *præmunire*, then very severe. And King Henry did issue his mandate for Barlow's consecration, which is still extant (see Rymer, Fœdera, xiv., 559). Therefore, the more Erastian Cranmer and Barlow were, the more sure would they be to obey this brand-new law, though they might disregard a Church canon. If they had disobeyed, proceedings would certainly have been taken against Barlow, for illegally sitting and voting in the House of Lords before being qualified by consecration to do so. What is more, if Barlow had been left unconsecrated for the reason just given, that must have been meant as a new departure, and no more episcopal consecrations would be recorded in Henry VIII.'s reign. But, on the contrary, more than twenty-five consecrations later than Barlow's taking his seat in the House of Lords are found in Henry VIII.'s reign, at two of which Barlow was one of the consecrating Bishops. The figment that he was never consecrated was not trumped up till 1616 —forty-seven years after his death, and eighty after he became Bishop of St. David's. Of course the inventor waited, like the Nag's Head fabulist, till he thought all rebutting witnesses were probably dead, and the lie might pass uncontradicted.

But as three other Bishops took part in Parker's consecration, it would be of little use to disallow Barlow's episcopal character, unless some way of doing away with them also could be invented. And of course invented it was, in this fashion. It is now asserted that in the rite of consecration, only the consecrator senior in rank really does anything, the juniors being no more than witnesses of the ceremony, so that if for any reason the senior is incompetent to consecrate, or withholds his intention, the juniors effect nothing by their imposition of hands, and the candidate remains unconsecrated. This directly contradicts the received doctrine of the great liturgical writers, such as Martene for the Latin Church and Symeon of Thessalonica for the Eastern Church, who both lay down that the assisting Bishops are actively co-consecrators. Further, it is the accepted and current Roman teaching that a Bishop who has been consecrated by only one Bishop is *doubtfully* consecrated (Liguori, "Theol. Mor." vi. 2, 755), which could not be, if, in point of fact there is only one

consecrator on each occasion, however many may seemingly take part in the rite. What is more, the notion is sheer nonsense, for it really comes to this: that the mere presence of a senior in rank actually deprives his juniors of those powers which they would be perfectly able to exercise in his absence, and it destroys the security against possible incompetence on the part of any one consecrator which is provided by the very ancient rule requiring three Bishops to take part in every consecration. Thus, the argument will not stand examination, and may be dismissed to the limbo of detected frauds; and as Parker was not only consecrated by four Bishops, but was assisted by three of them in the first consecrations he himself took part in as Primate, there was no interruption or breach whatever in the succession.

The assertion that Parker's register has been forged is merely a device of men so accustomed to employ fraud in controversy themselves that they suspect it in others; and the simple answer to it is that this register is only one out of a great number of documents to the same effect, scattered in different archives of different countries, all of which must be forgeries also, if it be one, and must have been surreptitiously deposited there by the same forger or forgers without detection, though they could not have had access to some of these archives, and most probably did not know the very existence of others—a theory too weak for serious consideration.

The objection raised against the wording of the Ordinal with which Parker and all other English Bishops were consecrated for more than a century is even more wilfully insincere than those named already. It is that the absence from that Ordinal of any words expressly naming the episcopal office at the actual moment of the laying-on of hands—such as those added in 1662, "For the office and work of a Bishop in the Church of God"—invalidates the whole rite, which may thus intend no more than Confirmation. Now, the reason why this argument is an insincere one is that not only is it a commonplace of theology, familiar to every Roman priest, that Baptism and the Holy Eucharist are the only Christian rites which are tied down to a special form of words as essential to validity, and that any words may be adopted for all the others which fairly

express their intention; but the fault alleged to nullify the Anglican form is positively more distinct and prominent in the *Roman form* for consecrating Bishops, which has, at the actual laying-on of hands, only these three words, "Accipe Spiritum Sanctum"—"Receive the Holy Ghost." The words added to our Ordinal in 1662 are peculiar to the English rite, and are not borrowed from any Roman source, besides which, they were inserted with reference to the controversy against Presbyterians only. As to the mention of the episcopal office in the Edwardine Ordinal, it is frequent and precise enough for any reasonable person, occurring four times before the laying-on of hands; while the Preface to the whole Ordinal declares that its use and intent is for the *continuance* in the Church of England of the same three orders of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons which had existed from the time of the Apostles—but which were rejected, both as regards name and function, by the leading sects of the day. And as the Ordinal states that the intention of the English rite in consecrating a Bishop is to do for him what Christ did in consecrating the Apostles, and they, in turn, did when laying hands on SS. Paul and Barnabas, there is no room for a charge against it of defective or heterodox intention. It is hard to guess what more than this the Roman rite can profess to effect.

The other assertion, that Priests must needs be ordained with a form empowering them to offer Christ's Body and Blood in sacrifice, not only contradicts, like the immediately preceding one, the rule that only Baptism and the Holy Eucharist are tied down to certain words, but there is actually only one of the many forms of ordination used anywhere in Christendom which satisfies this condition, and it is *not* the Roman one (which speaks vaguely of offering "sacrifice to God," but does not say *what* sacrifice), but one used only by the heretical Nestorian sect; so that this objection also breaks down when brought to the test. It is, besides, a very two-edged argument to advance, because there is not only no express oblation in the Roman Missal of anything except the as yet unconsecrated bread and wine, but there are words used immediately after the consecration which directly imply that nothing else has been offered

or can be offered even then. They are in the prayer said by the celebrant over the Host and chalice: "Receive them, as Thou didst vouchsafe to receive the gifts of Thy righteous servant Abel, and the sacrifice of our Patriarch Abraham, and the holy sacrifice, spotless oblation, which Thy high priest Melchizedek offered unto Thee." Clearly, if the oblation which has just been made ranks no higher than those of the pre-Mosaic dispensation, it cannot be the offering, even in type only, of Christ's Body and Blood.* And the result may be conveniently summed up in the words of Dr. von Döllinger (perhaps the most learned theologian of these modern times) at Bonn, in 1875: "The fact that Parker was consecrated by four rightly consecrated Bishops, *rite et legitime*, with imposition of hands and the necessary words, is so well attested that, if one chooses to doubt this fact, one could, with the same right, doubt one hundred thousand facts. . . . The fact is as well established as a fact can be required to be. Bossuet has acknowledged the validity of Parker's consecration, and no critical historian can dispute it. The Orders of the Roman Church could be disputed with more appearance of reason." (*Report of Reunion Conference at Bonn*, 1875, p. 96. London: 1876.)

That all these objections were merely trumped up as afterthoughts, and are not genuine, appears from a very noteworthy fact. On November 30th, 1562, a discussion arose in the Council of Trent as to the necessity of papal confirmation to validate the status of Bishops. There was strong opposition to the view of its necessity, notably from the Spanish Bishops. An Irish Bishop (~~Fitzmaurice of Aghadoe~~ O'Hart of Achonry) said that to rule against this necessity

* This result is due to simple liturgical ignorance at Rome when the Missal was recast, several centuries ago, and the consecration was held to be in virtue of the words of Institution, instead of the Invocation of the Holy Spirit, as in the Eastern Liturgies, which treat the words of Institution as prefatory only. When the change was made, and the Invocation dropped out, the prayer just cited should have been thrown back earlier, that it might still precede the consecration, as it must originally have done; but from inattention to this, the Roman Missal, as it now stands, bears seeming testimony not only against the doctrine of the Eucharistic sacrifice, but against that of the Real Presen e also.

would be very dangerous, because in England the Sovereign appointed Bishops, who were consecrated by three Bishops, and gave themselves out as true Bishops. "But we deny it, because they are not approved by the Roman Pontiff, and we say so rightly, *and it is with this one reason and no other that we argue against them*, for they prove that they have been called, elected, consecrated, and given mission." The Council took this speaker's view, and thereby proved that no other ground of objection to Anglican Orders was then advanced or known. And yet the four current objections are of such a kind, that if true at all, they must have been notorious from the very first.

But what is the position of Roman Orders in this country? Are they so infallibly valid as their advocates would have us believe? In answering this question there will be no need to follow the Roman example by trumping up objections invented for the occasion, and neither admitted as valid by those at whom they are levelled, nor adduced in good faith by their opponents. It will be enough to appeal to authoritative Roman statements. First, then, it is the received Roman tenet that the inward intention and goodwill of the minister is essential to the real efficacy and validity of any rite he outwardly performs. And in the case of Holy Orders the difficulty is doubled, because the intention of the ordinee must be active as well as that of the Bishop who ordains. If he merely passively submits to the ceremony, it is null and void (Togni, "Instruct. pro Sacr. Eccl. Minist.").

Now, this at once makes every Roman ordination doubtful, for (as Cardinal Bellarmine has said on this very subject) "no man can see another's intention," and even if the Bishop and the candidate can trust one another's good faith, that does nothing towards settling doubts which go further back in date. For it is notorious that there was such widespread infidelity amongst the higher clergy in France and Italy in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and so much secret Judaism in Spain, besides such incessant cases of young men of rank, from whom the Bishops were mostly chosen, being forced into Holy Orders against their will (as Talleyrand, for instance, was), that there is the most serious doubt, on Roman principles, of the validity of all orders which have come through French, Italian, or Spanish

sources, as by far the greater part of those exercised by Anglo-Romans do. Besides this initial difficulty, there are two others, more specially applying to those Roman priests who are seceders from the Church of England. First, they have all been re-baptized, and rebaptism, by Roman canon law, makes the re-baptized person and his rebaptizer both incapable for life of receiving or exercising Holy Orders. And what is very singular, is that there is no saving clause to meet the case of conditional rebaptism (André, "Dictionnaire de Droit Canon."). But, as just said, every Anglican seceder now in the Roman ministry has been rebaptized. Nor is this all. There is yet another law of the Roman Church, that heretics and the children of heretics, even after conversion and abjuration, are incapable of Holy Orders (Ferraris, "Bibliotheca Canonica," s. v. "Hæreticus"): and there is further a Bull of Pope Paul IV. (*Cum ex Apostolatûs officio*), declaring all persons who have ever fallen into heresy or schism incapable of becoming bishops, cardinals, or Popes, and annuls all such appointments by a perpetual decree.* So then, unless the Anglo-Roman clergy are ready to confess either that the Church of England is free from doctrinal error, or that the Pope erred in thus ruling, and so was not infallible, they must disallow the orders of all the Anglican converts, and in particular the archiepiscopal rank of Dr. Manning, as well as the claim of himself and Dr. Newman to be lawful and valid cardinals.

That is the position, on Roman principles, and it is noticeably lacking in certainty.

---

* This Bull, being specially aimed at the suppression of Protestantism, is too wide and general in its terms to allow of its scope being limited to born Roman Catholics alone, who may have taken up for a time with anti-Roman doctrines.

No. IX.

JURISDICTION.

WHEN Roman controversialists find that they are unsuccessful in exciting doubts as to the validity of Holy Orders in the Church of England, they are accustomed to fall back on another line of argument, and to say, "Even if, by any possibility, a true and valid ministry has been preserved amongst you, so far as mere succession is concerned"—it suits them to make little of succession when they are taking this line, as they make much of it when trying to show that we have not got it—"yet that is of no practical use without rightful jurisdiction, which Anglicans do not possess; the only jurisdiction really existing amongst them being the civil jurisdiction of the Crown and Parliament, having no spiritual character whatever. But without true spiritual jurisdiction no Christian bishop or priest can lawfully exercise his ministry."

This argument is often found to be very telling and effective for its purposes, thoroughly alarming many persons who had been proof against other pleas. But this is not in the least because it is a strong, or even a plausible, argument; rather because those to whom it is addressed seldom have a notion, however vague, of what Jurisdiction really means, and what is its source, so that they are frightened by this unknown terror, especially if they are persons who would not understand the matter if one set about explaining it to them. The truth is that jurisdiction, instead of being something superadded by Divine grace to

confirm and ratify Holy Orders, is something invented by human law to limit and narrow the exercise of those orders. It is something taken away from them, not annexed to them. For its true nature is that of a prohibition to exercise ministerial acts outside a certain fixed area. By ordination, the ordinee becomes a bishop or priest, as the case may be, of the entire Church Universal, his orders are unlimited and unfettered by any restraining clause, and are valid all the world over, as those of the Apostles were, in virtue of their commission to "teach all nations" (St. Matt. xxviii. 19). But then steps in the principle of jurisdiction, and confines the action of each such minister to a strictly defined territory, be it province, diocese, or parish; granting him a monopoly, indeed, within that particular sphere, but forbidding him to exercise his ministry beyond it, save by express invitation or permission of those who are similarly empowered to act in other districts. The reason for this kind of arrangement (which is technically known as "actual" jurisdiction, distinguished from the "habitual" jurisdiction derived from ordination) is simply for method and convenience, and for the avoidance of disputes, such as would be apt to arise amongst persons working at their own pleasure over the same ground, and possibly coming into collision. But it is obvious that a principle of this sort, however sensible and useful it may be in practice, does not go down to the bottom of the matter, nor touch the question of the actual validity of any ministerial acts done in disregard of it. And accordingly, even in the Roman Church itself, where every priest must have a special licence (or "faculties," as the technical word is) to allow of his saying Mass or hearing confessions, yet it is admitted that if he chooses to perform these acts without such faculties, however blameworthy he may be, and whatever penalties he may incur for his breach of discipline, nevertheless, the acts themselves are sacramentally valid, though wrongfully done, and even if a cause of guilt in the doer and in those who knowingly avail themselves of his unlicensed ministrations.

Thus it is plain, on the showing of Romans themselves, that lack of jurisdiction, even if the Church of England were proved to suffer from it, is not a fatal defect; it does at most constitute

a disciplinary irregularity, whose gravity must be determined on the merits in each instance. Further, not only is jurisdiction the mere creation of human law, as said already, but that law to which it is due is much more largely civil and secular than ecclesiastical. The mapping out of dioceses and parishes, and the assignment of specific rights and privileges therein to particular individuals, has from a very early time required the assent, and not seldom the initiative, of the State to enable it to be done at all, or to be maintained when once set up. Nay, more, all that part of ecclesiastical jurisdiction which is external and coercive, which has to do with inflicting penalties for offences, if those penalties be other than strictly spiritual, cannot, and does not, exist anywhere, even in non-Christian countries, without the express sanction of the civil power, which is bound to protect its subjects from injury to their persons, property, or character. And so it is clear that the objection brought by Roman Catholics against the Church of England because of the interference of the State in its concerns holds equally in *kind* (whatever the *degree* of interference may be) of the Roman Church itself in every country in the world.* Not only is there no exception to this rule, but it is not possible that there could be any exception to it in a civilised community. This cavil accordingly fails, even if it were granted that the charge against the Church of England of lacking spiritual jurisdiction is true in canon law and in theology.

But the charge in question is not true. For the highest kind of spiritual jurisdiction is that which is technically called "habitual," or, as it might be otherwise called, potential jurisdiction, which is conveyed by the fact of consecration or ordination, whereby the newly ordained or consecrated person becomes capable of validly performing all episcopal or sacerdotal acts, though as a matter of convenience he is authorised to do so within a given area only. In the case of a bishop consecrated for and to a particular see, the two kinds of jurisdiction united

* Especially when it is remembered that for several centuries the Emperors nominated the Popes, and before that the election vested in the clergy and people of Rome.

are conveyed simultaneously by the ceremony; for besides the "habitual" jurisdiction involved in the fact of his being a bishop at all, there is also the "actual" jurisdiction of authority within a particular diocese imparted to him, so that he is fully and truly its Ordinary from that moment; and apart from any further ceremony of enthronement or the like. And this is part of the canon law of the Universal Church, found in the Apostolic Canons and in the Canons of Antioch, which were received by the whole Church, while it is also implied in the oldest Roman office for the consecration of bishops (that in the Gelasian Sacramentary), as it is likewise in the Anglican Ordinal. The later Roman Pontifical, altered in several respects in the interests of Papal authority, is much less clear, though traces of this ancient doctrine are still discernible. The Metropolitan is the person who, according to the code of the Universal Church, conveys jurisdiction to the provincial bishops, while a new Metropolitan derives his own jurisdiction from his comprovincials jointly, and not from any authority external to the province. The practice of the Popes consecrating Metropolitans came in by degrees, as part of a settled policy for the purpose of increasing Papal power; but it was unknown to, and never recognised by, the ancient Church Universal.

What, then, is the truth as to the position of the post-Reformation Church of England in this matter of lawful jurisdiction? The facts are very simple. The death of Cardinal Pole, Archbishop of Canterbury, on November 19, 1558, left that see canonically vacant; Matthew Parker was duly elected by the chapter to the vacant see, and his election was confirmed in the regular manner, while he was consecrated on December 17, 1559, by Barlow, Coverdale, Hodgskin and Scory, the survivors of the Edwardian hierarchy, which had been forcibly deprived by Queen Mary without any canonical process. Of the twenty-two sees in the Province of Canterbury, ten were at that date vacant through the deaths of their occupants, three were held by intruders irregularly thrust in by Queen Mary, and the bishops of two more had abandoned the kingdom and never returned. That left still seven of Queen Mary's bishops who might have created a difficulty by protesting against the consecration of

Parker, and yet more by putting forward another claimant to the Primacy. But they did nothing of the kind, then or afterwards, allowing the case since set up against him to fail by default, and, according to all canonical usage, this absence of public dissent and protest on their part is equivalent to assent, so far as the validity of the transaction is concerned.* Thus Parker received full jurisdiction, both habitual and actual, at his consecration, and was competent to communicate the like to the bishops he subsequently consecrated, from whom those of the present day derive their succession.

Of course, when Roman Catholics deny Anglican jurisdiction, it is like the case of a litigant challenging the title to an estate. No one does that who is not trying to get the estate for himself, for otherwise he would have no interest in disturbing the occupant. But that he may succeed in doing this, it is not enough for him to prove that the occupant has a bad title, or no title at all; he must further show that his own title is a better one. What, then, are the facts on this head as regards the Anglo-Roman bishops and clergy?

First of all, they base their claim on one principle only, to the exclusion of every other; and that principle is that the Pope is the one and only source of all spiritual jurisdiction, that he has direct and immediate jurisdiction in every diocese of the world, and that the sitting bishop in each diocese is merely his removable deputy and curate, holding office solely by and at his pleasure. Therefore, they say, as the Anglican hierarchy is not recognised by the Pope, it is necessarily null and void; while the bishops and clergy sent hither by Papal authority have alone rightful jurisdiction in England.

This is asserted in virtue of the Pope's inheritance from St. Peter, in whom is alleged to have been vested supreme jurisdic-

* Those who urge the private dissent of the Marian Bishops in the Province of Canterbury as an objection against the validity of Parker's position, should remember that Cardinal Manning was thrust uncanonically by Pius IX. into the titular See of Westminster, against the public votes and the wishes of all concerned, and in disregard of the vested claims of Archbishop Errington, coadjutor with right of succession—so far as the word "right" can be used in this connexion—to Cardinal Wiseman.

tion over the whole Apostolic Church, by reason of the three sayings of our Lord in St. Matthew xvi. 18, 19; St. Luke, xxii. 32; and St. John xxi. 15-17. But there is no express mention of jurisdiction or its equivalent in any of these texts; there is no act or word of St. Peter's recorded in Holy Scripture, or in any ancient document, showing that he ever exercised or claimed such jurisdiction, whereas acts and words of his are recorded which are quite incompatible with his having possessed it—such as his merely suggesting the election of someone to the vacant Apostleship, instead of filling up the post on his own responsibility, as the Pope does with a vacancy amongst the cardinals (Acts ii. 15-26); his being sent to Samaria by the superior authority of the collective Apostles (Acts viii. 14); his admitting the right of other members of the Church to challenge the lawfulness of his action, and his giving them an explanation, instead of simply alleging his supreme authority as sufficient warrant (Acts xi. 2-17); and his secondary position in the Council of Jerusalem, where St. James presided and pronounced the decision (Acts xv. 6, 17, 19). Further, if it were even capable of proof that St. Peter did receive in the first instance jurisdiction over the whole Church, yet there is precise and conclusive evidence that he was after a time limited to the "Churches of the circumcision," that is to say, those consisting of Jews only, and was withdrawn from any jurisdiction over the Gentiles, who were formally made over to St. Paul's care (Galatians ii. 8, 9), who accordingly claims to be not merely *an* Apostle to the Gentiles, but *the* Apostle to the Gentiles (Romans xi. 13). Contrariwise St. Peter, like St. James, another Apostle of the circumcision, addresses his First Epistle most probably not to Christians generally, but to Jewish Christians alone. This is shewn not only by the phrase in its first verse, "to the strangers scattered abroad," which is the specific description of the non-Palestinian Jews, then known as the "Dispersion," but also by the counsel he gives in another verse, "Having your conversation honest among the Gentiles" (1 St. Peter ii. 12). This shows that they to whom he wrote were not themselves Gentiles, whereas St. Paul, when writing to the Roman Christians, speaks of them as Gentiles, thus proving that this word is not used in the New Testament as equivalent to

heathens, and so that St. Peter was writing to Jews—fallen away, indeed, into heathen errors in more than one particular before their conversion to Christianity (i. 14, 18), but still genuine Hebrews. This fact of St. Peter's limitation to the Jewish Church has an important bearing on the question of Papal jurisdiction. For, even if the unprovable and improbable guesses that St. Peter had power to bequeath any special privilege he may have possessed, that he became first Pope of Rome, and did in fact bequeath his privilege to his successors in that see, be all allowed to pass current, there is a formidable difficulty still remaining. So conflicting and contradictory in the order of names are the ancient lists of the earlier Popes of Rome (of which there are twelve irreconcilable variants, dating from the second century to the middle of the fourth century, thus proving that no trustworthy record or even tradition existed) that the solution which is accepted by the best scholars, whether Roman Catholics or others, as presenting fewest perplexities, is that some of the Popes there named were not successors of each other, but joint occupants of the see, a statement implied directly as to Linus and Cletus by three very ancient authorities. Now there could be only one reason for such a departure from the more usual custom of one chief ruler in one place, and that was what we have reason to believe was done in Antioch and Ephesus—namely, the organisation of the Jews and Gentiles into separate Churches, maintained until the Jewish one died out. But in that case, if SS. Peter and Paul, as anciently alleged, were jointly organising the Roman Church, the Petrine succession would have been in the Jewish Church of Rome alone, and must have died out in the course of a century, leaving only the Pauline succession of the Gentile Church remaining, for which the special Petrine privilege cannot be claimed. Further, though SS. Peter and Paul are said to have been martyred on the same day of the same month (June 29), yet the oldest authorities which are more precise add that they did not suffer in the same year, St. Peter having been put to death a twelvemonth before St. Paul.* But in that case, as they are stated (by St. Epiphanius) to have been joint Apostles and Bishops at Rome,

* Prudentius, *Peristeph.* xii. 5; St. Augustine, *Serm.* xxviii.; Arator, ii. 12.

the surviving Apostle, according to the invariable rule of such joint tenure of an office, must have acquired his colleague's share of it, and have thenceforward exercised the powers of the office alone and singly. That is to say, in effect, the Petrine line died out with St. Peter himself, and only a Pauline succession has ever existed at Rome. Not only so, but there are huge gaps in the Roman line of succession, which so effectually break continuity with the ancient Popes that the later Pontiffs belong, so to speak, to a wholly distinct class and dynasty, no more inheriting any special privileges which may have inhered in their predecessors than the President of the French Republic inherits the position of the Emperor Charlemagne. It will suffice to cite three of these gaps, which incontestably prove that the succession in the Papacy has not been divinely safeguarded, as it must needs have been if the theory of the Petrine privilege of the Popes be true.

First comes the period between A.D. 903 and 963, during which no fewer than thirteen false Popes were forcibly intruded one after another into the Papal chair, of whom Cardinal Baronius, the most Ultramontane of Church historians, declares that they were not Popes at all, and were never elected by the clergy, but are merely set down in the list of Popes for chronological purposes. It is certain that at the end of these sixty years of anarchy there could have been no clerical voters of canonical standing, and therefore able to elect a Pope validly, remaining in Rome; and as "no man can give what he has not got," such voters could bestow no title to the Papacy by going through the form of election; so that even the Popes who came in when peace and order were to some extent restored had no better title in canon law, though they had a more respectable shew of one, than their intruded predecessors. That constitutes one complete break with the older line of succession, without inquiring too minutely into the very many flaws and irregularities even earlier. The second huge gap to be mentioned is that made by the Great Schism, with rival lines of Popes at Rome and Avignon, lasting from 1378 to 1415, all of whom come under the broad general rule laid down by Cardinal Bellarmine in respect of this very matter, that "a doubtful Pope is accounted

no Pope," because it is not even now settled which claimants of the Papacy during this period were the rightful ones. Here, again, it was a new Papacy which was set up in 1417 on the ruins of the old one, having no powers or privileges save what the Council of Constance could give it,* the New Testament charter, supposing it to have ever applied, having failed by reason of extinction of line. But the third and last gap is the longest and most fatal of all, having lasted uninterruptedly from 1484 to the present day, and being totally incurable by any existing means. It came in this wise. By a long series of ecclesiastical laws, dating from very early times, and frequently renewed, simony (*i.e.*, the buying and selling of ecclesiastical rank and office) totally voids any ordination, consecration, election, or promotion procured by its means, and strips both the buyer and seller of their rank and powers. And though it is held that the Pope has power to dispense from these penalties, yet it is admitted that he cannot dispense himself. But there is completely decisive proof that Innocent VIII. (1484-1492), Alexander VI. (1492-1503), and Julius II. (1503-1513) were all simoniacally elected, and therefore were no Popes, and were incapable of performing validly any Papal function, including that of creating the cardinals, who have been for several centuries the only electors to the Papacy; besides that Alexander VI. sold his cardinalates for money, and so his creations were doubly void, while two-thirds of the College which elected Julius II. was made up of these simoniacal Cardinals.† But when Julius II. died, the whole College of Cardinals which met to elect his successor were the no-cardinals made by the no-Popes Alexander VI. and Julius II., so that, having no right to vote, they could

* So many uncanonical irregularities marked the summons, constitution, proceedings, and acts of the Council of Constance, that the gravest doubt exists of the legitimacy of one and all of them. And in any case, by deposing all three claimants of the Papacy, instead of deciding in favour of one of them, the Council broke anew the line of succession, and founded a fresh dynasty in the person of Pope Martin V.

† Creighton, "History of the Papacy during the Reformation," iii. 119 160; iv. 60.

not validly elect anyone, and thus the election of Leo X. was void too. The whole electoral body was then poisoned at the very root, and totally invalidated, with no title whatever left to tender a single vote, and with no machinery existing capable of rehabilitating it. This process has been going on ever since, invalidly created cardinals electing a no-Pope, who in his turn creates no-cardinals, who elect his irregular successor. Thus there has been only a *de facto* Pope, and not a single *de jure* one, these four hundred years, and in matters spiritual, unlike secular politics, a mere *de facto* title is not enough for validity, and conveys no authority whatever. Of course the new Pope, if already a duly consecrated bishop, can still validly perform ordinary episcopal acts, such as confirmation and ordination, but he is not, and cannot be, Bishop of Rome, with valid Papal powers.

To all this, the one reply made by Ultramontanes is that the acceptance and recognition of even an invalidly elected Pope by the Roman Church at large validates his election, and makes good any defects therein.

This is not true. For (1) no such enactment or provision occurs anywhere in the canon law, and this being above all a strictly legal matter of the highest practical importance, there would be some such rule citable if it existed. It would not be left to chance, or to the private opinion of canon lawyers. (2) No such opportunity of expressing either assent or disallowance is afforded to the Roman Church at large on a Papal election, as is provided, at least in theory, by the Constitution of the United States at the election of a President. The choice of the cardinals in conclave is final, and the new Pope is at once proclaimed as actually reigning. (3) The thirteen false Popes between 903 and 963 were then fully acknowledged as real Pontiffs, and yet Cardinal Baronius declares that they never were Popes at all. (4) There are two Bulls, the *Cum tam divino* of Julius II., and *Cum ex Apostolatûs officio* of Paul IV., which in the most express terms contradict this assertion that mere recognition of an invalidly elected Pope makes his defective election good and valid, for they lay down positively that in the case of a simoniac, dealt with in the earlier Bull, and former heresy of any kind,

dealt with by the latter, no homage, enthronement, or obedience, however general, paid to the irregular Pontiff shall avail to make his election valid, but that he is to be treated as a criminal of the worst kind, and resisted to the uttermost.* These two Bulls are so well known that the contrary assertion must have been made in bad faith, to trade on the ignorance of those unfamiliar with the facts. So there is no Pope now who can confer true jurisdiction, even if it were the fact that the *de jure* Popes of a now long-distant time were the only sources of jurisdiction ; upon which the words of the great Bossuet may be aptly quoted, "Therefore that very late invention, that bishops receive their jurisdiction from the Pope, and are, as it were, his vicars, should be banished from Christian schools, as unheard of for twelve centuries."

Thus, even without quoting those ancient Canons of Ancyra, Antioch, and Ephesus, which prohibit any such action as that whereby the Anglo-Roman hierarchy has been set up in England, and make it illegitimate, because done without the consent of the metropolitans, bishops, and clergy of England, it is plain that by resting their case on a charter which there is no evidence to shew, and no reason to think, ever applied to the Popes, but which, if it ever did so apply, has been forfeited and voided several times over, the Roman Catholic bishops and clergy have put themselves entirely out of court, and have established that they do not possess, and have no means of acquiring, valid jurisdiction in spiritual matters.

To sum up the results of the foregoing papers, it has been shewn : (1) That the Church of England maintains the "Old Religion," while the religion of the Roman Church is largely mediæval and even modern. (2) That the Church of England is Catholic, agreeing with the undivided Church Universal ; whereas the Roman Church has, in many respects, set up

* And the Bull of Julius II. is so worded as to have retrospective as well as prospective effect, according to the statement of a great Roman canon lawyer, Gammarus, Auditor of the Rota and Papal Vicar of Rome. He published a commentary upon it in 1527, alleging that it made all simoniacal elections to the Papacy before its own issue not merely voidable, but actually null and void.

tenets and usages peculiar to itself only, a mere local portion of the Universal Church. (3) That the Church of England adheres to the teaching of the Four Doctors, from which the Roman Church has widely departed. (4) That the Church of England inherits from the British and Anglo-Saxon Church its independent attitude towards the Church of Rome. (5) That the Church of England mended its ways by abolishing, to the great gain of the nation in faith and morals, many corruptions and abuses which the Roman Church continues to maintain, and has even multiplied, to the great injury of Roman Catholic countries. (6) That no clear case can be made out for St. Peter's alleged Roman bishopric; and therefore none for Papal supremacy in succession to him. (7) That the authority exercised by the Popes in ancient times was very much smaller in degree and inferior in kind than that claimed for them now. (8) That Anglican orders are not merely valid, but are free from several very serious difficulties which beset Roman orders. (9) That the repeated and total failure of the Papal line of succession has destroyed the one source alleged by Roman Catholics as that of the spiritual jurisdiction of the Roman Church; whereas Anglican jurisdiction, based on the ancient laws of the Church Universal, is valid and unshaken.

And consequently it is wiser and safer to remain in the Church of England than to join the Church of Rome.

VACHER & SONS, Printers, Westminster, S.W.

INDEX.

Accidents, what, 9, 10.
African Church, resists Popes, 18, 20, 28, 29.
Alexander VI., Pope, simoniacally elected, 83; sold the Cardinalate, 83.
Ambrose, St., 25–28, 32, 43, 55.
Anglicans, how distinguished from Roman Catholics, 34.
Ante-Nicene testimony as to St. Peter summarised, 51, 52.
Apostolical See, title common to all Sees founded by Apostles, 61.
Augustine, St., 13, 17, 25, 28–30, 43, 55, 81, foot-note.
Augustine, St., of Canterbury, repelled by British Church, 35.

Babylon, probably not meant for Rome, 49
Barlow, Bishop, his consecration denied, 68; weakness of arguments to this effect, 68, 69; not trumped up till forty-seven years after his death, 69.
Baronius, Cardinal, on failure of Papal succession, 82, 84.
Bellarmine, Cardinal, on Intention, 73.
Bernard, St., first to explain the words "Feed My sheep" in Ultramontane fashion, 56; his practical contradiction of it, 56.
Bishops, Anglo-Roman, Declaration of, in 1826, 33.
Bishops, Assistant, at consecrations are co-consecrators, 69, 70.
Boniface, I., Pope, attempts to interfere in African Church, 28.
Bossuet admits validity of Parker's consecration, 72; denies that the Pope is the source of episcopal jurisdiction, 85.
Brihtwald, Archbishop, deposes Archbishop Wilfrid for appealing to Rome, 37.
British Church repelled St. Augustine of Canterbury, 35; not bound by Canons of Sardica, 36.
Bull, of Pius IV., 11; to validate alienation of abbey-lands, 39, foot-note; of Julius II., 84; of Paul IV., 73, 84.

Catholic, Date and meaning of the word, 17, 19, 22; not a special attribute of the Roman Church, 21.
Chichele, Archbishop, resists Pope Martin V., 38.
Chrysostom, St., on St. Peter's primacy, 56.
Clement of Rome, St., silent as to St Peter's connexion with Rome, 50; his ordination as Pope, 51, 52.
Clementine Homilies condemned at Rome, 52.
Communion in one kind only, novel, condemned as heretical by Popes, 10, 11; not known to St Gregory the Great, 35; how effected, 42, foot-note.
Consecrations of Bishops under Henry VIII, 68, 69.
Constance, Council of, first authority for communion in one kind only, 11; irregular in constitution and proceedings, 83, foot-note; source of a new Papal dynasty, 83, foot-note.
Councils, African, 18, 20, 28, 29; Chalcedon, 60, 63; Clermont, 10; Constantinople, 60, 62, 64; Easterfield, 37; Ephesus, 63; Florence, 11; Frankfort, 12, 64; General, functions of, 22; how many, 62; convoked by the Emperors, not by Popes, 62–64; Jerusalem, 58, 80; Lateran, 9;

Milan, 26; Nice I., 62; Nice II., 12, 62, 64; Rome, 52, 63; Thionville, 61; Trent, 6, foot-note, 8, 37, 72; Vatican, 6, foot-note, 14.
Creed of Pope Pius IV., twelve articles wherein it differs from the other creeds, 7–13.
Creeds, Three, common to Roman and English Churches, 3.
Criminals, Proportion of Roman Catholic, 46.
Cyprian, St., resists Papal authority, 18, 20; denies St. Peter's primacy, 27, foot-note.

Damasus, Pope, Attitude of St. Ambrose towards, 26; letter of St. Jerome to, 30.
Development, what, 2; not admitted by the Roman Church, 2, foot-note.
Dionysius of Corinth, first mentions St. Peter in connexion with Rome, 51.
Doctors of the Church, what and who, 24.

Edmund, St., Archbishop, disobeys a Papal mandate, 38.
England, Church of, resisted Popes, 37, 38; holds all that is ancient in Roman belief, 14, 39; not endowed as a Roman dependency, 39; case as against Church of Rome, 44; orders of, impugned, 66; interference of State with, 77; canonical position of Bishops in, 78; summary of position as compared with that of Roman Church, 85, 86.

Fabian, St., first known martyr Pope, 57, foot-note.
Firmilian, St., mentions claim made by Pope Stephen I. to the Petrine succession, 52.
Fisher, Cardinal, acknowledges modern date of Indulgences and Purgatory, 11, 12.
Fitzmaurice, Bishop, acknowledges in Council of Trent that no case could be made out against Anglican Orders, 72.
France, became Atheist in 1793, 44; present number of avowed Atheists in, 44.

Gelasius, Pope, condemned communion in one kind, 10, 23.
Gregory the Great, St., 25, 31, 32, 34, 35, 56, 57, foot-note.
Gregory VII., originator of the modern system of Indulgences, 12; resisted by Archbishop Lanfranc, 37; established the Papal despotism, 56.
Grosseteste, Bishop, resists Papal mandates, 38.

Hadrian I., Pope, forced to retract his approval of image-worship, 64.
"Hail Mary," when introduced as a prayer, 12.
Heart, Sacred, Cult of, 14.
Hefele, Bishop, 19, 36.
Henry VIII., King, his views of the royal powers, 68; issued mandate for Barlow's consecration, 69.
Heretics, and children of, incapable of Roman Orders, 73.
Honorius, Pope, condemned as a heretic, 64.
Hosius of Cordova, President of Council of Nice, but not Papal legate, 62.

Ignatius, St., on meaning of Catholic, 17; silent as to St. Peter's Roman Episcopate, 50.
Images, Cultus of, 12, 23
Immaculate Conception of B.V.M., 15, 23, 29, 30.
Indulgences, 12.
Infallibility, Papal, 14, 15, 23.
Innocent III., Pope, vainly attempts to set aside Magna Charta, 38.
Innocent VIII., Pope, simoniacally elected, 83.
Intention, Doctrine of, in Roman Church, 72, 73.

Invocation of Saints, 11.
Ireland, Condition of Roman Catholic, 45.
Irenæus, St., unjustifiably alleged as a witness for the authority of the Roman Church, 18; decisive evidence of, against St. Peter's Episcopate at Rome, 51.

Jerome, St., 25, 30, 31, 32.
Jesuits, result of a century's teaching in France, 44.
Jewish-Christian Church, separate in Antioch and Ephesus, perhaps at Rome, 80.
Julius II., Pope, simoniacally elected, 83; issues a Bull against simony, 84.
Jurisdiction, what, 76; "actual" and "habitual," 76; creation of human law, 77; that of Bishops and Metropolitans, 78; valid in Church of England, 78; voided in Church of Rome, 81–84.

Lanfranc, Archbishop, disregards orders of Gregory VII., 37, 38.
Langton, Archbishop, resists Innocent III., 38.
Leo I., Pope, condemns communion in one kind only, 10; earliest Roman theologian, 13; his view of St. Peter's primacy, 56; accepted the doctrine of the Council of Chalcedon, though refusing to allow its twenty-eighth canon, 60; his "Tome" criticized in Council of Chalcedon, 63.
Leo X., Pope, invalidly elected, 83.
Liberius, Pope, an apostate, 19.
Linus, St., first Bishop of Rome, 51.

Manning, Cardinal, testimony in favour of Church of England, 45; sermon by, criticized, 54–65; uncanonical position of, 74, 79.
Mariolatry, St. Ambrose on, 28; no traces of it in the Latin Doctors, 29–32.
Martin V., Pope, resisted by the English Primate, 38; first of a new Papal dynasty, 85.
Martyrs, No ancient Acts of the, in Roman archives, 57.
Metropolitans, originally independent of Rome, 78.
Missal, Roman, faulty teaching on Eucharistic sacrifice, 71, 72, foot-note.
Mivart, Professor, Testimony of, in favour of Church of England, 45.

"Nag's Head Fable," 68.
Nestorian Ordinal, only one which satisfies the new Roman conditions of validity, 71.
Nestorius, tried over again by Council of Ephesus after a trial by the Pope, 63.

Old Religion, Definition of, 1, 2, 3.
Orders, Anglican, Arguments against, 67; such arguments shewn not to be genuine, 72.
Orders, Roman, Doubtfulness of, 72–74.
Ordinal, Anglican, valid, 70, 71; Nestorian, 71; Roman, 71, 78.

Papacy, refounded by Council of Constance, 83, foot-note.
Papias, St., does not witness to identity of Rome and Babylon, 49.
Parker, Archbishop, his consecration denied, 67; but only in bad faith, 68; circumstances of his election and consecration, 78.
Paschal II., Pope, complains of English Church, 37; resisted by, 37.
Patriarchate, Limits of Roman, 59, 65.
Paul, St., silent as to St. Peter's presence at Rome, 50; real founder of Roman Church, 50, 53; sole Apostle of the Gentiles, 59; not commissioned or taught by St. Peter, 59; survived St. Peter by a year, 81; source of original Papal succession, 81, 82.
Pelagian heresy acquitted by Pope Zosimus, 29.

Peter, St., not the Rock or foundation of the Church, 27, 28, 30, 59; on proof of his having been Bishop of Rome, 49, 53; meaning put by the Fathers on text "Feed My sheep," addressed to, 55, 56; not sovereign over the other Apostles, 27, 31, 47, 58, 59, 80; limited after a time to the Jewish part of the Church, 59; had no share in commissioning St Paul, 59; writes his First Epistle to Jewish Christians only, 81; martyred a year before St. Paul, 82; himself last of any Petrine succession at Rome, 82.
Peter Lombard, first mentions seven Sacraments, 8.
Pius IV., Bull of Pope, 11; creed of, 7, 21, 23.
Pole, Cardinal, quits Council of Trent because of its ruling on Justification, 9; his death left English primacy canonically vacant, 78.
Pope, still title for every parish priest in Greek Church; limited to Bishop of Rome by Gregory VII., 61.
Popes frequently deposed, 13; no trustworthy list of early, 81; probably joint Popes in very ancient times, 81; none *de jure* since 1484, 83, 84.
Privilege, Rules of Roman Church law as to, 47, 48.
Purgatory, 11.

Re-baptism, makes incapable of ordination by Roman Church law, 73.
Reformation, Result of, upon England, 42–44.
Roman Catholics, how distinguished from Anglicans, 34.
Rome, how often named in New Testament, and how, 49; identification of, with Babylon doubtful, 49, 50; not scene of St. Peter's conflict with Simon Magus, 51; possibly the place of St. Peter's martyrdom, 51; capital of Empire, 59.
Rome, Church of, adds a fourth Creed to the three old ones, 7; not Mother nor Mistress of other Churches, 13; claims to be the whole Catholic Church, 16; such claim not recognised by the more ancient Fathers, 17; rallying point for traditions from all quarters, 18; not the whole Catholic Church, nor empowered to speak in its name, 21, 31; not Roman Catholic in the time of St. Gregory the Great, 34, 35; case of Church of England against, 44; moral failure as teacher, 45; ground of alleged supremacy of, 47; styled Place and Chair of Peter, 52; not organised at the date of the Epistle to the Romans, 53; true grounds for primacy of, 59; succession of Bishops broken in, 61, 82, 83; primacy conferred for political reasons, 60; submitted to condemnation of Honorius, 64; orders disputable, 72; no Petrine succession in, 81, 82.

Sacraments, Seven, first specified by Peter Lombard, 8.
Saints, Departed, still part of "living voice" of the Church, 23.
Sardica, Council of, Canons and Letter of, probably forged, 36.
Scripture, Interpretation of, 8.
Simon Magus, Alleged conflict of St. Peter with, not at Rome, 51.
Simony voids all ecclesiastical office, 84; effect of, on Papal succession, 84, 85.
Smyth, P. J., M.P., testimony as to moral failure of Roman Church in Ireland, 45.
Socrates and Sozomen, do not know the alleged Letter of Sardican Council, 36.
Stephen, I., Pope, claims to be heir of St. Peter, 52, 53.
Substance, what, 9, 10.

Theodoret does not know the alleged Letter of Sardican Council, 36.
Transubstantiation mediæval in date, 9; virtually abandoned now by Roman Catholics, 9, 10.

Universal, Title of, condemned by Gregory the Great, 31, 35.
Urban II., Pope, condemns communion in one kind, 10.

Vicar of Christ, title anciently common to all Bishops, 61.
Vincent of Lerins, St., indirect witness against Roman claims, 21, 22.

Wilfrid, Archbishop, attests opposition of English Church to Rome, 37.

Zosimus, Pope, acquits the Pelagian heresy, and is compelled to retract his decision, 29.

THE

Church Defence Institution.

AN ASSOCIATION OF CLERGY AND
LAITY FOR DEFENSIVE AND GENERAL PURPOSES.

Offices: PALACE CHAMBERS, 9, BRIDGE ST., WESTMINSTER, S.W.

President—HIS GRACE THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.
Vice-Presidents—HIS GRACE THE ARCHBISHOP OF YORK, AND NEARLY ALL THE BISHOPS.
Chairman of the Executive Committee—THE LORD EGERTON OF TATTON.
General Secretary—Rev. H. GRANVILLE DICKSON, M.A.
Financial Secretary—G. H. F. NYE, Esq.
General Organising Secretary—Rev. C. A. WELLS, B.A.
Special Lecturer to the Institution—H. BYRON REED, Esq., M.P.
Organising Secretary and Lecturer for the Principality of Wales—W. E. HELM, Esq.
District Organising Secretary for the Midlands—W. H. MASON, Esq.
Bankers—Messrs. HOARE & Co.

THE Work of the Church Defence Institution has become once more of the first importance. Mr. Gladstone, who has hitherto been regarded as opposed to the Disestablishment of the Church of England and Wales, and who, in 1870, declared that he would look upon it as 'a national mischief,' has now expressed his deliberate opinion, in a speech delivered at Nottingham on October 19, 1887, that it is 'unquestionably ripe for consideration.' Another prominent leader of the Liberal party, Sir William Harcourt, has stated that 'the Church Establishment in Wales is an institution which it is no longer possible to defend consistently with the principles of the Liberal party.' The Disestablishment of the Church in Wales is now, therefore, accepted as an item in the programme of that section of the Liberal party which is led by Mr. Gladstone.

Under these circumstances, the Church Defence Institution urges upon all Churchmen the duty of assisting them in circulating the fullest information respecting the history and work of the Church in the Principality. No well-informed person but is aware that it is impossible to separate the Church in Wales from the rest of the Church in England. There is 'a complete ecclesiastical, constitutional, legal, and, for every practical purpose, historical identity between them.' An attack on the Church in Wales is, therefore, an attack on the Church of England, and to be repelled with vigour and determination by the whole body of Churchmen. Special publications, pamphlets, placards, leaflets, &c., may be had from the Church Defence Office, 9, Bridge Street, S.W.

THE NATIONAL CHURCH.

Published Monthly, price 1*d.; or* 1*s.* 6*d. per annum, post free.*

This Paper contains special and exclusive information on the Church and State Question.

*** The National Church for 1888 is further improved in paper and appearance.

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS-URBANA
3 0112 077831128